

**THE UNIVERSITY OF WINCHESTER**

Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences

Protestant Dissenters in Hampshire, c. 1640-c. 1740

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ABSTRACT

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

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This thesis demonstrates that the experiences of Protestant dissenters in the period from c. 1640-c. 1740 were of significant importance in the religious history of Hampshire. Modern scholarship has overlooked the value of Hampshire as a case study of Protestant nonconformity in the period, and this thesis therefore represents a major contribution to an understanding of provincial dissent in seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The thesis demonstrates the extent of dissatisfaction with the national church in the period 1640 to 1660. This period also saw the rise of radical religious groups, whose success in the county is examined. After the Restoration, persecution of dissenters became widespread, with occurrences often influenced by national events and legislation. But a close examination of the Hampshire evidence shows variations in the persecution of dissent across the county, due to local factors.

Hampshire's dissenters represented a significant minority in the population of the county, but no previous study has demonstrated how the distribution of dissent varied throughout the county. The distribution appears to have been influenced by many factors, but, in Hampshire as elsewhere, dissent was strong in towns, increasingly so in the eighteenth century. Previous studies of the social status of dissenters have not encompassed Hampshire, so this study makes an important contribution to existing analyses of social status by examining the evidence to demonstrate that the county's dissenters were of the 'middling sort', but that this status did broaden in the years following Toleration.

The experience of Hampshire dissenters after the Toleration Act has not been the subject of extensive study. This thesis examines unused sources to show how far the county's dissenters were affected by external challenges from the Anglican church and by internal controversies. The conclusion is that Hampshire's overall experience of dissent was influenced in some respects by national events, but at the same time not inevitably swayed by them.

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## **ABBREVIATIONS**

AL	Angus Library, Regents Park College, Oxford
BL	British Library
CSPD	Calendar of State Papers Domestic
DWL	Dr Williams's Library
FHL	Friends House Library
HRO	Hampshire Record Office
IWRO	Isle of Wight Record Office
LSURC	London Street United Reformed Church, Basingstoke
LPL	Lambeth Palace Library
ODNB	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
PHC	Portsmouth History Centre
SAS	Southampton Archives Services
SHC	Surrey History Centre
TNA	The National Archives
VCH	Victoria County History

## DECLARATION AND COPYRIGHT STATEMENT

I, **ROSALIND NOREEN JOHNSON**, do declare that the Thesis entitled **Protestant Dissenters in Hampshire, c. 1640-c. 1740** and the work presented in the Thesis are both my own, and have been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

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## INTRODUCTION

This study examines the history of Protestant dissenters in the historic county of Hampshire (including the Isle of Wight) in the period from c. 1640 to c. 1740. This is an area of research not previously examined extensively in an academic context. The value of the county as a case study towards the history of provincial dissenters in the period has been overlooked by modern scholars. This study therefore constitutes an original contribution to the literature on religious and social history for the period, as well as contributing towards an area of Hampshire's history which has hitherto been largely unexplored.

The genesis of the project was a study of Hampshire Quakers in the period 1655 to 1689.<sup>1</sup> It became clear during this earlier study that only limited scholarly work had been undertaken on Protestant dissenters in Hampshire between the mid-seventeenth and mid-eighteenth centuries. Indeed, there had been no single scholarly study of Protestant dissenters in the county within that period. Parkinson's thesis considers religious dissidence in the county, but its focus is on the Elizabethan period.<sup>2</sup> Mildon's study has a wider chronological coverage, but it does not consider the period after 1689, as this thesis has done. Nor does it consider the distribution, numerical strength and social status of dissenters in the county, all of which are examined in this present study.<sup>3</sup> A further study considered dissent in Hampshire in the latter half of the seventeenth century, but within the context of a study where the focus was on local government.<sup>4</sup> Other studies were of very specific groups or localities.<sup>5</sup> This dearth of scholarly material on Hampshire dissent became the rationale for this project.

The century-long time span covered by this thesis, and the limitations of the source material, have meant that certain boundaries have had to be put in place on the project. In particular, the term 'dissenter' has been strictly interpreted to mean a person who was an active member of a dissenting congregation; someone who had made a positive

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<sup>1</sup> Rosalind Noreen Johnson, "'Many are the afflictions of the righteous': the sufferings of Hampshire Quakers 1655-1689 in the light of the Book of Sufferings in Hampshire Record Office', unpublished M.A. dissertation (University of Winchester, 2008).

<sup>2</sup> Susan K. Parkinson, 'The religion of the people in Winchester and Southampton, c. 1558-c. 1603', unpublished Ph.D. thesis (University of Southampton, 2003).

<sup>3</sup> Wilfrid Hubert Mildon, 'Puritanism in Hampshire and the Isle of Wight: from the reign of Elizabeth to the Restoration', unpublished Ph.D. thesis (University of London, 1934).

<sup>4</sup> Andrew M. Coleby, *Central Government and the Localities: Hampshire 1649-1689* (Cambridge, 1987).

<sup>5</sup> James Stephen McInnes, 'Continuity and change in an English rural settlement: Portchester, c. 1500-1750', unpublished D.Phil thesis (University of Sussex, 2006); Andrew Boyd de Leon Thomson, 'The Diocese of Winchester before and after the English Civil Wars: a study of the character and performance of its clergy', unpublished Ph.D. thesis (University of London, 2004).

commitment based on their religious beliefs. It has not been taken to mean a person who simply failed to attend their parish church, since there could have been a secular reason for non-attendance. Nor has the term been taken to include those who expressed sympathy with dissenters during the period of Restoration persecution, without being active dissenters themselves. For these reasons, therefore, the focus of this study is purposely on grass-roots Protestant dissenters, since the evidence of the court records and of the study of hearth tax returns strongly indicates that active dissenters were only rarely among the county elite, a social status which appears to have persisted up to the end of this study.<sup>6</sup>

It was beyond the scope of this study to consider Catholicism in the county, and therefore the terms 'dissent', 'nonconformist', 'separatist' and 'sectarian' when used in this thesis are understood to mean Protestant dissent, nonconformity, separatism and sectarianism. Sectarians as a group have been studied extensively with reference to the period of the Civil Wars and Interregnum, but in a more limited fashion in the period following the Restoration of 1660, and especially the years after the Act of Toleration in 1689. It is from the 1740s onwards, with the rise of the evangelical movement, and later of Methodism, that a focus returns to Protestant dissent. This study redresses that balance, particularly with regard to Hampshire.<sup>7</sup>

Any choice of dates is inevitably somewhat arbitrary, but there are reasons why the start and end dates for this project are appropriate. The start date of 1640 saw the beginnings of a change in which religious protest in England developed from a largely minority movement into an increasingly large and vocal movement. This change had its inception in the dissatisfaction of clergy and churchgoers over the 'Laudian' changes to the practice of church worship in the years before 1640. It saw the start of a radicalism both religious and political which would be further provoked by the Civil Wars of the 1640s and the events of the 1650s. The twenty years following 1640 were in part characterised by the emergence of many different, and often short-lived, sects, but also saw parishioners remaining loyal to familiar church practices, in defiance of official legislation.

The end date is appropriate, since too extended a period would oblige this study to be an overview rather than an analysis. The projected end date of 1740 allows for an analysis of the Protestant dissent in the half-century following the Act of Toleration in 1689, which has not been extensively examined in scholarly studies, but avoids the rise of the

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<sup>6</sup> See chapters four and six.

<sup>7</sup> See chapter one.

evangelical movement and of Methodism, which have been covered more extensively in the published literature.

It is not altogether clear why Hampshire has been such a comparatively neglected county with regard to studies of dissent. There have been other counties in which dissent has had a higher profile in the secondary literature, such as Essex and Wiltshire.<sup>8</sup> In comparison with those counties, Hampshire's dissenting activity in the period of this study may have appeared low-key, in particular because nationally-significant dissenting leaders who visited the county, or resided in it, earned their fame elsewhere. But this is not an adequate reason for marginalising the experience of Hampshire dissenters, since the experience of provincial dissenters in counties where dissent has apparently had a low profile may have been more typical of the dissenting experience. Furthermore, the proportion of dissenters to the population as a whole in Hampshire may even have been somewhat greater than the proportion in England as a whole.<sup>9</sup> Hampshire has sufficient primary sources to enable a history of Protestant dissent in the county for the period under study to be written, so the reason for the neglect of Hampshire is not due to a lack of original material.<sup>10</sup> There have been a growing number of studies made of Protestant dissent in the localities, and this project would contribute to the growing body of such studies.<sup>11</sup>

It therefore became the major research aim of this project to comprehend the experience of Protestant dissenters in Hampshire, and the extent of their activities in the county. This is examined quantitatively or qualitatively, depending on the sources available. Previous research is considered, where it exists, in order to ascertain whether or not the experience of Hampshire dissenters matches any national overview, or how far it correlates with other county studies. This is the over-riding research question for the thesis. As Peter Lake and Michael Questier have commented, at a local level there were wide variations in the enforcement of supposedly national policies, and this study aims to demonstrate how

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<sup>8</sup> For example, on Essex, Adrian Davies, *The Quakers in English Society 1655-1725* (Oxford, 2000); on Wiltshire, Donald A. Spaeth, *The Church in an Age of Danger: parsons and parishioners, 1660-1740* (Cambridge, 2000).

<sup>9</sup> See chapter five.

<sup>10</sup> See chapter one.

<sup>11</sup> Relevant theses include: Richard Clark, 'Anglicanism, recusancy and dissent in Derbyshire, 1603-1730', unpublished D.Phil. thesis (University of Oxford, 1979); Paul Morton Geldart, 'Protestant nonconformity and sectarianism in Restoration Northamptonshire', unpublished Ph.D. thesis (University of Leicester, 2006); Peter William Jackson, 'Nonconformists and society in Devon 1660-1689', unpublished Ph.D. thesis (University of Exeter, 1986); Henry Lancaster, 'Nonconformity and Anglican dissent in Restoration Wiltshire, 1660-1689', unpublished Ph.D. thesis (University of Bristol, 1996).

far such variations can be seen in Hampshire.<sup>12</sup> As this thesis covers a whole century, each chapter has its own specific areas of research enquiry, as defined below.

Chapter one reviews the secondary literature relating to the whole project up to 1740, the primary sources used in this project, and a discussion of the methodology which has been employed. The literature relevant to this study varies widely in its chronological coverage, and in its precise subject matter. While one of the most important secondary studies of Protestant dissenters in England and Wales, Michael Watts's *The Dissenters*, covers a long chronological period, extending beyond the start and end dates of this project, other studies concentrate on a more defined time period and geographical area, and in particular may focus on a single dissenting sect or group.<sup>13</sup> Following a general survey, the literature review therefore examines general studies of dissent by taking three periods in turn; 1640 to 1660, 1660 to 1689 and from 1689 into the eighteenth century, to encompass the different aspects of dissent in each period. It then examines denominational histories, which do not always fit easily into one of these specific periods. Finally, as this project is a local study of a particular county, the literature review examines the importance of local studies in relationship to the project, with particular reference to the limited amount of work that has already been undertaken on Hampshire.

The principal primary sources used for this project include nationally-significant sources directly relating to dissent and which contain Hampshire material. Of particular relevance to this project have been the 1669 conventicle returns, the licence applications of 1672-3 and the Compton Census of 1676.<sup>14</sup> There is also substantial archival material relating specifically to Hampshire, including ecclesiastical and secular court records, churchwardens' presentments, and records created by the dissenting groups themselves. The advantages and disadvantages of these sources are considered with specific reference to Hampshire. Chapter one concludes with a brief discussion of the methodology, including the methodology employed in analysing the data presented in the tables and map.

Chapter two explores the theology behind puritan belief, and goes on to discuss discontent within the national church during the period 1640-60. Attempts at godly reform were not necessarily supported by congregations, and this chapter examines the extent to

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<sup>12</sup> Peter Lake and Michael Questier, 'Introduction', in Peter Lake and Michael Questier (eds), *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church, c. 1560-1660* (Woodbridge, 2000), xix.

<sup>13</sup> Michael R. Watts, *The Dissenters: from the Reformation to the French Revolution* (Oxford, 1978).

<sup>14</sup> LPL MS 639 Miscellanies Ecclesiastical: An account of the Conventicles in Winton Diocese, 1669; G. Lyon Turner (ed.), *Original Records of Early Nonconformity Under Persecution and Indulgence*, vols I-II (London, 1911), vol. III (London, 1914); Anne Whiteman (ed.), *The Compton Census of 1676: a critical edition* (London, 1986).

which there was discontent among Hampshire congregations, and how any dissatisfaction was expressed. It examines the evidence from the surviving churchwardens' accounts and inventories for the purchase of the official Directory for Public Worship and for the continued use of the banned Book of Common Prayer, and considers how far this relates to previous studies.<sup>15</sup> In particular, it examines the evidence from these accounts that some churches in Hampshire were continuing to observe the celebration of the sacrament of holy communion at major festive occasions, a practice specifically forbidden. Court records have been searched for evidence of cases of such nonconformity coming to court, and how the authorities dealt with this and other forms of religious dissent, such as failure to observe the Sabbath.

Chapter three examines the influence of radical Protestant religious movements in Hampshire during the period 1640-60, principally the two major sects of this period, the Baptists and the Quakers, although it also considers the more marginal sects that are known to have had a presence, however brief, in the county. This chapter considers how radical religion was spread in Hampshire, and how successful radical religionists were in establishing themselves in the county by the Restoration of 1660. Those in authority perceived the sects as religious subversives, and the Quakers in particular as potentially violent insurrectionists. This chapter therefore concludes with a discussion of the activities of the authorities to suppress the sects.

Chapter four considers the persecution of Protestant dissenters from the Restoration of Charles II in 1660 to the Act of Toleration in 1689. It is a major research aim of this chapter to examine how far persecution in Hampshire fluctuated in accordance with national legislation, such as the Conventicle Acts of 1664 and 1670, and national events such as the Exclusion Crisis. Persecution has been seen to have peaked at these times, and this chapter examines the extent to which this applied in Hampshire, and furthermore, whether such peaks occurred, if and when they did, uniformly throughout the county. It also considers the extent to which there may have been a *de facto*, if not a *de jure* toleration of Protestant dissent, where known dissenters and dissenting activity did not attract any adverse attention. The evidence of the surviving court records and churchwardens' presentments indicates that all the dissenting groups could expect negative attention from the authorities for their faith and religious practices. However, the sources tend not to distinguish between the different sects, making it difficult to know how

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<sup>15</sup> For example, Judith Maltby, "'The Good Old Way': prayer book Protestantism in the 1640s and 1650s", in R. N. Swanson (ed.), *The Church and the Book: papers read at the 2000 Summer Meeting and the 2001 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* (Woodbridge, 2004), 233-56.

far each sect was persecuted. Though the evidence of the 1669 conventicle returns suggests that the Presbyterians were the largest group of dissenters in the county, their willingness to be accommodating in matters of church attendance, and in bringing children for baptism, meant that they were less likely to appear in the record than the more radical sects whose refusal to compromise rendered them more liable to prosecution. Furthermore, the Quakers documented their sufferings in detail, and the existence of this material, while valuable, can lead to their experience of persecution dominating the historical record at the expense of other dissenting groups. While Quakers could, at times, be singled out for attack, the evidence of the court records and churchwardens' presentments demonstrates that Baptists, Independents and Presbyterians could also expect negative attention for their faith and religious practices. The primary source material does not enable authoritative statements to be made about the extent to which each dissenting group was persecuted, nor does the source material for Hampshire throw much light on popular persecution, but this chapter does consider how far dissenters taken as a single group could expect to be prosecuted.

Chapter five discusses the distribution and numerical strength of dissent in the period 1660 to 1740. The aim of this chapter was to analyse the distribution of dissent in Hampshire, initially by using the data from the Compton Census of 1676, and other sources as appropriate, and to compare these findings for Hampshire with other studies. This chapter considers whether dissent was stronger in certain areas than others, for example, whether it was more prevalent in towns than in rural areas, or in pastoral and woodland farming regions as opposed to arable regions of the county, and why this might be the case. It also considers how far other influences, such as manorial control, had an effect on the prevalence of dissent in a locality. Watts has maintained that the relief of toleration experienced immediately after 1689 gave way to decline in dissent in the early eighteenth century, and therefore this chapter examines how far the numbers and distribution of dissenters may have changed after the Toleration Act.<sup>16</sup> Applications for meeting house licences, the evidence of the Evans List of dissenting congregations, responses to the visitation returns of 1725 and an examination of the records created by the dissenting groups themselves have been employed to ascertain how these aspects of dissent in Hampshire changed after Toleration.<sup>17</sup> The results of the research undertaken for this

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<sup>16</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 263.

<sup>17</sup> DWL MS 38.4 John Evans List of Dissenting Congregations and Ministers in England and Wales, 1715-1729; W. R. Ward (ed.), *Parson and Parish in Eighteenth-Century Hampshire: replies to bishops' visitations* (Hampshire Record Series, vol. 13), (Winchester, 1995).



chapter build on the work of previous studies, and contribute towards a comprehensive picture of the distribution and numerical strength of dissent throughout England in this period.

Chapter six considers the social status of dissenters in the period 1660 to 1740. Using the abstract of churchwardens' presentments from 1664 and the hearth tax returns of 1665 (1662 and 1670 for Southampton), known dissenters were identified and their wealth (as evidenced by the hearth tax returns) ascertained.<sup>18</sup> A comparison was made of social status of dissenting householders with the rest of the population. The social status of Hampshire dissenters in this period is not known to have been previously considered, nor has it been compared with the social status of the population of the county as a whole. The social status of dissenters has been considered in a number of other studies, as discussed in chapter six, but there appears to have been almost no work undertaken on the social status of dissenters relative to the rest of the population. That such a study has been undertaken for Hampshire in the 1660s is a significant contribution to the study of dissent in this period. However, while the hearth tax returns give an indication of a householder's prosperity, or otherwise, by the number of hearths, they do not give information on the occupation, nor is this information contained in the 1664 presentments. Occupations have, where possible, been identified through other sources, such as surviving wills and probate inventories, and registers. Although no directly comparable source to the hearth tax returns exists for the period after 1689, this chapter does consider how far the social status of dissenters may have changed with toleration, using those sources which are available, notably the Evans List of dissenting congregations (compiled in 1715-18, with additions to 1729), and how the social and economic status of dissenters appears relative to the rest of the population in the early eighteenth century.<sup>19</sup>

Chapter seven, the final chapter of the thesis, considers the challenges faced by dissenters in the fifty or so years after 1689. The nature of the evidence changes from that available in the Restoration period; dissenters were seldom brought before the courts (except for non-payment of tithes and other church dues) and thus largely disappear from the court records. However, a small but increasing number of records created by the churches themselves become available, and there is a considerable increase in the volume of printed material relating to events in the county, or created by those exercising some

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<sup>18</sup> HRO 21M65/B1/37 Abstract of churchwardens' presentments, 1664; Elizabeth Hughes and Philippa White (eds), *The Hampshire Hearth Tax Assessment 1665* (Hampshire Record Series vol. 11), (Winchester, 1991).

<sup>19</sup> DWL MS 38.4; Watts, *Dissenters*, 267-89, 491-510.

form of ministry within it. This was a period in which dissenting groups were affected by major internal controversies, yet these controversies did not necessarily affect all congregations equally. This chapter examines the major controversies, and the evidence for the extent to which they affected Hampshire dissenters. It considers how far major religious controversies of the period 1689 to 1740 affected Hampshire dissenters. The Portsmouth Disputation of 1699, a debate between Baptists and Presbyterians on the subject of baptism, has been studied, but otherwise, the impression given by the secondary literature is that Hampshire nonconformity in the decades immediately following Toleration was untroubled by contention.<sup>20</sup> This chapter considers how far this impression is reliable, since there were other disputes and issues, not only the Portsmouth Disputation, whose effects on Hampshire dissenters are newly examined in this thesis.

Despite toleration of their worship practices, dissenters still experienced some disadvantages compared to Anglicans, and were not wholly freed from negative attention by them. This chapter therefore considers the nature of the relationships between Hampshire nonconformists and the Established Church. Certain events, notably the Sacheverell trial of 1710, the Occasional Conformity and Schism Acts, and the aftermath of the attempted Jacobite rebellion of 1715, have received some attention in the literature with regard to their effect on dissenting congregations. Yet the sometimes violent nature of these events has been foregrounded in the literature, possibly obscuring an examination of the extent to which they affected all dissenters. This chapter examines how far these occurrences actually affected Hampshire, and enquires into the possibility of other events in the county which illuminate the relationship between nonconformists and the Established Church.

In conclusion, therefore, this study has drawn on a wide range of sources, and covered, in the individual chapters, a number of issues. Yet the dominant research questions remain of how far the history of Hampshire dissenters reflects the situation of dissenters nationally, and how far this study of Hampshire dissent supports previous local studies. Hampshire is, as all counties are, unique. It is not suggested that the experience of Hampshire dissenters should be taken as benchmark, but rather that Hampshire dissenters should be considered, as they have not hitherto been considered, as part of the overall picture of religious life in England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

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<sup>20</sup> Douglas C. Sparkes, 'The Portsmouth Disputation of 1699', *Baptist Quarterly*, 19 (1961), 59-75.

## CHAPTER ONE: LITERATURE REVIEW, PRIMARY SOURCES AND METHODOLOGY

This thesis aims to advance an understanding of Hampshire dissenters in relation to dissenters nationally. This study of dissent in Hampshire contributes not only to the existing state of knowledge about dissent in the county, but to a more comprehensive understanding of the overall state of dissent in the English provinces. This chapter considers the current state of secondary literature related to dissent, and how the gaps in this literature will be addressed by this study.

This chapter also examines the main primary sources used in this study. It considers their advantages and disadvantages from the point of view of this project, and how they can contribute to filling gaps identified in the current literature. Finally, the methodology used in the project is considered, including the quantitative and qualitative approaches used in relation to the primary sources.

### **Literature review: general observations**

Religious history has become increasingly important as a subject for serious discussion. It has been remarked that 'religion and society' in the 1960s was a characteristic of intellectual radicalism, distinguishing a younger generation of scholars who were seeking an alternative to traditional ecclesiastical history, characterised by studies of the Church of England.<sup>1</sup> Keith Thomas's *Religion and the Decline of Magic* was the seminal study of popular belief arising from this milieu of the new generation of historians.<sup>2</sup> But the study of religion and society remained on the fringes of academic discourse until the 1980s, by which time the student radicals of the 1960s were in positions of academic authority. By 1984 Edward Royle could write that '[t]he history of religion has become a mainstream concern of social historians of all periods during the past few years'.<sup>3</sup>

While work has been done on Protestant dissent throughout the period covered by this project, the year 1660 tends to form a watershed in the secondary literature; studies covering the English Revolution tend to end here, while studies covering the later period take 1660 and the Restoration as their starting point. There is a lack of studies encompassing the years both before and after 1660. Nevertheless, there is a notable exception to this, Michael Watt's history of Protestant dissent from the Reformation to the

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<sup>1</sup> Simon Targett, 'History's swollen congregation', *Times Higher Education* (8 July 1996), 15.

<sup>2</sup> Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (Harmondsworth, 1971).

<sup>3</sup> Edward Royle, 'Preface', in Edward Royle (ed.), *Regional Studies in the History of Religion in Britain since the Later Middle Ages* ([Hull], 1984), 1.

French Revolution.<sup>4</sup> It has been described as an 'outstanding' account.<sup>5</sup> Watts is explicit about where he places his study. 'This book thus attempts to view the history of Dissent from the changed perspective of the 1970s, to synthesize and examine critically the work done by other scholars in the field over the last half-century, and to add the results of the author's own researches.'<sup>6</sup> There has been no comparable study since to take account of research in the whole field of Protestant dissent, rather than the study of individual denominations, despite renewed interest in the Established Church.<sup>7</sup>

Watts's study, with its inclusion of all Protestant dissenters, rather than any one sect, was a major inspiration for this thesis. The breadth of Watts's research is incompatible with the requirements of a thesis, but it was considered possible to test some of Watts's conclusions, and those of other historians, against the situation of Protestant dissenters in Hampshire. The focus has purposely been on all Protestant dissenters, rather than on one particular sect. No dissenting group existed in isolation. Furthermore, many of the primary source records seldom, or never, distinguish between the different dissenting groups. These include some of the major sources used in chapters four to six, including court records, churchwardens' presentments and the data from the Compton Census of 1676. Such unclassified dissenters are not taken into consideration by studies of a single dissenting denomination, yet they represent a major proportion of those identified as Protestant nonconformists, and any study of Protestant dissenters in this period needs to consider them with those whose denomination can be ascertained.

### **Literature review: 1640-1660**

The period of the English Revolution has resulted in a considerable number of studies, both academic and popular, as well as having an enduring appeal in popular culture. It is beyond the scope of this study to consider the entire corpus of scholarly literature relating to the period, much of which is concerned with political and military history, but it is appropriate to make observations relating to the research undertaken in chapters two and three, on dissatisfaction with the national church and on radical religion. There were those for whom attempts to reform the national church were not acceptable, and who remained loyal to the old, Anglican ways. Some refused to abandon the old Book of Common Prayer,

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<sup>4</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, vi.

<sup>5</sup> S. Gilley and W. J. Sheils (eds), *A History of Religion in Britain* (Oxford, 1994), 544.

<sup>6</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, vi.

<sup>7</sup> Especially in the period post-1660; see for example, John Walsh, Colin Haydon and Stephen Taylor (eds), *The Church of England c. 1689-c. 1833: from toleration to Tractarianism* (Cambridge, 1993); Spaeth, *Church in an Age of Danger*; William Gibson, *The Church of England 1688-1832: unity and accord* (London, 2001).

replaced in 1645 by the Directory for Public Worship, and held clandestine services outside the puritan national church.<sup>8</sup> At the other end of the religious spectrum were those who saw no need for any form of set worship at all, principally the Baptists and Quakers, but also other radical religious groups such as the Fifth Monarchists and Muggletonians.

How far religion contributed to the outbreak of the Civil Wars has been a subject of some debate. Nicholas Tyacke noted that the 1620s saw a dramatic shift in the official teachings of the Church of England, which he attributed to the system of Arminian patronage established and sustained by Richard Neile.<sup>9</sup> According to Kevin Sharpe, the English Civil Wars were the direct result of the counter-attack of puritans, who had come to find themselves in the position of being outsiders.<sup>10</sup> Tyacke concluded that religion was a major contributory cause of the Civil Wars. In 'a world where toleration of diversity of belief was a rarity' anti-Calvinists (Arminians) and Calvinists were set against each other, with fatal consequences.<sup>11</sup> However, although the reforms of Archbishop Laud were seen by contemporaries to be divisive, Anthony Milton does not hold him wholly responsible for the fault-line that resulted, seeing that as the result of a whole range of issues and problems.<sup>12</sup>

But religion was still a contributory factor in the Civil Wars. John Morrill argued that it was the last of Europe's wars of religion.<sup>13</sup> At one time a controversial statement, Morrill's emphasis on the place of religion in the English Revolution was responsible for 'stimulating years of fruitful research and debate'.<sup>14</sup> By 2006 Durston and Maltby could state that religion and the English Revolution were deeply and inextricably linked.<sup>15</sup>

With the political changes of the 1640s and 1650s, the reforming zeal of the godly found it had opportunities for change that had previously been frustrated. But, as will be examined in chapter two, their attempts at reform could themselves be frustrated by disobedience on the part of those dissatisfied with the newly-reformed national church, and

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<sup>8</sup> Judith Maltby, 'Suffering and surviving: the Civil Wars, the Commonwealth and the formation of "Anglicanism", 1642-60', in Christopher Durston and Judith Maltby (eds), *Religion in Revolutionary England* (Manchester, 2006), 165; David Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion: popular politics and culture in England 1603-1660* (Oxford, 1987), 257-63, 267.

<sup>9</sup> Nicholas Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists: the rise of English Arminianism c. 1590-1640* (Oxford, 1987), 106, 108.

<sup>10</sup> Kevin Sharpe, 'Religion, rhetoric, and revolution in seventeenth-century England', *Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, vol. 75, no. 3 (Summer 1994), 256.

<sup>11</sup> Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists*, 245-7.

<sup>12</sup> Anthony Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: the Roman and Protestant churches in English Protestant thought 1600-1640* (Cambridge, 1995), 523, 545, 546.

<sup>13</sup> John Morrill, *The Nature of the English Revolution* (London, 1993), 36.

<sup>14</sup> John Coffey, 'England's Exodus: The Civil War as a War of Deliverance', in Charles W. A. Prior and Glenn Burgess (eds), *England's Wars of Religion Revisited* (Farnham, 2011), 278.

<sup>15</sup> Christopher Durston and Judith Maltby, 'Introduction', in Durston and Maltby (eds), *Religion in Revolutionary England*, 1-2, 15.

the moral reforms that were introduced alongside. Studies of loyalty to the old Book of Common Prayer after the introduction of the Directory for Public Worship in 1645 have been made by Maltby and Morrill.<sup>16</sup> Both these studies demonstrate a depth of loyalty to the former practices of the Anglican church, and draw on the records of a number of counties to do so. However, neither study attempts to plot the situation in all English counties, and Hampshire is one of those counties whose prayer-book loyalism has hitherto been unexplored.

Though the legal requirement to attend one's parish church was removed for a time, several Acts of Parliament during the period reinforced requirements that the Lord's Day remain set aside for public worship and private piety, and sports and games were forbidden on Sundays.<sup>17</sup> Christopher Durston observed that local authorities were often active in persecuting those offending against the legislation, but the willingness with which the population returned to a more lax Sunday regime after the Restoration suggested that the godly campaign for their hearts and minds had been a failure.<sup>18</sup> He also suggested that there were various forms of non-co-operation and resistance by local office holders and the general mass of the population.<sup>19</sup> Bernard Capp concluded from his research that it is only possible to 'guess at the overall scale and impact of the Sabbath campaigns', and that overall 'the Sabbath reformers fell short of their goals'.<sup>20</sup>

The sectarian groups have most famously been discussed in Christopher Hill's *The World Turned Upside Down*, a work cited in numerous studies since.<sup>21</sup> It was not the first such study, nor was it was a fully comprehensive history of the radical religious groups in the period.<sup>22</sup> In the same year as *The World Turned Upside Down* was first published, Bernard Capp published his study of seventeenth-century English millenarians, *The Fifth Monarchy Men*, and the year before Keith Thomas's *Religion and the Decline of Magic* had appeared.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Maltby, "'Good Old Way'"; John Morrill, 'The Church in England, 1642-49', in John Morrill (ed.), *Reactions to the English Civil War 1642-1649* (London, 1982), 89-114, 230-4.

<sup>17</sup> Christopher Durston, "'Preaching and sitting still on Sundays": the Lord's Day during the English Revolution', in Durston and Maltby (eds), *Religion in Revolutionary England*, 215.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 222.

<sup>19</sup> Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales (eds), *The Culture of English Puritanism 1560-1700* (London, 1996), 185, quoted in R. C. Richardson, *The Debate on the English Revolution*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn (Manchester, 1998), 154.

<sup>20</sup> Bernard Capp, *England's Culture Wars: Puritan Reformation and its enemies in the Interregnum, 1649-1660* (Oxford, 2012), 106, 108.

<sup>21</sup> Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down: radical ideas during the English Revolution* (Harmondsworth, 1975).

<sup>22</sup> A. L. Morton, *The World of the Ranters: religious radicalism in the English Revolution* (London, 1970) was an earlier study.

<sup>23</sup> B. S. Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men: a study in seventeenth-century English millenarianism* (London, 1972); Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*.

*The World Turned Upside Down* has been criticised for its attention on active dissent, at the expense of popular religious conservatism.<sup>24</sup> Like much of Hill's research it relied on printed sources; Morrill expressed his concerns that Hill's work was totally reliant on such sources, to the exclusion of potentially valuable manuscript sources such as court records.<sup>25</sup> Nevertheless, its influence has been profound, and can be seen over a decade later in another major study of the Civil Wars and Interregnum, *Radical Religion in the English Revolution*. J. F. McGregor and Barry Reay, as editors, assembled a collection of essays covering all the major radical religious movements of the period.<sup>26</sup> Barry Reay, in his introduction, commented that while other factors played a part, it was religion 'which in a real sense stimulated and fired revolution'.<sup>27</sup> As central control of the former Established Church collapsed, independent congregations sprung up. Fuelled by a proliferation of tracts and news-books, new ideas were promulgated and discussed. Not all who practised worship in an independent congregation became separatists; indeed, Reay agrees that the members of separatist sects were in a minority. But he argues for the importance of studying the movement, since its political, social and ideological impact far outweighed its numerical importance.<sup>28</sup>

As Reay noted, the radicals who were the subject of *The World Turned Upside Down* were only ever in a minority. Morrill wrote that historians 'have been so dazzled by the emergence of the radical sects' that they have failed to recognise that the greatest threat to puritan reform of the national church came from 'the passive strength of Anglican survivalism'.<sup>29</sup> He observed that in the period 1643-54 no more than five per cent of the population attended religious assemblies other than those associated with their parish church. The radicals were not unimportant, he maintained, but the balance needed to be redressed.<sup>30</sup> An over-emphasis by historians on the role of 'minor sects and crackpots' was also criticised by Sharpe, who upheld the study of elites as crucial to understanding the English Revolution.<sup>31</sup>

That the radical sects were relatively unimportant in the years immediately preceding the Civil Wars is not seriously doubted by historians. At the beginning of the

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<sup>24</sup> Richardson, *Debate on the English Revolution*, 200.

<sup>25</sup> Morrill, *Nature of the English Revolution*, 279-80.

<sup>26</sup> J. F. McGregor and Barry Reay (eds), *Radical Religion in the English Revolution* (Oxford, 1984).

<sup>27</sup> B. Reay, 'Radicalism and religion in the English Revolution: an introduction', in McGregor and Reay (eds), *Radical Religion*, 1.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 10, 13.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 149-50.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> Kevin Sharpe, *Politics and Ideas in Early Stuart England* (London, 1989), cited in Richardson, *Debate on the English Revolution*, 225.

1640s sectarians and separatists were in a tiny minority in any part of the kingdom.<sup>32</sup> Watts states that they were 'numerically too insignificant and politically too impotent to make any direct contribution to the events which led to the outbreak of war'.<sup>33</sup> Even in cosmopolitan London, as Ann Hughes observed of the city in the 1640s, '[r]eligious heterodoxy and sectarian allegiance were not majority or popular positions'.<sup>34</sup> In Hampshire, Coleby states that their influence during the 1640s was minor.<sup>35</sup> But their influence, and the fear of that influence, increased as that decade progressed, and increased in the following decade with the rise of the Quakers. In Hampshire, the authorities were clearly troubled by the activities of Quaker evangelists from 1655 onwards, as discussed in chapter three.<sup>36</sup>

The proposals contained in the Humble Petition and Advice of 1657, affirmed religious toleration for Trinitarian Protestants, but explicitly denied this toleration to those who made religion a pretext for blasphemy, licentiousness, or disturbing the public peace.<sup>37</sup> Woolrych noted that these exceptions were mainly aimed at Quakers and Ranters, and that the authors of the constitution had to 'steer a course between displeasing intolerant magistrates and offending Cromwell's notorious breadth of sympathy'.<sup>38</sup> Cromwell's religious policy, according to Worden, was not so much a search for toleration, as has been claimed, as a desire for union among the godly. Though Cromwell's 'godly' included many shades of opinion, it explicitly did not include religious extremists.<sup>39</sup>

This project seeks to ascertain how far the models of dissent in the English Revolution applied to Hampshire. Unlike, for example, Kent, the county had no long history of religious heterodoxy, and might be expected to be largely conformist to whatever was government policy at the time. Nevertheless, as research by Fritze has demonstrated, leading members of Hampshire's gentry in the Tudor period favoured Protestantism, and consolidated this position through marriage and other networks.<sup>40</sup> Susan Parkinson's research demonstrated that, while Elizabethan Winchester was conformist, there was a

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<sup>32</sup> Morrill, *Nature of the English Revolution*, 148.

<sup>33</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 77.

<sup>34</sup> Ann Hughes, 'Religious diversity in revolutionary London', in N. Tyacke (ed.), *The English Revolution, c. 1590-1720: politics, religion and communities* (Manchester, 2007), 111, 113.

<sup>35</sup> Coleby, *Central Government*, 56. This is explored further in chapter three.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 56-63.

<sup>37</sup> S. R. Gardiner (ed.), *The Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution 1625-1660* (Oxford, 1906), 447-59, esp. 454-5.

<sup>38</sup> Austin Woolrych, *Britain in Revolution 1625-1660* (Oxford, 2002), 652.

<sup>39</sup> Blair Worden, 'Toleration and the Cromwellian Protectorate', in W. J. Sheils (ed.), *Persecution and Toleration: papers read at the twenty-second summer meeting and twenty-third winter meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* (Studies in Church History 21), (Oxford, 1984), 210-15.

<sup>40</sup> Ron Fritze, '"A rare example of godlyness amongst gentlemen": the role of the Kingsmill and Gifford families in promoting the Reformation in Hampshire', in Peter Lake and Maria Dowling (eds), *Protestantism and the National Church in Sixteenth Century England* (London, 1987), 144-161.



strong tendency towards Protestantism in Southampton.<sup>41</sup> Evidence of puritan leanings can be found in presentments and consistory court records of the early Stuart period.<sup>42</sup> But this did not spill over into radical religion, since as noted above, at the beginning of the 1640s, the sects were insignificant, in Hampshire and elsewhere.

Nor does Roman Catholicism appear to have offered an alternative. By the 1640s there was a 'comparatively large and apparently growing Roman Catholic community' in the county.<sup>43</sup> But Catholics met privately, and their priests did not actively evangelise. Protestants of all religious groups, however, met more openly. Radical Protestant groups – Baptists and Quakers – also spread their beliefs through itinerant preachers. It may have been their visibility that attracted converts.

If, during the 1640s and 1650s, the people of Hampshire were still largely (but by no means exclusively) attending their parish church, central control of what went on in those churches was weak. There is no known evidence that a Presbyterian system of church governance was ever fully operational in the county.<sup>44</sup> It is possible that this weakened control lasted in some counties even up to the Restoration. Peter Jackson's study of nonconformity in Devon noted that the 1640s and 1650s were characterised by an 'almost total lack of co-ordination and effective organisation' in the religious affairs of the county.<sup>45</sup> Coleby's research would appear to confirm this for Hampshire; he writes that 'Anglicanism proved impossible to enforce'.<sup>46</sup> This project therefore examines the primary sources in more detail to ascertain two key issues in Hampshire in the period 1640-60; the dissatisfaction with the national church (as expressed by the extent of loyalty to the old prayer book rituals, and the evidence of failure to observe the new moral reforms) and the rise of the radical religious sects in the county.

### **Literature review: 1660-1689**

Religion in the post-Restoration period has not occasioned the interest and debate as that of the English Revolution. Ronald Hutton wrote in 1985 that 'only a few monographs have been devoted to the period immediately succeeding' the Civil Wars and

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<sup>41</sup> Parkinson, 'Religion of the people', 164.

<sup>42</sup> HRO 21M65/B1/28 Summary of 'detecta' or presentments, 1618, fols 1v, 2r, 7v; HRO 21M65/C1/35 Diocese of Winchester: Consistory Court: office act book, 1623-1625, fol. 11r.

<sup>43</sup> Coleby, *Central Government*, 6.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 56-7; Morrill, *Nature of the English Revolution*, 156-7.

<sup>45</sup> Jackson, 'Nonconformists and society in Devon', 13.

<sup>46</sup> Coleby, *Central Government*, 59.

Commonwealth.<sup>47</sup> Some twenty years later the comment could still be made that 'late seventeenth-century England has never attracted the attention of historians or theologians to the same extent as the more popular and arguably more dynamic earlier decades'.<sup>48</sup> It is likely that there will always be more studies of the 'more dynamic earlier decades' but there are notable post-Restoration studies. One of the most important of these is Ronald Hutton's own study, *The Restoration*, on both the political and religious history of the early years of Charles II's reign and the period immediately preceding it.<sup>49</sup> The period has been examined since, notably in a volume of essays *The Politics of Religion in Restoration England* and in a more recent monograph by Martin Sutherland on later Stuart dissent.<sup>50</sup> Additionally, a number of recent Ph.D. theses have considered Restoration dissent in the counties.<sup>51</sup>

Catherine Nunn comments that 'people who had enjoyed a degree of religious self-determination during the Interregnum were expecting to continue in the same style, despite the pressure to conform'.<sup>52</sup> But, as Ronald Hutton has demonstrated from his study of churchwardens' accounts, 'the Church of England possessed a capacity for local choice and innovation in religious practices, over and above the common liturgy'.<sup>53</sup> If Hutton is right, it may be that many people felt they had an adequate degree of religious self-determination in the Anglican church, and saw no reason to dissent after the Restoration. John Spurr agrees that '[c]hoice was a reality for at least some of the English'.<sup>54</sup>

Nevertheless, there were clearly those for whom Nunn's comment was true. Although the most radical sects remained a minority, the by-now well-established Baptists and Quakers continued to endure, despite persecution. They were now joined by Presbyterians and Independents, who attended in their hundreds conventicles led by ministers ejected from their parish livings in 1662 for refusing to use the prayer book.<sup>55</sup> As

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<sup>47</sup> Ronald Hutton, *The Restoration: a political and religious history of England and Wales 1658-1667* (Oxford, 1985), 1.

<sup>48</sup> J. Gwynfor Jones, review of Martin Sutherland, *Peace, Toleration and Decay: the ecclesiology of later Stuart dissent* (2003), *The Journal of the United Reformed Church History Society*, vol. 7, no. 9 (November 2006), 565-6.

<sup>49</sup> Hutton, *Restoration*.

<sup>50</sup> Mark Goldie, Tim Harris and Paul Seward (eds), *The Politics of Religion in Restoration England* (Oxford, 1990); Martin Sutherland, *Peace, Toleration and Decay: the ecclesiology of later Stuart dissent* (Carlisle, 2003).

<sup>51</sup> For example, Clark, 'Anglicanism, recusancy and dissent in Derbyshire'; Geldart, 'Protestant nonconformity and sectarianism in Restoration Northamptonshire'; Jackson, 'Nonconformists and society in Devon'; Lancaster, 'Nonconformity and Anglican dissent in Restoration Wiltshire'.

<sup>52</sup> Catherine Nunn, 'Church or chapel? Restoration Presbyterianism in Manchester, 1660-1689', in C. Horner (ed.), *Early Modern Manchester* (Manchester Region History Review 19), (Manchester, 2008), 49.

<sup>53</sup> Ronald Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: the ritual year 1400-1700* (Oxford, 1994), 248.

<sup>54</sup> John Spurr, *English Puritanism 1603-1689* (Basingstoke, 1998), 132.

<sup>55</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 244-5.

John Spurr notes, even after the Restoration, there was, in practice, a degree of freedom of choice in matters of religion. Yet, set against the reality of free choice for some, was another reality of discrimination and persecution experienced by those who chose to exercise that choice.<sup>56</sup> If dissent remained the choice of a minority, it was still a widespread problem for the Established Church.<sup>57</sup>

The dissenters' experience of persecution in the Restoration period coloured the historiography of dissent for three hundred years. This martyrological approach, according to Mark Goldie, remained popular until the mid-twentieth century, but 'modern ecumenism, together with secular indifference, now finds narratives of intramural intolerance among English Protestants less interesting, even embarrassing'. But the evidence of contemporaries, such as Roger Morrice in his *Entring Book*, is witness to the sometimes vicious nature of Restoration religious life.<sup>58</sup>

How far that discrimination and persecution affected dissenters is a matter of debate. It was the presence of persecution, not its absence, that left records behind. As Watts has shown, and other studies have confirmed, persecution was not uniformly spread throughout the Restoration period, but went in waves, affected by national policy and legislation, and by nationally significant events.<sup>59</sup> It is a major research question of chapter four to ascertain how far this was the case in Hampshire.

The attention paid by the authorities to dissent resulted, in the Restoration period, in primary sources trawled by later historians in order to examine both the geographical distribution and the social status of dissenters. This is not an area on which there is universal consensus. For example, Spaeth's study of Wiltshire dissent led him to conclude that dissent was strongest in urban areas, particularly parishes with a strong connection to the textile trade, and in larger pastoral parishes where manorial control was weak.<sup>60</sup> But Margaret Spufford comments that explaining the distribution of religious phenomena in terms of its geographical background can lead to an over-simplified approach. Other factors could affect dissent in a parish, including whether there was one manor or many, whether any lord of the manor was resident or non-resident, and the influence of the parish clergy.<sup>61</sup> These issues are discussed with reference to Hampshire in chapter five. With regard to the social

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<sup>56</sup> Spurr, *English Puritanism*, 132.

<sup>57</sup> Spaeth, *Church in an Age of Danger*, 157.

<sup>58</sup> Mark Goldie, 'Politics and religion in the era of the *Entring Book*', in Roger Morrice, *The Entring Book of Roger Morrice*, vol. 1, ed. M. Goldie (Woodbridge, 2007), 19-20.

<sup>59</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 221-262.

<sup>60</sup> Spaeth, *Church in an Age of Danger*, 157.

<sup>61</sup> Margaret Spufford, *Contrasting Communities: English villagers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries* (Cambridge, 1974), 298-300.

status of dissenters, as discussed further in chapter six, some modern historians have concluded from their research that dissenters were drawn from the 'middling sort' of people; neither nobility nor labourers, but those in between.<sup>62</sup> However, while there is agreement that few dissenters could be found in the ranks of those bearing a title, others have found evidence that 'post-Restoration dissenters were drawn from a very wide cross-section of society at large'.<sup>63</sup> These included, as Stevenson found, not only yeoman farmers, traders and professionals, but also poor widows, farm servants and labourers.<sup>64</sup> Chapter six examines how far dissent spread across the social structure in Hampshire, by comparing those named in the hearth tax returns with those presented by the churchwardens as sectarians to ascertain how far dissenters came from the lower orders of society, as hostile contemporaries sometimes claimed.

### **Literature review: 1689-1740**

The next major event in seventeenth-century religious history, the Act of Toleration of 1689, is widely acknowledged as being a watershed in the historical record.<sup>65</sup> In the words of Robert Ingram, 'the levee had been breached'.<sup>66</sup> Many scholars have taken it for granted that the Revolution of 1688, the accession of the Protestants William and Mary and the 1689 Act, marked 'the end of the heroic age of Dissent', and the beginning of a new era for nonconformists.<sup>67</sup> But it is a matter of debate how far contemporaries were aware of this at the time, and there is evidence that dissenters were not certain that the provisions of the Act could be regarded as permanent.<sup>68</sup> For Presbyterians and Congregationalists, the failure of a comprehension bill designed to include them within the Church of England meant that '[t]he Ejection became more firmly established than at Black Bartholomew Day in far-off 1662'.<sup>69</sup>

But, despite the new freedom from persecution for most Protestant dissenters, this new era did not see an invigorated sectarian movement emerge. Rather, there is evidence that their numbers appear to have declined in the early years of the eighteenth century,

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<sup>62</sup> Jeremy Goring, *Burn Holy Fire: religion in Lewes since the Reformation* (Cambridge, 2003), 60-2.

<sup>63</sup> Bill Stevenson, 'The social and economic status of post-Restoration dissenters, 1660-1725', in Margaret Spufford (ed.), *The World of Rural Dissenters, 1520-1725* (Cambridge, 1995), 357.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>65</sup> Spurr, *English Puritanism*, 149.

<sup>66</sup> R. G. Ingram, *Religion, Reform and Modernity in the Eighteenth Century: Thomas Secker and the Church of England* (Studies in Modern British History 17), (Woodbridge, 2007), 22.

<sup>67</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 261; William C. Braithwaite, *The Second Period of Quakerism*, rev. edn (York, 1979), 160.

<sup>68</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 263.

<sup>69</sup> Roger Thomas, 'Comprehension and Indulgence', in Geoffrey F. Nuttall and Owen Chadwick (eds), *From Uniformity to Unity 1662-1962* (London, 1962), 253.

which may have been due to dissent created by theological controversies, and the activities of an aggressive Anglican church.<sup>70</sup> But it could be, as Alexandra Walsham has suggested, that dissent had settled into 'social decorum and middle-class respectability' and had 'lost its power to disturb and terrify'.<sup>71</sup> The Act of Toleration, according to Deryck Lovegrove, 'heralded the beginning of a slow decline into obscurity and theological introspection'. It was this increasing tendency to look inwards, 'rather than continuing legal restrictions, heterodoxy or even the strength of the Established Church' to which Lovegrove attributes the decline of dissent in the first half of the eighteenth century.<sup>72</sup> Donald Spaeth has cautioned that dissent was, in any case, 'created by the political and religious establishment', and that both before and after its official recognition in 1689, the numbers of people who deliberately set out to separate themselves from the Established Church remained in a minority.<sup>73</sup> This needs to be kept in mind when studying religious dissent; it was not, in the period of this study, a majority movement.

In his historiographical review of British religious history in the eighteenth century, Brian Young stated that contemporary historians of religion have in the past been confined, 'to the margins of historical practice', and he was referring to the very recent past.<sup>74</sup> Indeed, as William Gibson and Robert Ingram have commented, 'scholars of religion in eighteenth-century Britain have often felt compelled to prove their subject's very worth'.<sup>75</sup>

Nevertheless, there has been a major scholarly attempt to re-establish religion as of fundamental importance to any serious study of the period, Jonathan Clark's 1985 study, *English Society 1688-1832*. In this, Clark sought to re-integrate religion, particularly the Established Church, into the largely secular historical vision of the long eighteenth century.<sup>76</sup> In particular, he advanced the idea of the 'confessional state', a concept summarised by Joanna Innes as follows:

Varieties of religious belief dominated the minds of men and shaped their political projects and allegiances. Not social change, but heterodoxy or 'heresy' was the chief destabilizing force at work, undermining the foundations of England's 'ancient

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<sup>70</sup> This is discussed in Watts, *Dissenters*, 263-393.

<sup>71</sup> Alexandra Walsham, *Charitable Hatred: tolerance and intolerance in England, 1500-1700* (Manchester, 2006), 317.

<sup>72</sup> Deryck W. Lovegrove, *Established Church, Sectarian People: itinerancy and the transformation of English dissent, 1780-1830* (Cambridge, 1988), 6.

<sup>73</sup> Spaeth, *Church in an Age of Danger*, 6.

<sup>74</sup> B. W. Young, 'Religious history and the eighteenth-century historian', *The Historical Journal*, 43, 3 (2000), 852.

<sup>75</sup> William Gibson and Robert G. Ingram, 'Introduction', in William Gibson and Robert G. Ingram (eds), *Religious Identities in Britain, 1660-1832* (Aldershot, 2005), 1.

<sup>76</sup> J.C.D. Clark, *English Society 1688-1832: ideology, social structure and political practice during the ancien regime* (Cambridge, 1985); J. C. D. Clark, *English Society 1660-1832: religion, ideology and politics during the ancien regime* (Cambridge, 2000).

regime' – until, with the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in 1828 and Catholic emancipation in 1829, two essential props of the old order were removed, and the whole edifice came crashing precipitately down.<sup>77</sup>

Though Anglican communicants retained, in law at least, a monopoly on positions of power and responsibility, it was not necessarily viewed that way by eighteenth-century Anglicans themselves; Innes instances the repeated cries from the period of 'the Church in danger'.<sup>78</sup>

Since the publication of Clark's analysis, there have been a number of works concerning the Established Church in the early eighteenth century.<sup>79</sup> Studies with a local focus include those by William Gibson on the Established Church in southern England.<sup>80</sup> However, the history of dissent in the eighteenth century has been dominated by Methodists and others who 'sniped at the established church from the periphery or sought significantly to reform it from within' and consequently there has been less material published on dissent in the early years of the century.<sup>81</sup> One bibliography of literature on radical sects and dissenting churches from 1600-1750 dealt fully with studies of the seventeenth century, but listed only one source dealing specifically with dissent in the early eighteenth century.<sup>82</sup> But more recent studies suggest that the state of dissent in the early eighteenth century is increasingly becoming a subject of scholarly interest. John Seed's *Dissenting Histories* considers eighteenth-century nonconformists' views of their history, including Edmund Calamy's *An Abridgment of Mr Baxter's History of his Life and Times* (1702) and Daniel Neal's *The History of the Puritans* (1732-8).<sup>83</sup> As Seed comments, to be a dissenter after 1689 was to remain part of 'an embattled minority', one that still defensive over the events of the Civil Wars and their aftermath, and still subject to the disadvantages

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<sup>77</sup> Joanna Innes, 'Jonathan Clark, social history and England's "ancien regime"', *Past and Present*, 115 (May 1987), 165-6.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 181.

<sup>79</sup> Stephen Taylor (ed.), *From Cranmer to Davidson: a Church of England miscellany* (Church of England Record Society 7), (Woodbridge, 1999); Walsh, Haydon and Taylor (eds), *Church of England, c.1689-c.1833*; Jeremy Gregory, *Restoration, Reformation and Reform, 1660-1828: archbishops of Canterbury and their diocese* (Oxford, 2000); Gibson, *Church of England 1688-1832*; William Gibson, *The Achievement of the Anglican Church, 1689-1800: the confessional state in England in the eighteenth century* (Queenston and Lampeter, 1995).

<sup>80</sup> William Gibson, *The Enlightenment Prelate: Benjamin Hoadly 1676-1761* (Cambridge, 2004); William Gibson, 'Image and reality: the Hanoverian Church in southern England', *Southern History*, vol. 20 and 21 (1998-9), 143-67.

<sup>81</sup> Gibson and Ingram, 'Introduction', 2.

<sup>82</sup> Gilley and Sheridan (eds), *History of Religion in Britain*, 545. The work cited is Duncan Coomer, *English Dissent under the Early Hanoverians* (London, 1946).

<sup>83</sup> John Seed, *Dissenting Histories: religious division and the politics of memory in eighteenth-century England* (Edinburgh, 2008), 13-72.

imposed by the Restoration Test and Corporation Acts.<sup>84</sup> Yet, as the publication of the works by Calamy and Neal implies, the literary culture of nonconformity responded to these challenges. Nor was this response confined to examinations of recent history. Dewey D. Wallace has studied the religious writings of some leading English Calvinists, and concluded that their published reflections, 'shaped and reshaped Calvinism, showing in the process its variety, persistence, and transformation'.<sup>85</sup> Furthermore, a recent collection of essays indicates that religious heterodoxy was a subject for debate and discussion in the period, even among members of the Established Church.<sup>86</sup>

These recent studies suggest that issues of identity, memory and theology were actively examined by nonconformist writers in the early part of the eighteenth century, and may indicate a rather more vibrant dissenting culture than that implied by claims of its numerical decline. Nevertheless, more work remains to be done on dissent in the early eighteenth century, work towards which this current project contributes.

#### **Literature review: Denominational histories**

Changes in the latter half of the twentieth century on the way religious history was written impacted on the writing of denominational histories. In 1998 John Spurr wrote that inward-looking denominational histories, written from sources created by the denominations themselves, had declined, while local studies, based on sources that included material generated by the Established Church and civil authorities, had increased.<sup>87</sup>

However, some of the older denominational histories remained for many years as standard works. Roger Hayden states that 'Baptists who have written about their heritage prior to the twentieth century have usually been motivated by a measure of distinctly polemical concerns'.<sup>88</sup> Nevertheless, in the absence of any alternative, Joseph Ivimey's four-volume history of English Baptists published between 1811 and 1830 remained for many years the standard scholarly source.<sup>89</sup> Ivimey's work remains, like Braithwaite's histories of early Quakers, a study unmatched in depth by any later studies. However, modern

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<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>85</sup> Dewey D. Wallace, *Shapers of English Calvinism, 1660-1714: variety, persistence and transformation* (New York and Oxford, 2011), 4.

<sup>86</sup> Robert D. Cornwall and William Gibson (eds), *Religion, Politics and Dissent, 1660-1832: essays in honour of James E. Bradley* (Farnham, 2010).

<sup>87</sup> Spurr, *English Puritanism*, 3-4.

<sup>88</sup> Roger Hayden, *English Baptist History and Heritage*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (Didcot, 2005), ix.

<sup>89</sup> Joseph Ivimey, *A History of the English Baptists*, vols 1-4 (London, 1811-30).

developments in Baptist historical scholarship have seen the publication of new volumes on English Baptist history.<sup>90</sup>

On seventeenth-century Quaker history, including relations with other sects, the two-volume study by Braithwaite is still authoritative, despite the original volumes being published in 1912 and 1919. (The volumes were revised, though not extensively, in 1955 and 1961.) Perhaps reflecting its age, Braithwaite's study covers early Quaker history with a depth un-matched in any subsequent study of the period, making extensive use of primary sources. But those sources are primarily printed material, or manuscript material generated by the central administration or by prominent figures in the movement, and consequently the work focuses on nationally-significant events, rather than on variations in local situations. Though Braithwaite's volumes are still used by historians specialising in Quaker history, they may not be as widely known by other historians.<sup>91</sup>

The Quaker scholar Rosemary Moore has considered the need to revise Braithwaite's work for a new generation, and concluded that for the period covered by the first volume, it was unnecessary, since so much work has been published subsequently.<sup>92</sup> Among these works mention may be made of Barry Reay's study, *The Quakers and the English Revolution*, which appears more far more widely known than Braithwaite's work, perhaps because as a historian Reay has not confined himself to Quaker studies. It is a detailed analysis of the sect in its formative period, particularly its relationships with those outside the sect, not only the authorities, but also the general populace.<sup>93</sup> However, Moore notes that the Restoration period covered by Braithwaite's second volume has not been the subject of a modern study, nor indeed has the eighteenth century.<sup>94</sup>

Baptists and Quakers have the advantage, for the historian, of being defined sects from their earliest beginnings. The position with Presbyterians and Independents (or Congregationalists) is less clear, since prior to the 'Great Ejection' of 1662, many worshipped in their parish church (and some later adopted a policy of 'partial conformity' and continued to do so insofar as they were obliged to by law). Nevertheless, Congregationalism has its

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<sup>90</sup> Hayden, *English Baptist History*, ix-x; B. R. White, *The English Baptists of the Seventeenth Century*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (Didcot, 1996); Raymond Brown, *The English Baptists of the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1986).

<sup>91</sup> William C. Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism*, rev. edn (York, 1981); Braithwaite, *Second Period of Quakerism*. For evidence of Braithwaite's limited impact outside of Quaker historians, see the 'Selected Further Reading' section of Gilley & Sheils (eds), *History of Religion in Britain*, 545, which mentions only Hugh Barbour, *The Quakers in Puritan England* (New Haven CT, 1964) and Richard T. Vann, *The Social Development of English Quakerism 1655-1755* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969).

<sup>92</sup> Rosemary Moore, 'Towards a revision of *The Second Period of Quakerism*', *Quaker Studies*, vol. 17, issue 1 (September 2012), 8.

<sup>93</sup> Barry Reay, *The Quakers and the English Revolution* (London, 1985).

<sup>94</sup> Moore, 'Towards a revision', 8.



equivalent to Braithwaite and Ivimey in Dale's work on the movement, which remains a 'readable and authoritative history', despite its age.<sup>95</sup> The history was the work of the Congregationalist R. W. Dale (1829-1895) and was revised by his son Arthur Dale prior to its eventual publication in 1907. Not until the tercentenary of the 'Great Ejection' in 1662 was any comparable history published, R Tudur Jones's 'reliable and comprehensive history' *Congregationalism in England, 1662-1692*.<sup>96</sup> Nuttall reviewed Jones's work in the *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, writing that it was full of information and documentation that would make it of permanent use as a work of reference, but noting several errors and infelicities, and observing that the tercentenary appeared to cast its shadow over the work.<sup>97</sup> But the anniversary was too momentous for Congregationalists to confine themselves to one volume, and Nuttall co-edited, with Owen Chadwick, a series of essays, *From Uniformity to Unity 1662-1962*.<sup>98</sup>

### **Literature review: local histories**

There have been numerous local studies of dissent at both an academic and a popular level. As noted above, Spurr comments that there has been an increase in local denominational studies, which focus on how sects interacted with their neighbours and with the authorities, rather than narrow histories drawn solely from the records of the sects themselves, which tend to portray denominations as unchanging and particular groups.<sup>99</sup> Spurr's comment may be true for academic studies, but popular studies of a specific church may still rely on a restricted range of sources.

Even academic studies tend to focus on specific sects in specific counties or individual towns.<sup>100</sup> There are fewer studies on Protestant dissent with a wider focus than a single sect, and they too tend to focus on counties or individual towns.<sup>101</sup> Local politics and

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<sup>95</sup> Alan Argent, 'Writing the history of Congregationalism 1900-2000', in *Congregational History Society Magazine*, vol. 5, no. 4 (Spring 2008), 224-249; R. W Dale and A. W. W. Dale, *History of English Congregationalism*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (London, 1907).

<sup>96</sup> Argent, 'Writing the history of Congregationalism', 224-249; R. Tudur Jones, *Congregationalism in England, 1662-1662* (London, 1962).

<sup>97</sup> Geoffrey F. Nuttall, review of R. Tudur Jones, *Congregationalism in England 1662-1962* (1962) in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* (1963), vol. 14, 109-11, quoted in Argent, 'Writing the history of Congregationalism', 224-249.

<sup>98</sup> Nuttall and Chadwick (eds), *From Uniformity to Unity*.

<sup>99</sup> Spurr, *English Puritanism*, 4.

<sup>100</sup> For example, Davies, *Quakers in English Society*; Simon Neil Dixon, 'Quaker communities in London, 1667 – c.1714', unpublished Ph.D. thesis (University of London, 2005); Murray Tolmie, *The Triumph of the Saints: the separate churches of London, 1616-1649* (Cambridge, 1977).

<sup>101</sup> For example, Clark, 'Anglicanism, recusancy and dissent in Derbyshire'; Goring, *Burn Holy Fire*.

religion at a national level are discussed by John Miller, although this is a study of provincial towns across England, rather than a regional study.<sup>102</sup>

With regard to Hampshire in particular, only a limited amount of scholarly research has been undertaken, and this is the major justification for this present study.

Nonconformity in Hampshire has been partly covered in a small number of theses, but with nowhere near the coverage achieved by, for example, the neighbouring county of Wiltshire.<sup>103</sup> This situation is not only reflected in theses, but in published monographs and articles. Karen Winterson commented that, '[w]ith regard to the seventeenth century, Hampshire is in many ways a county neglected by academic research', a comment made with regard to urban history, but also applicable to Protestant dissent.<sup>104</sup> It is not entirely clear why this should be so. The impression given is that Hampshire had an unexceptional history of dissent, but this issue will be addressed in the course of this thesis.

There are exceptions to the general dearth of published literature on dissenters in Hampshire, in particular that for the early period of this study, Coleby's work on local government in the county considers religion in the period, including Protestant dissent.<sup>105</sup> The Baptist church at Broughton has been studied, but academic studies are largely confined to the literary activities of the Steele family and their circle in the eighteenth century.<sup>106</sup> Karen Smith has studied the covenant life of the Broughton congregation, but had to rely heavily on the Steele family papers.<sup>107</sup> There are also a number of popular studies of various Hampshire dissenting congregations, and of some notable individuals.<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> John Miller, *Cities Divided: politics and religion in English provincial towns, 1660-1722* (Oxford, 2007).

<sup>103</sup> For example: Richard D. Land, 'Doctrinal controversies of English Particular Baptists (1644-1691) as illustrated by the career and writings of Thomas Collier', unpublished D.Phil. thesis (University of Oxford, 1979); Karen Elizabeth Smith, 'The community and the believer: a study of Calvinistic Baptist spirituality in some towns and villages of Hampshire and the borders of Wiltshire, c. 1730-1830', unpublished D.Phil. thesis (University of Oxford, 1986); Kay Shelly Taylor, 'Society, schism and sufferings: the first 70 years of Quakerism in Wiltshire', unpublished Ph.D. thesis (University of the West of England, 2006); Spaeth, *Church in an Age of Danger*.

<sup>104</sup> Karen Winterson, 'Aspects of urban development in the Hampshire towns of Alton, Andover, Basingstoke and Lymington c. 1625-c. 1700', unpublished Ph.D. thesis (University of Southampton, 2000), 9.

<sup>105</sup> Coleby, *Central Government*.

<sup>106</sup> Marjorie Reeves, 'Literary women in eighteenth-century nonconformist circles', in Jane Shaw and Alan Kreider (eds), *Culture and the Nonconformist Tradition* (Cardiff, 1999), 7-25.

<sup>107</sup> Karen Smith, 'The covenant life of some eighteenth-century Calvinistic Baptists in Hampshire and Wiltshire', in William H. Brackney and Paul S. Fiddes (eds), *Pilgrim Pathways: essays in Baptist history in honour of B. R. White* (Macon GA, 1999), 165-83.

<sup>108</sup> For example, Madeleine Brand, *There Am I In The Midst: a story of faith, loyalty and commitment* (s. l., 1990); Edward Compton, *A History of the Baptist Church, Broughton, Hampshire* (Leicester, [1878]); F. Carpenter, *Winchester Congregational Church Tercentenary 1662-1962* (Winchester, 1962); Ken Smallbone, *James Potter, Quaker: a history of dissent in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries* (York, 1992); Kathleen L. Cottrell, *Anthony Purver, Quaker* (s. l., 1988).

For some counties, the *Victoria County History (VCH)* can be a useful introductory source, but the original *VCH* for Hampshire was published between 1900 and 1912 and reflects its times; its religious history tends to concentrate on the buildings and on the Anglican church.<sup>109</sup> It has been overtaken by more modern studies, although Michael Hicks acknowledges the debt owed to the work by Hampshire studies.<sup>110</sup> A new Hampshire *VCH* project is underway, which aims to reflect current emphases in viewing the past.

### **Literature review: conclusion**

The religious issues of the period 1640 to 1660 have been extensively covered in the literature, and occasioned considerable debate, but following the Restoration, religious issues taken as a whole are not discussed to quite the same extent in the scholarly literature, until the evangelical revival and the rise of Methodism from the 1740s onwards. Religious issues after 1660 tend to be addressed at a denominational level or included as part of a discussion on the period, rather than discussed in their own right. It has been part of the reason for this study to research the history of Protestant dissent as a movement; as the sum of its parts, rather than as one part alone; and to study a period which, at least from 1660 to 1740, has been less analysed than the preceding twenty years of turmoil.

Although religion in the period from 1640 to 1660 has been more comprehensively addressed than the later period, it has not been the subject of great study in Hampshire. There have been studies made of, or including a discussion of, religion in the county during the period of the English Revolution, but their focus has not been on the whole compass of Protestant dissent – not only on the sects, but also those who remained within the national church, however unhappily. It has been an aim of this study to consider both the sects and the level of dissatisfaction within the church with, subject to the constraints of the surviving material, a depth that has not previously been attempted.

Other counties than Hampshire have been rather better studied. Where studies of Protestant dissent have been made after 1660 that do not focus on a specific denomination, they have tended to be at a county level. This appears to be a growing body of research, to which this present project will add, since there has been little scholarly research done on Hampshire in the period covered by this project compared to other counties, particularly with regard to religion. As such, it is hoped that this present study will add to the growing

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<sup>109</sup> H. Arthur Doubleday and William Page (eds), *The Victoria County History of the Counties of England: Hampshire and the Isle of Wight*, vols 1-5 (London, 1900-12).

<sup>110</sup> Michael Hicks, 'Hampshire and the Isle of Wight', in C. R. J. Currie and C. P. Lewis (eds), *English County Histories: a guide* (Stroud, 1994), 165-75.

body of knowledge already accumulating on local dissent, and thus to a greater knowledge of the history of dissenters in the provinces, away from the deliberations at the centre. It is a part of this study to consider how far issues which later historians view as important were, in fact, a concern for provincial dissenters in Hampshire, and how far the experience of Hampshire dissenters parallels, or does not, the condition of dissenters elsewhere in the country. As part of this aim, the distribution of Hampshire dissenters and their social status has been analysed. The final research chapter of this thesis is a study of the state of dissent in the county between 1689 and 1740, and a consideration of the major theological controversies of that period. This has not previously been attempted for Hampshire, and will form a new contribution to a major aspect of the history of religion in the county.

### Primary sources

Any study of Protestant dissent in the period of this study owes a debt to some major printed collections of primary source material. G. Lyon Turner's monumental *Original Records of Early Nonconformity Under Persecution and Indulgence* presents several primary sources, including the episcopal returns made in 1669, and other papers, including records of licences granted to dissenting congregations under the Declaration of Indulgence in 1672-3.<sup>111</sup> Anne Whiteman's analysis of the returns to the 'Compton Census' of 1676 was another monumental work, providing data from the census returns at a parish level of conformists, Protestant nonconformists and Roman Catholics with an exhaustive commentary.<sup>112</sup> Alexander Gordon, in *Freedom After Ejection*, transcribed the results of a review of Presbyterian and Congregational ministers and their means of maintenance undertaken in 1690-2.<sup>113</sup>

Also, while not strictly speaking 'primary' sources, A. G. Matthews's *Walker Revised* and *Calamy Revised* aimed to provide a complete (as far as could be known) list of clergy ejected during the English Revolution and after the Restoration, that drew extensively upon, and acknowledged, primary source material.<sup>114</sup>

Individually and collectively, these sources enable an estimate to be made of numbers of dissenters in Hampshire, and how prevalent dissent was in specific areas of the county. In particular, although Whiteman's masterly analysis of the 1676 returns has been

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<sup>111</sup> Turner (ed.), *Original Records*.

<sup>112</sup> Whiteman (ed.), *Compton Census*.

<sup>113</sup> Alexander Gordon (ed.), *Freedom After Ejection* (Manchester and London, 1917).

<sup>114</sup> A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised: being a revision of Edmund Calamy's 'Account' of the ministers and others ejected and silenced, 1660-2* (Oxford, 1934); A. G. Matthews, *Walker Revised: being a revision of John Walker's 'Sufferings of the Clergy during the Grand Rebellion' 1642-1660* (Oxford, 1948).

extensively used by historians since its publication, it has not been used to any extent, if at all, with reference to Hampshire dissent.<sup>115</sup> However, the primary source data in the works edited by Whiteman, Lyon Turner, Gordon and Matthews are not necessarily wholly comprehensive, and have to be used with caution. Whiteman acknowledged the human error factor in the Compton Census returns, including confusion on the part of respondents about the questions, and the possible tendency of Anglican incumbents to underestimate the numbers of nonconformists and recusants in their parish.<sup>116</sup> *Walker Revised* and *Calamy Revised* focus on the conflicts of ordained ministers, not on the unlicensed preachers of radical sects. Lyon Turner's three volumes include the conventicle returns of 1669 and the licence applications made in 1672-3, but the original conventicle returns may not be complete, and not all dissenting ministers or congregations applied for licences in 1672-3. During the course of this project, Lyon Turner's transcription of the 1669 conventicle returns was compared with the originals, and found to be meticulous.<sup>117</sup> The data transcribed by Gordon in *Freedom After Ejection* provides valuable information regarding the condition of ministers, and the whereabouts of Presbyterian and Congregational meetings, but not of the numbers attending those meetings, nor any indication of the state of Baptist and Quaker meetings (though these limitations are, to an extent, made up for with the Evans List of 1715-18). But, with these caveats, the data can still provide an indication of how widespread dissent was in Hampshire, when used in conjunction with other sources such as court records and churchwardens' presentments.

A major manuscript primary source for the state of dissent in early eighteenth century England is the Evans List manuscript of 1715-18 in Dr Williams's Library.<sup>118</sup> Though it is widely known, it does not appear to have been transcribed and printed in full. As discussed in chapters five and six, it does not list all dissenting congregations, and its estimates of the size of individual congregations, and their social status, may be exaggerated, but it represents the best single source of its time for the state of nonconformity.

Since this project will make extensive use of certain classes of manuscript documents in the Hampshire Record Office and other repositories, it is appropriate to make some observations regarding those sources most frequently used. Hampshire is fortunate in having a wealth of contemporary sources necessary for a study of this nature. Some

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<sup>115</sup> For example, Spaeth, *Church in an Age of Danger*, 157, 164, 174; Lancaster, 'Nonconformity and Anglican dissent in Restoration Wiltshire', 226-7.

<sup>116</sup> Whiteman (ed.), *Compton Census*, xxx-xliv, especially xli-xliv.

<sup>117</sup> LPL MS 639.

<sup>118</sup> DWL MS 38.4.

relevant primary source material for the period has been published, and in this respect, Hampshire is rather better served than the dearth of secondary academic studies would suggest.

For the pre-1689 period much of this material was produced by those who viewed dissent as deviant. As Spufford observed in her study of village communities, there is a lack of articulate sentiments expressed by the ordinary parishioner, whether conformist or dissenter.<sup>119</sup> Nevertheless, those records created by the ecclesiastical and civil authorities do represent the best sources for the study of nonconformity in Hampshire.

The more serious cases of deviance were tried by the assize courts. Hampshire was on the western assize circuit, the records for which are at the National Archives. The survival rate of assize records for the period of this project, and in particular for the period of persecution before 1689, is variable, and there are gaps, notably in the minute books. However, the order books survive from the period 1629 to 1819. Gaol books exist from 1670 onwards.<sup>120</sup> These sources, however, are an indication of only part of the court's business, and are not a record of all cases appearing before the court. Nevertheless, they can provide information where other sources have been lost.

The records of the secular courts held at the Hampshire Record Office for this period chiefly comprise the quarter sessions records.<sup>121</sup> The sessions rolls, comprising documents produced by each session of the court, survive from 1678, with odd survivals for 1600 and 1658. A book of indictments survives from 1646-60. Order books, relating to the business of the court, survive from 1607, and, as with the assize records, can supply information missing when the more formal court documents have been lost.<sup>122</sup> They have been found to be particularly valuable in confirming the supposition that persecution of dissenters increased at the time of the 'Exclusion Crisis' when successive attempts were made to exclude the Catholic Duke of York from the succession, as well as after the Rye House Plot of 1683.<sup>123</sup>

A number of Hampshire towns had the authority to hold their own borough sessions. The records are not necessarily complete, but do provide some additional evidence for the persecution of dissent in the boroughs.<sup>124</sup> Those for Portsmouth appear to

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<sup>119</sup> Spufford, *Contrasting Communities*, 320.

<sup>120</sup> TNA PRO ASSI 23 Assizes: Western Circuit: Gaol books, 1670-1824; TNA PRO ASSI 24 Assizes: Western Circuit: Miscellaneous books, 1610-1932.

<sup>121</sup> Philippa White, *Quarter Sessions Records in the Hampshire Record Office* ([Winchester], 1991), covers the quarter sessions records in more detail.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, 9-12.

<sup>123</sup> See HRO Q1/6 Hampshire Quarter Sessions: Order book, 1679-1691.

<sup>124</sup> For example, HRO 148M71/2/6/1/5-8 Basingstoke Borough: Examinations and informations, 1653-1663: Examinations 1655, which include the examinations of two men for alleged dissenting activity.

have a good survival rate, and have been published for period 1653 to 1688.<sup>125</sup> The records of the mayor and justices of Southampton have also been published, but the source material is not complete. In particular the examinations for 1657 are missing, a year in which Quakers were arrested on several occasions for interrupting church services in the town.<sup>126</sup> What is noticeable about the surviving manuscript records of the county and borough sessions is that dissent was, with very few exceptions, only a small part of the court's business.

Ecclesiastical offences were dealt with by the consistory court, but records for the diocese of Winchester are not available from 1643 until after the Restoration. Offences that would normally have been handled by the consistory court in this period were dealt with by the quarter sessions. Of the remaining ecclesiastical sources, a major collection has been that of the churchwardens' presentments in the Hampshire Record Office.<sup>127</sup> Almost sixteen hundred churchwardens' presentments survive from the period 1664 to 1705; mostly from the regular visitation of the Archdeacon of Winchester. The churchwardens were required to report the names of anyone dissenting from the Established Church, including failure to attend church. Catholic recusants were usually distinguished from Protestant dissenters, although it was less usual for churchwardens to attempt to separate out the different Protestant sects, and it has to be considered that some of those presented for not attending church would have been absent for purely secular reasons.

The churchwardens' presentments are, however, not authoritative guides to dissent in a parish. Henry Lancaster observes of Wiltshire presentments that churchwardens could deliver returns stating that all was well, because they were dissenters themselves, or because they were unwilling to inform on family and neighbours. They might also be tenants of a dissenting landowner.<sup>128</sup> Certainly, some parishes do present some oddly erratic returns, which might be indicative of such 'oversight' on the part of churchwardens. One probable example is in the presentments for Southampton Holy Rood, where in 1668 seven parishioners were presented for not coming to church.<sup>129</sup> In 1669 two new churchwardens,

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<sup>125</sup> A. J. Willis and Margaret J. Hoad (eds), *Portsmouth Record Series Borough Sessions Papers 1653-1688* (London, 1971).

<sup>126</sup> Sheila D. Thomson (ed.), *The Book of Examinations and Depositions Before the Mayor and Justices of Southampton 1648-1663* (Southampton Records Series XXXVII), (Southampton, 1994). For Quakers arrested in 1657 see HRO 24M54/14 Hampshire Quarterly Meeting: Book of Sufferings, 1655-1792, fols 2r-6v.

<sup>127</sup> HRO 202M85/3/1-1593 Churchwardens' presentments, 1664-1705.

<sup>128</sup> Lancaster, 'Nonconformity and Anglican dissent in Restoration Wiltshire', 15-16.

<sup>129</sup> HRO 202M85/3/1064 Churchwardens' presentments: Southampton Holy Rood, 1668.

William Pinhorne and George St Barbe, present no-one at all.<sup>130</sup> Had the dissenting parishioners conformed? Or can we read something into the facts that a William Pinhorne was an active member of the pre-Restoration congregation of Independents in Southampton, and that a William Pinhorne and his wife had been presented as sectaries in 1664?<sup>131</sup> In 1673 the churchwardens at Ellingham submitted a nil return to questions about dissenters, despite the known presence of a large Presbyterian meeting.<sup>132</sup> Even where dissent is reported, it appears likely that only the most active dissenters were reported; few parishes present more than a few names at any one time. Not all churchwardens could write – a number sign the presentments with a mark – which could be another factor in the under reporting of dissent.<sup>133</sup>

After 1689 the presentments are of less use, since churchwardens invariably present that all is well in their parish, even to the question on dissent. Another sequence of presentments survives from 1725 to 1807, but for the period to 1740 these presentments are, for the same reason, of little use in this study.<sup>134</sup> However, the returns by the parish clergy to the bishop's visitation in 1725 do include information on dissenters in the parish, if from an Anglican perspective, and quite possibly under-reported.<sup>135</sup> The Hampshire Records Series has published these in a volume of visitation returns for the eighteenth century.<sup>136</sup>

The lack of information from the churchwardens' presentments from 1689 on dissent could be supplied from applications for meeting house certificates following the Act of Toleration. The Hampshire Record Office holds a collection of certificates from the bishop's court, but none pre-date 1702. These have been indexed and published in a summary form in a volume edited by A. J. Willis.<sup>137</sup> This represented an opportunity for this project in subjecting the pre-1740 Hampshire licences to closer scrutiny, including evidence from the secular courts that was not indexed by Willis.<sup>138</sup>

Research in the course of this project into the social status of dissenters has drawn on the Hampshire hearth tax returns for 1665 (1662 and 1670 for Southampton), which

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<sup>130</sup> HRO 202M85/3/1065 Churchwardens' presentments: Southampton Holy Rood, 1669.

<sup>131</sup> HRO 21M65/B1/37, fol. 5r; Ambrose Rigge, *The Banner of Gods Love* (London, 1657), 20.

<sup>132</sup> HRO 21M65/B1/41 Summary of churchwarden's presentments, [1673], fol. 11r; LPL MS 639, fol. 263v.

<sup>133</sup> Pre-Restoration male illiteracy averaged around 70%. Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion*, 1.

<sup>134</sup> HRO 21M65/B2/1-1071 Churchwardens' presentments, 1725-1819.

<sup>135</sup> HRO 21M65/B4/1/1 Diocese of Winchester: Clergy visitation returns: Replies to 'Queries', 1725.

<sup>136</sup> Ward (ed.), *Parson and Parish*.

<sup>137</sup> A. J. Willis, *A Hampshire Miscellany III: Dissenters' Meeting House Certificates in the Diocese of Winchester 1702-1844*, ([Hambledon], 1965).

<sup>138</sup> See tables 16a-b.



resulted in the tables whose results are analysed in chapter six.<sup>139</sup> Surviving wills and inventories have also been used to provide supplementary information on occupation and on wealth at death. However, not everyone made a will, and cautions need to be observed when using those that do survive. Spufford observed that the 'soul clause' of a will is often taken as an indicator of a person's religious viewpoint, but it may equally be an indication of the religious standpoint of the scribe, who may have been the local vicar, even if the testator was a dissenter.<sup>140</sup> Sometimes identification of a nonconformist is possible when a request is made for burial in a specific dissenting burial ground, or a bequest is made to a dissenting meeting.<sup>141</sup>

Although much of the primary source material concerning dissenters was created by those in authority over, and in opposition to, nonconformity, records by the dissenting groups themselves do survive, particularly after 1689.

Hampshire Quakers have left substantial records for much of the period of this study. These include most notably the Hampshire 'Book of Sufferings', recording judicial persecution experienced by the sect from its earliest days.<sup>142</sup> Though compilation of the volume began in the early 1670s, with the earlier persecutions entered retrospectively, it remains a valuable source for the sect's history in Hampshire, especially for the 1660s, for which there is limited primary source material created by local Friends. With the increasing attention to administration that characterised the movement from the early 1670s, the volume of primary manuscript sources in county record offices increases substantially. Hampshire's meeting minutes survive for the men's Quarterly Meeting (a county committee meeting four times a year) and for both the men's and women's Monthly Meetings for the town of Alton.<sup>143</sup> A minute book for Southampton survives in the National Archives.<sup>144</sup> There is evidence of persecution, but also evidence of Friends apprenticing their young people, clearing couples for marriage, and relieving the poverty of the elderly and infirm. Quaker

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<sup>139</sup> Hughes and White (eds), *Hampshire Hearth Tax*. Not all counties are so fortunate. Only a very incomplete set of returns from 1662 survive for Wiltshire. Lancaster, 'Nonconformity and Anglican dissent in Restoration Wiltshire', 13.

<sup>140</sup> Spufford, *Contrasting Communities*, 320-44.

<sup>141</sup> For example, HRO 1678B/16 Will and inventory of John Ford (Foord) of Southampton, Hampshire, 1678; HRO 1681A/067 Will and inventory of Thomas Ham, sen, of Portchester, Hampshire, yeoman, 1681.

<sup>142</sup> HRO 24M54/14.

<sup>143</sup> HRO 24M54/1 Hampshire Quarterly Meeting: Men's meeting: Minute book, 1675-1697; 24M54/34 Alton Monthly Meeting: Men's meeting: Minute book, 1676-1744; 24M54/48 Alton Monthly Meeting: Women's meeting: Minute book, 1672-1676; 24M54/49 Alton Monthly Meeting: Women's meeting: Minute book, 1676-1716.

<sup>144</sup> TNA PRO RG 6/1273 General Register Office Society of Friends' Registers: Romsey and Southampton Monthly Meeting book.

births, marriages and burials are recorded for the county in three volumes copied from records surrendered in 1837.<sup>145</sup> Some records are lost; it is known that there was a monthly meeting for Ringwood, but no records survive from this period.

The existence and survival of the Hampshire Quaker records is by no means unusual. But this survival is not matched by local records of the other dissenting sects in the Restoration period. Where Hampshire is fortunate is in having a rare survival of a Baptist church book from the pre-1689 period. The church established initially at Porton in Wiltshire later moved to Broughton in Hampshire, and from the very first entries in the church book, dating from the 1650s, it is clear that there were lines of communication between Baptists in both counties.<sup>146</sup> But the minutes cease in 1660, and do not recommence until 1672, leaving a gap which can only be filled by the records of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities.

However, Baptists in Hampshire were not only associated with the Porton church and its satellites. Although much of the evidence from Baptist churches in the county dates from after the Act of Toleration, there is evidence for pre-Toleration churches elsewhere in the county in the 1669 conventicle returns and applications for licences made in 1672-3.<sup>147</sup> The records of Lymington and Whitchurch Baptist churches include manuscript nineteenth-century histories which record what was known at the time of the possible seventeenth-century origins of each church, although the original records of both these churches post-date 1689.<sup>148</sup> The exception in the Whitchurch records is a copy of a letter from the association meeting at Wells in 1656, but this is not necessarily evidence for the existence of a Whitchurch congregation at that date.<sup>149</sup> The systematic recording of meeting minutes that characterises the Quakers does not begin until the eighteenth century. The scarcity of seventeenth-century Baptist records in Hampshire is not unique to the county. Roger Hayden comments that the records of Broadmead Baptist church in Bristol provide a 'rare' account for the period.<sup>150</sup>

The Presbyterian and Independent churches are less visible in the historical record of the Restoration. As partial conformists, sometimes hopeful of eventual comprehension

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<sup>145</sup> HRO 24M54/25/1 General Meeting of Dorsetshire and Hampshire: Births; 24M54/25/2 General Meeting of Dorsetshire and Hampshire: Marriages; 24M54/25/3 General Meeting of Dorsetshire and Hampshire: Burials. The original records are now in the National Archives.

<sup>146</sup> AL B1/1 Porton and Broughton Baptist Church book, 1653-1687.

<sup>147</sup> LPL MS 639; Turner (ed.), *Original Records*.

<sup>148</sup> HRO 56M84/1 Lymington Baptist Church: Church book, 1693-1854; AL A1 Whitchurch Baptist Church papers; HRO 46M71/B17 Two books of letters from Whitchurch Baptist Church, 1656-1730.

<sup>149</sup> AL A1, loose sheet from Association meeting at Wells, 1656.

<sup>150</sup> Hayden, *English Baptist History*, 87; Roger Hayden (ed.), *The Records of a Church of Christ in Bristol, 1640-87* (Bristol Record Society, vol. 27), (Bristol, 1974).

within the Established Church, they kept few records of their separate activities during the Restoration. Their existence can, however, be traced through the 1669 conventicle returns and applications for licences made in 1672-3.<sup>151</sup> In most parts of England, they were the most numerous group of nonconformists, and could often be found meeting under a minister ejected for refusing to conform to the terms of the 1662 Act of Uniformity. For this, the major source for historians for many years has been A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, a revision of Edmund Calamy's account of ejected ministers.<sup>152</sup> The 1669 conventicle returns suggest that their meetings were usually larger than those of Baptists and Quakers; as such it is not surprising that they came to the attention of the authorities and consequently appear in the court records for illicit conventicles.<sup>153</sup> Records for the Presbyterian and Independent congregations accumulate after 1689, with records of members usually dating from the early eighteenth century.<sup>154</sup> Additionally, records survive for the French Reformed Church at Southampton.<sup>155</sup>

One major published source for religious history at a national level is the *Entring Book* of Roger Morrice. Covering the period 1677 to 1691, it chronicles both major and minor public events, including those affecting nonconformity. Morrice's network of sources was wide, and the *Entring Book* includes news from the provinces, and from continental Europe.<sup>156</sup> His record of the events surrounding the Act of Toleration in 1689 is particularly valuable; since it charts in some detail the struggles by Presbyterians to include comprehension in the religious settlement.<sup>157</sup>

Both conformists and nonconformists made use of the printing press. Such publications can yield information in detail that is absent from surviving manuscript sources. The details of the Portsmouth Disputation of 1699 are known through the evidence of the pamphlet war which followed between the Baptists and the Presbyterians, and the disturbance outside the Petersfield Presbyterian meeting house in 1722 is known only from printed sources.<sup>158</sup>

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<sup>151</sup> LPL MS 639; Turner (ed.), *Original Records*.

<sup>152</sup> Matthews, *Calamy Revised*.

<sup>153</sup> For example Willis and Hoad (eds), *Portsmouth Borough Sessions Papers*, 65-7, 97, 99.

<sup>154</sup> For example LSURC Church meeting minutes 1710-1890, which includes lists of members of this Basingstoke congregation.

<sup>155</sup> Andrew Spicer, *The French-speaking Reformed Community and their Church in Southampton 1567-c. 1620* (Southampton Records Series 39), (Southampton, 1997); Edwin Welch (ed.), *The Minute Book of the French Church at Southampton 1702-1939* (Southampton Records Series XXIII), (Southampton, 1979).

<sup>156</sup> Morrice, *Entring Book*.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 5, ed. M. Knights, xxvi.

<sup>158</sup> See chapter seven.

What Hampshire lacks, insofar as this study is concerned, are relevant personal papers. The court records, churchwardens' accounts and presentments, hearth tax returns, conventicle returns and Compton Census returns are official sources, from which the voice of the dissenters is absent. There are records from the meetings themselves, but, with the exception of the Quakers, very little prior to 1689. Some of the known printed material goes some way to filling the gap, and after 1689 the situation begins to improve, with an increased survival of meeting records. Nevertheless, what material has survived has been found, despite some gaps, to be sufficient to enable this study to be undertaken.

## **Methodology**

The main purpose of this thesis is to understand the experience of Hampshire dissenters, including how the nature of Hampshire dissent related to the national picture and how far it corresponded to existing studies of other counties. This study is purposely grounded in one geographical area, that is, the county of Hampshire. The county can be seen as the 'micro' unit of study that better enables us to understand the state of dissent in the 'macro' unit of the whole country. County studies are valid, as they increase our understanding of the national pattern, but as this project demonstrates, what may have the true nationally, or for another county, does not necessarily match the pattern of what happened in Hampshire.

While a county is not the only geographical entity that could be examined, it is, for project of this nature, a logical one. A county has a defined area, both geographically and in the manner of its secular administration. It may also be, and this is crucial for this study, a defined area in terms of its ecclesiastical administration. Hampshire, during the period studied by this thesis, came under the jurisdiction of a single archdeaconry as part of the wider Diocese of Winchester. The decision to choose a county as a unit of study is reinforced by the fact that much of the material is located in the county record office. Furthermore, as discussed earlier in this chapter, a number of previous theses have taken a county as a unit of study.<sup>159</sup>

As detailed previously, the reason for choosing Hampshire over any other county was the fact that it has been, hitherto, infrequently the subject of study in the period and subject dealt with by this project. Yet it has sufficient primary source material to enable such a study to be undertaken.

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<sup>159</sup> For example, Geldart, 'Protestant nonconformity and sectarianism in Restoration Northamptonshire'; Jackson, 'Nonconformists and society in Devon'; Lancaster, 'Nonconformity and Anglican dissent in Restoration Wiltshire'.

The nature of the primary sources available for this project meant that at an early stage the methodology was centred on research into textual primary sources, both manuscript and printed sources. Non-textual sources, principally the evidence of meeting houses constructed prior to 1740, were considered, but proved insufficient to make a significant contribution to this particular study.<sup>160</sup> However, it is acknowledged that such evidence could be valuable to studies of other localities and of later periods.

Fundamental to this project was the identification of relevant primary sources, as discussed above. This was achieved by following up references in the secondary literature, and by systematic searches of online and manual catalogues in actual repositories. Use was also made of online databases of primary source material, particularly *Early English Books Online* and *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*. Advice on potential leads also came from archive staff and from other researchers.

As a project of this nature relies heavily on textual sources, its approach is likely to be qualitative in nature. This approach was relevant for the greater part of this study, since much of the primary source material did not lend itself easily to quantitative analysis, either by the nature of its content, or by the fact that there was insufficient surviving material to provide a meaningful data set. Furthermore, much of the comparable research undertaken by other studies was also qualitative in nature, and this enabled more relevant comparisons to be made.

However, the volume of material in some of the primary sources indicated that a tabular summary would be invaluable in providing a meaningful and searchable database of names and places, though the source material was unsuitable for a solely numerical analysis. This approach was particularly relevant for the tables detailing the parishes that purchased bread and wine during the Interregnum, the indicators of dissent in parishes, ejected ministers, meeting house certificates from 1689 onwards, meetings listed in the Evans List, and a summary of replies to the visitation returns of 1725.<sup>161</sup> Creating these summaries led to new insights into the state of dissent in Hampshire. An example of this approach is the creation of the tabular summary of ejected ministers. This led to the realisation that the majority had undertaken some form of active ministry after their ejection in 1660-2.<sup>162</sup> The places of ejection were then plotted on a map to assist with interpretation, and in particular to visualise if there was any geographical pattern to the

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<sup>160</sup> Christopher Stell, *An Inventory of Nonconformist Chapels and Meeting Houses in South-West England* (London, 1991); Christopher Stell, *Nonconformist Communion Plate and Other Vessels* (London, 2008).

<sup>161</sup> Tables 1, 10a-l, 11, 14a, 15, 16a-b.

<sup>162</sup> Table 11.

ejections.<sup>163</sup> Furthermore, the summary data could be integrated with other summaries; for example the data on ejected ministers was employed in the table showing possible indicators of dissent in an attempt to ascertain how far the ejection of a minister might relate to the prevalence of nonconformity in a parish.<sup>164</sup>

Although the source material indicated a largely qualitative approach, as the research progressed, it was noted that some of the material would offer opportunities for a more quantitative analysis. It was felt that the results from the data could contribute to an understanding, not only of Hampshire dissent, but to an understanding of the overall picture of dissent nationally. As much of the primary source material was not numerical, this approach was only possible for a limited number of the sources. However, Whiteman's analysis of the Compton Census data was particularly suitable for further quantitative analysis.<sup>165</sup> It was possible to build on Whiteman's analysis to calculate the percentages of dissenters in each parish, and to visualise the data in the form of a map illustrating the areas where dissent was most strong.<sup>166</sup> A further example would be the analysis of the hearth tax returns as a means of ascertaining the social status of dissenting householders, based on the number of hearths in their dwelling place, and using this information to ascertain their status relative to the rest of the population.<sup>167</sup> Estimates of the numbers of dissenters, in the years following the Compton Census, can be made through an examination of dissenters' own records and the Evans List; some analysis of social status in the early eighteenth century is also possible through the Evans List.<sup>168</sup> Although the results of such data analysis should, given the limitations of the source material, be treated with caution, they did allow contemporary statements and modern interpretations to be freshly examined in the light of the evidence provided by these interpretations. This includes the strength of dissent in a significant proportion of Hampshire parishes, and the evidence of the relative prosperity of the county's nonconformists.

## Conclusion

The secondary literature available to historians of Protestant nonconformity in the period covered by this thesis is extensive, but, as this chapter has discussed, gaps remain. The Civil Wars and Interregnum have been examined in numerous studies, but this volume

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<sup>163</sup> Map 2.

<sup>164</sup> Tables 10a-l.

<sup>165</sup> Whiteman (ed.), *Compton Census*.

<sup>166</sup> Tables 3-9; map 4.

<sup>167</sup> See chapter six; tables 2a-d.

<sup>168</sup> Tables 12, 13, 14a-b.

of literature is not matched in the later seventeenth century, nor in the early eighteenth century. As studies of Hampshire nonconformists are limited for any part of the period covered by this thesis, this has been a major justification for this present study, and especially so for the later part of that period.

An examination of the primary sources demonstrated, however, that there are sufficient primary sources to undertake a study at doctoral level of Hampshire dissenters in the period, so the reason for the apparent neglect of nonconformists in the county is not due to the lack of primary material. The material was sufficient to enable not only a qualitative, but also a quantitative, approach to be used, depending on the nature of the source material. This enabled the creation of the tables and maps, which represent a major innovation in an appreciation of the nature and strength of dissent in this hitherto somewhat neglected county.

## CHAPTER TWO: DISSATISFACTION WITH THE NATIONAL CHURCH, 1640 TO 1660

This chapter examines the dissatisfaction with the national church as expressed in Hampshire during the Civil Wars and Interregnum. The changes to public worship made by Parliament were not welcomed by all churchgoers, nor by a number of their ministers. This chapter seeks to understand the nature and extent of the discontent felt by those who, while they did not embrace radical religion, and indeed remained in the pews of their parish church, found ways of expressing their loyalty to the old prayer book liturgy. Evidence from surviving churchwardens' accounts has been used to demonstrate the extent to which the banned practice of taking communion at major festivals occurred in Hampshire. This chapter also considers the evidence for non-compliance with the laws concerning proper religious observance, particularly the correct observance of the Lord's Day.<sup>1</sup>

Dissatisfaction with, and within, the national church had a long history; it did not begin in 1640. The Protestant Church of England, as established during the reign of Elizabeth I, was, according to Christopher Durston and Judith Maltby, an 'awkward mongrel', a combination of a Reformed Protestant theology with an episcopalian structure and a liturgy that still showed the influence of its Catholic past.<sup>2</sup> The theology, based on the teachings and writings of John Calvin, was agreeable to those English Protestants who had been persecuted or gone into exile during the reign of Mary. But some of the liturgical practices, and the presence and authority of bishops in the church hierarchy, were not. Those who wished to 'purify' the church of what they saw as the continued taint of Catholicism in its liturgy and structure became known as 'puritans', although those labelled as such would have preferred the epithet 'godly'. This chapter considers the background to the religious situation in the 1640s, including the evidence for dissatisfaction in Hampshire with the changes made to public worship in the years before the Civil Wars.

But throughout the 1640s and 1650s the commitment to change by the godly was not necessarily shared by others who regarded themselves as members of the national church. Throughout the period considered in this chapter dissatisfaction with godly reforms, such as the introduction of the Directory for Public Worship to replace the Book of Common Prayer, found expression in continued adherence to old patterns of public worship, and, outside the church, in persistent disregard of attempts to enforce moral behaviours such as observance of the Lord's Day. These issues have previously been examined by historians,

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<sup>1</sup> Radical religion is discussed in chapter three.

<sup>2</sup> Christopher Durston and Judith Maltby, 'Introduction', in Durston and Maltby (eds), *Religion in Revolutionary England*, 2.



notably by Judith Maltby in her study of prayer book loyalism, while Coleby touches on these issues in Hampshire in his discussion of attempts at moral reformation in the county.<sup>3</sup> However, no modern study of dissatisfaction with the national church has been undertaken for Hampshire in the 1640s and 1650s. The most recent study appears to be Mildon's 1934 thesis, and emphasis is on individual ministers rather than their parishioners.<sup>4</sup> This is the major rationale for the research undertaken for this chapter, which can be seen as a contribution to current discussion of the extent to which the godly reformation was supported by the population. It seeks to examine the extent of dissatisfaction with the national church in Hampshire, and how this dissatisfaction was expressed by those who, nevertheless, continued to attend worship within its buildings. From surviving churchwardens' accounts and other sources, it has been possible to make observations about the likely extent of such dissatisfaction in Hampshire, and how this relates to other studies. This chapter also considers the success, or otherwise, of moral reformation in the county.

### **The beliefs of the godly**

To understand the dissatisfaction with the national church, it is necessary to understand the beliefs of the godly reformers and, briefly, the background to the religious reforms made during and in the aftermath of the Civil Wars.

It would be wrong to suggest that there was a single accepted orthodoxy with regard to 'puritan' belief, and the term 'puritan' has itself engendered much debate among modern scholars.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, there were certain understandings with regard to theology that characterised the godly. The godly believed above all in the authority of Scripture as the revealed and infallible word of God and scriptural warrant was the foundation of all their beliefs and practices.<sup>6</sup>

Another fundamental of their belief was the doctrine of predestination. Men and women were born corrupted by original sin, passed down through the transgression committed by Adam and Eve. Since the punishment for sin was damnation, God's mercy was demonstrated in the fact that he had elected to save at least some from damnation, those persons who were predestined to go to heaven. But there could be uncertainty in the mind

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<sup>3</sup> Maltby, "'Good Old Way'"; Coleby, *Central Government*, 54-6.

<sup>4</sup> Mildon, 'Puritanism in Hampshire and the Isle of Wight'.

<sup>5</sup> See Richard L. Greaves, 'The puritan-nonconformist tradition in England, 1560-1700: historiographical reflection', in *Albion*, vol. 17, no. 4 (Winter, 1985), 449-86 for a full analysis.

<sup>6</sup> Michael Mullet, *Sources for the History of English Nonconformity 1660-1830*, (s.l., 1991), 47; Spurr, *English Puritanism*, 7, 15.

of believers as to whether or not they were saved. The godly thus became characterised by their intense spiritual self-examination, as they sought for signs of reassurance. Part of this reassurance was sought in the living of a godly life, for although puritans refuted the doctrine that good works were enough to save one's soul, it was a badge of the elect that they endeavoured to lead a pure life.<sup>7</sup>

Although believing in predestination, the godly believed that humans had free will to obey or deny God's commands, and God could intervene to show his power. This doctrine, known as providentialism, can be seen in the stories of individual sinners transgressing God's laws, or of whole towns afflicted for irreligion.<sup>8</sup> It can also be seen in the belief of some individuals, or groups of people, that they had been specially chosen by God to fulfil a specific task.<sup>9</sup>

Some of the godly desired reform of the Established Church on Presbyterian lines. This model saw authority derived principally from the minister and the elders of his congregation. Individual congregations would send representatives to local committees, or classes, which in turn sent representatives to regional synods, and from the synods representatives would be sent to a national General Assembly. This removed the need for bishops and consequently the necessity for a minister to have received episcopal ordination. Church and State would be separate. Though theologically similar, Presbyterians held different views on church government from the Independents, or Congregationalists, who, wary that the Presbyterian model would see central control replaced by the control of classes and synods, saw the ideal church structure as consisting of wholly independent congregations, who might combine in local groupings, but only by mutual consent. These differences would become more apparent during the Civil Wars and Interregnum.<sup>10</sup>

The reformers had particular concerns regarding extravagant ecclesiastical ceremony. They saw no need for elaborate clerical vestments, particularly the surplice. They opposed as 'popish' the practice of kneeling to receive the sacrament of holy communion, which they regarded as symbolising an acceptance of the actual presence of Christ in the bread and wine; consequently reformers chose to receive communion standing or sitting. Set prayers and liturgies were seen as likely to encourage passivity among the congregation and to prevent a minister from conducting worship in a manner most appropriate for his

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<sup>7</sup> Spurr, *English Puritanism*, 5-6, 43, 156-9.

<sup>8</sup> Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1999), 100, 105, 135.

<sup>9</sup> Spurr, *English Puritanism*, 15.

<sup>10</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 57-9, 89-99.

congregation. Preaching and readings from the Bible were to be preferred to prescriptive liturgies, leading to the establishment of preaching 'lectureships' in towns.<sup>11</sup>

But though there remained some dissatisfaction with the Elizabethan religious settlement, its boundaries were sufficiently wide to accommodate the great majority of the English people. By the time James I came to the throne in 1603, the Established Church was an established and accepted part of life for the population. James, seeing the virtues of the largely peaceable religious situation in his new kingdom, aimed for much of his reign at preserving the status quo, making no concessions to either conservative or radical elements in the church. To those that hoped that the Presbyterian model of the Scottish Kirk would be adopted in England, he famously refused with the comment, 'No Bishop, no King, no nobility'. The three stood, or fell, together.<sup>12</sup>

But, according to Durston and Maltby, the accession of his son Charles I in 1625 saw the beginnings of a move towards a less inclusive national church.<sup>13</sup> James's own policies may have contributed to this as, despite his own Calvinist beliefs, he promoted bishops of Arminian tendencies, such as Lancelot Andrewes, successively bishop of Chichester, Ely and Winchester.<sup>14</sup> Charles's own religious sympathies were with the Arminians, still a minority within the Established Church, whose beliefs were at odds with the majority Reformed theology in the Church of England. Perhaps most agreeably for Charles, they believed that the monarch was God's divinely appointed representative on earth. Most worryingly for many English Protestants, they subscribed to a viewpoint that seemed alarmingly close to Catholicism. They promoted changes including re-introducing into churches decorative pictures and statues, railing off altars, and re-establishing suspiciously Catholic practices in worship, such as kneeling to receive holy communion. Sports and pastimes were permitted on the Sabbath. Many, though not all, Arminians rejected the doctrine of predestination, holding instead that God's grace was offered to all, and it was up to the individual whether or not to accept that grace.

These reforms within the Established Church are often referred to as 'Laudian', since they were most aggressively promoted by William Laud, appointed Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633. Laud's reforms were seen as undermining the true Reformed Protestant

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<sup>11</sup> Spurr, *English Puritanism*, 28-31, 37-8.

<sup>12</sup> Christopher Hill, *The Century of Revolution 1603-1714* (London, 1961), 78.

<sup>13</sup> Durston and Maltby, 'Introduction', in Durston and Maltby (eds), *Religion in Revolutionary England*, 3.

<sup>14</sup> Jenny Wormald, 'James VI and I (1566-1625)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, online edn, May 2011, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14592>, accessed 12 May 2013.

religion. Calvinist clergy, from holding a central position, now found themselves on the outside of their church.

In 1637 the puritan William Prynne was mutilated and branded for publishing pamphlets attacking Laud and Queen Henrietta Maria. His case, and those of his fellow-defendants Henry Burton and John Bastwicke, attracted much sympathy. According to John Spurr, Laudian bishops continued with their campaign to rail off altars and to suppress Sunday afternoon sermons.<sup>15</sup> However, it was events in Scotland which began to push English puritans towards opposing their monarch. Charles's attempt to impose a new prayer book on the Scottish Kirk resulted in riots in Edinburgh in July 1637. By February 1638 many Scots had subscribed to a National Covenant in defence of their faith. Charles's attempt to quell the rebellion by force ended in a humiliating defeat.<sup>16</sup> In 1640, Charles was obliged to call Parliament, after eleven years rule without it. Dissolving it when it refused to grant him the taxes he demanded, he was obliged to call it again following another Scottish defeat.

It was to this Parliament, the so-called Long Parliament, that the Root and Branch petition was presented in November 1640.<sup>17</sup> Signed by some 15,000 persons, it gained its name from the fact that the majority of its twenty-eight clauses referred to religion, including demands that the episcopacy be removed from the Established Church root and branch.

In November 1641 the Grand Remonstrance was debated in Parliament, a document which outlined the mismanagement of Charles's personal rule, and Parliament's remedies; it included religious issues. The king appeared to accept the concerns of the document, and the solutions, but his attempt in January 1642 to arrest five MPs who had been most outspoken in their criticisms of royal policy led to an ignominious failure, and further widened the breach between Charles and Parliament. By August, the relationship having completely broken down, Charles raised his standard at Nottingham, a gesture taken as marking the start of the Civil Wars.

### **Dissatisfaction with the Established Church in Hampshire before the Civil Wars**

Some dissatisfaction with the Established Church, or at least a desire to reform it, undoubtedly existed in Hampshire prior to the Civil Wars. Susan Parkinson has identified a strong move towards godly reform in Elizabethan Southampton, possibly influenced by the

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<sup>15</sup> Spurr, *English Puritanism*, 95.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> The Long Parliament, so-called to differentiate it from the Short Parliament of the same year, sat, albeit with some purges of its members, until 1653.

French church and by reforming ideas brought into the port by traders. Such reforms were not necessarily embraced throughout the county; her research indicated that Elizabethan Winchester was far more conformist.<sup>18</sup> There is evidence that dissatisfaction had begun to spread throughout the county by the early Stuart period. A list of presentments from 1618 shows that churchwardens from parishes throughout the county presented men and women for failing to receive holy communion, or for not coming to church. In most cases, where the churchwardens made such presentments, only one or two persons from the parish were presented for these offences, and since the reason for their offence is not stated, it may have had a secular, not a religious, cause. But there are cases where unofficial religious meetings may be indicated. At least eight persons were presented from the Winchester parish of St Peter Colebrooke for failing to receive holy communion, while in the village of Kings Worthy twenty-five parishioners were presented for this offence. A Southampton woman was presented for refusing to be churchd after childbirth.<sup>19</sup> Among those in the consistory court records for 1623 were at least twenty persons from one Southampton parish for not receiving communion, and one man presented for disturbing the minister in the church of Southampton St Lawrence.<sup>20</sup>

### **Attempts at religious reform in Hampshire**

According to Coleby, those Hampshire men who supported Parliament in the period immediately before the Civil Wars perceived that the county clergy were largely unsympathetic to their complaints.<sup>21</sup> Dissatisfaction with the existing ministry is evident in the incautious words of John Elliott, a Southampton merchant, who claimed in March 1642 that one of the town's ministers was an extortioner and a usurer, and two other ministers were drunkards. Two months later James Warton, a pewterer of Southampton, was heard to say that the Book of Common Prayer was for the most part popery.<sup>22</sup> Further evidence, but of a less belligerent nature, is presented in the many petitions from the English counties during 1642, among them a petition of March 1642 from the assizes held for Hampshire. It addressed national issues when it deplored the 'malignant opposition of the popish and Prelaticall party' in government, and expressed its hopes that the Commons would support depriving bishops of their powers in the Lords. At a local level it expressed its concerns that

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<sup>18</sup> Parkinson, 'Religion of the people', 164.

<sup>19</sup> HRO 21M65/B1/28, fols 1v, 2r, 7v.

<sup>20</sup> HRO 21M65/C1/35, fol. 11r.

<sup>21</sup> Coleby, *Central Government*, 10.

<sup>22</sup> R. C. Anderson (ed.), *The Book of Examinations and Depositions, 1622-1644*, vol. IV, 1639-1644 (Southampton Record Society, vol. 36), (Southampton, 1936), 36, 28.

the county of Hampshire, 'consisting of neer 250 Parishes, whereof we fear there is not a fifth part furnished with conscionable, constant Preaching Ministers'.<sup>23</sup> In August a further petition was published from Hampshire, this time from the grand jury at the assizes for the county. While assuring Charles of their loyalty, they appealed to the king to make peace with Parliament, 'those religious and able Gentlemen'.<sup>24</sup>

However, the religious changes desired by the Parliamentarians in Hampshire were held up by the fighting, and it was not until the threat of armed conflict in the county had receded that the changes could be implemented.<sup>25</sup>

Central attempts were already being made with regard to religious reform. During and in the wake of the Civil Wars, Parliament had pushed through a number of religious changes. Ordinances of 1643 and 1644 ordered removal of altar rails and the destruction of crosses, crucifixes, and images as being monuments of superstition and idolatry. The use of surplices, roods, organs and fonts was prohibited. In 1645 the Book of Common Prayer was replaced by the Directory for Public Worship. Those who attended a wake, feast, or church ale on the Sabbath were to be punished with a fine. Later the episcopacy and the church courts went, as did the Thirty-nine Articles. An ordinance of June 1647 abolished the festivals of Christmas, Easter and Whitsuntide.<sup>26</sup>

The Westminster Parliament set up an Assembly of Divines, the 'Westminster Assembly', to discuss religious differences and to make recommendations about the reform of the church. When episcopal authority in the Church of England was abolished in 1646, the price of continued Scottish military assistance to Parliament was the maintenance of that commitment. Parliament committed itself by taking the Solemn League and Covenant, which the Scots understood to mean that the English were prepared to reform the Established Church on Presbyterian lines. But not all parliamentarians were of Presbyterian persuasions, and there was continued discord in Parliament over the question of religious reform.

The victory of the Parliamentary forces in the Civil Wars meant that the Royalist clergy were now at the mercy of the Parliamentarians. Up to the Restoration large numbers

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<sup>23</sup> Anon, *To the Right Honorable the House of Peers, assembled in Parliament: the humble petition of the County of Southampton ...* (London, 1642). *Early English Books Online*, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>, accessed 1 February 2011.

<sup>24</sup> Anon, *Two petitions. The one to the Kings most Excellent Majesty, the humble petition of the grand-jury attending His Majesties service at the assizes in the county of Southampton ...* (London, 1642), 3-5. *Early English Books Online*, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>, accessed 1 February 2011.

<sup>25</sup> Coleby, *Central Government*, 10.

<sup>26</sup> Reay, 'Radicalism and religion', in McGregor and Reay (eds), *Radical Religion*, 8.

of clergy were ejected for not conforming to the new statutes, although the majority of Hampshire ejections were in the years 1645 and 1646.<sup>27</sup>

Ascertaining the exact numbers of ejected clergy is difficult, but sufficient evidence exists to make a sound attempt feasible. A list of Hampshire clergy 'deprived of all livelihood ... under that grand Presbyterian tyranny' and published after the Restoration, claimed that over thirty clergy at Winchester Cathedral had been turned out. It also listed ninety-four benefices in the county that had been deprived of a minister, though some of the ejected ministers held plural livings in the county. The author of the list estimated that 'above 100' ministers had been ejected, including the clergy ejected at Winchester Cathedral.<sup>28</sup> This figure may be rather high. A. G. Matthews, in his revision of John Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy during the Grand Rebellion*, calculated that seventy-two Hampshire benefices had been deprived of their incumbents between 1643 and 1660.<sup>29</sup> Coleby has calculated that this figure represents 28 per cent of the county's total of 253 livings.<sup>30</sup>

This figure therefore represents over one parish in four affected by the ejections. But, as Matthews notes, some of the supposedly ejected clergy had in fact died, and others may not have had their livings sequestered at all. Edward Stanley, rector of Hinton Ampner from 1634 and additionally of Mottisfont from 1641, may have kept the latter, more valuable, living, despite being a known Royalist, and John Hanham (or Hannam), rector of Dogmersfield, apparently ejected by August 1646, was rector in 1652, and remained so until his death in 1671.<sup>31</sup> Richard Fawcner, rector of Yarmouth on the Isle of Wight since 1615, was ejected, not for his religious views, but for 'senile debility and insufficiency', although this may have been an excuse rather than the real reason, for he was restored in 1660.<sup>32</sup>

But there were those whose livings were undoubtedly sequestered for the expression of their religious or political beliefs. Alexander Ross of Southampton, in the preface to one of his final sermons in the town, condemned the 'ignorant and malicious censures' towards him from those 'whose unreverent gesture in the Church, disesteeme of Church prayers and disgracefull speeches against the outward splendour of Gods house' demonstrated their status as 'ignorant criticks'. Despite his avowedly anti-puritan views, he was able to retire to a living on the Isle of Wight he had held since 1634, but later appears to

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<sup>27</sup> Matthews, *Walker Revised*, 17, 179-91; Coleby, *Central Government*, 10.

<sup>28</sup> T. C., *A List of the Clergy of Hampshire, or a brief catalogue of the learned, grave, religious and painfull ministers of Hampshire* (London, 1662). *Early English Books Online*, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>, accessed 1 February 2011.

<sup>29</sup> Matthews, *Walker Revised*, xiv.

<sup>30</sup> Coleby, *Central Government*, 10.

<sup>31</sup> Matthews, *Walker Revised*, 184, 190.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 183.

have been ejected from that also.<sup>33</sup> Thomas Sambourne, rector of Upper Clatford from 1632, lost his living sometime before March 1647 for using the Book of Common Prayer, praying for the King, and allegedly describing Parliament as 'knaves'.<sup>34</sup> John Heath, vicar of Clanfield, allegedly declared that Laud died guiltless, read the Book of Sports on the Lord's Day, and refused to read Parliamentary orders, but had read royal ones; he was also accused of assisting the Clubmen.<sup>35</sup> Another Hampshire minister, Philip Oldfield of Lasham, also supported the Clubmen, in addition to using the Book of Common Prayer.<sup>36</sup>

MacLachlan asserts that the primary purposes of the Clubmen were an end to hostilities, and the protection of property.<sup>37</sup> However, John Morrill makes the connection between the Clubmen risings and the first efforts by Parliament to suppress the prayer book, and claims that the demands of 'most' Clubmen groups included a defence of the traditional liturgy.<sup>38</sup> David Underdown, in his study of Dorset, Somerset and Wiltshire, saw the reasons as complex. He observed that the movement 'enlisted a population with strong traditions of collective action and with deep-rooted notions about public order and governance, affronted beyond endurance by the destructiveness of civil war, the vicious misbehaviour of soldiers on both sides, and the collapse of the familiar institutions of church and state.'<sup>39</sup> Underdown dated the Clubmen risings in the south-west to the march through the region by General Goring's army at the end of February 1645.<sup>40</sup> But the main area of activity by Clubmen in Hampshire appears to have been on the county boundaries. According to Underdown there was a gathering in the Wiltshire village of Whiteparish near the Hampshire border, and MacLachlan describes a gathering in the Hampshire town of Petersfield, near the county boundary with Sussex.<sup>41</sup> The Parliamentary commanders were certainly alarmed at the threat of 2,000 Clubmen near Winchester in September 1645, claiming that many of them were 'popish', and others supporters of the Bishop of Winchester. This implies a religious motivation, and may, given the evidence described

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<sup>33</sup> Alexander Ross, *Gods house, or, The house of prayer vindicated from prophanenesse and sacriledge...* (London, 1642), sig. A2r-v. *Early English Books Online*, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>, accessed 1 February 2011; David Allan, 'Ross, Alexander (1591–1654)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, online edn, October 2007, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24110>, accessed 16 June 2011.

<sup>34</sup> Matthews, *Walker Revised*, 190.

<sup>35</sup> BL Add MS 15670 Register-Book of the Proceedings of the Committee for Plundered Ministers, 1645-6, fol. 448r.

<sup>36</sup> BL Add MS 15671 Register-Book of the Proceedings of the Committee for Plundered Ministers, 1647, fol. 158v.

<sup>37</sup> Tony MacLachlan, *The Civil War in Hampshire* (Salisbury, 2000), 353-4.

<sup>38</sup> Morrill, *Nature of the English Revolution*, 169-70.

<sup>39</sup> Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion*, 156-7.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 157.

<sup>41</sup> MacLachlan, *Civil War in Hampshire*, 353-4; Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion*, 157.



above against those ejected from their livings, suggest that some clergy were among the Clubmen.<sup>42</sup>

The concerns of the Clubmen were not exclusively religious. An undated manuscript statement from the inhabitants of the hundred of Fordingbridge and the liberty of Breamore has been attributed in another hand to 'Watch and Ward of Clubb'. It describes the action that will be taken to alert the citizens in the event of any enemy 'or any other that shall come to plunder or op[p]ose us', but it does not describe the action that will actually be taken against such miscreants, and its concerns are entirely secular, not religious. As it is undated, it cannot be confidently ascribed to the main period of Clubman activity.<sup>43</sup> As no printed petition from Hampshire Clubmen themselves appears to be extant, whether they were motivated by religious or secular concerns, or both, remains conjecture.<sup>44</sup>

Coleby's research led him to conclude that there was growing unpopularity of church reforms in Hampshire during the 1640s.<sup>45</sup> It has been possible to examine the surviving evidence in greater depth for this project than was possible within the parameters of Coleby's work, and this research has broadly supported Coleby's conclusions for the 1640s, and indeed the 1650s. However, how far the unpopularity of the reforms was actually 'growing' needs to be considered in the light of the fact that the reforms were only introduced during this period, rather than before it. Nevertheless, the evidence clearly shows that there was a measure of unpopularity with the reforms. This was not only expressed in an unclear relationship with regard to the new Directory and the continued celebration of communion at festivals, as discussed later in this chapter, but in appeals to the authorities and other evidence of parish discontent.

In 1645 two petitions from the inhabitants of Dibden expressed their dissatisfaction with the new minister, Mr White.<sup>46</sup> He had introduced closed communion, much to the concern of those expecting to receive the sacrament. Popular feeling had erupted into violence, when some women had thrown Mr White over the churchyard rails, injuring his leg. An attempt was made at mediation, but it does not appear to have been successful; even the authorities acknowledged that in Mr White's preaching his passion sometimes usurped the place of reason, and the parishioners refused to attend the parish church while he was the incumbent, though they did agree to desist from molesting him. A proposed

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<sup>42</sup> BL Add MS 24860 Letters and papers of Richard Major, 1639-1689, vol. I, fol. 137r.

<sup>43</sup> BL Add MS 24861 Letters and papers of Richard Major, 1639-1689, vol. II, fol. 33r.

<sup>44</sup> Search of *Early English Books Online*: <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>, 24 June 2011.

<sup>45</sup> Coleby, *Central Government*, 13.

<sup>46</sup> BL Add MS 15669 Register-Book of the Proceedings of the Committee for Plundered Ministers, 1644-1645, fol. 298r; BL Add MS 24680, fols 119r-120r.

swap in which Mr White would be exchanged for Mr Bryant, parson of All Saints in Southampton, foundered on the reluctance of the parishioners of All Saints to accept Mr White.<sup>47</sup>

Dissatisfaction might be expressed by members of a congregation who sought to assist their former parson in reclaiming his pulpit. Robert Clarke, ejected from Andover, was accused in 1647 of having attempted to officiate there, and to have obstructed the efforts of others to do so; he had been supported by several parishioners.<sup>48</sup> Connivance by a congregation is suggested in the case of Ellis Price, ejected from Gatcombe on the Isle of Wight, who was accused in the same year of officiating unlawfully in a Middlesex parish.<sup>49</sup>

In 1648, the 'lords, knights, gentlemen, ministers and free-holders' of Southampton petitioned Parliament, expressing, among other matters, their desire that 'the true reformed Protestant Religion profest in the reigns of Q. *Elizabeth* and K. *James* of blessed memory be re-establish't'.<sup>50</sup> Coleby states that this was 'an Anglican royalist manifesto which was designed to have wide appeal, though it had no specifically local content'.<sup>51</sup> Nevertheless, the fact that it was published demonstrates the continued allegiance towards Elizabethan and Jacobean church practices in the county.

Court records contain evidence for the lack of enthusiasm in observing the Sabbath. At the Dorset assizes held at Dorchester in August 1646, the court had noted with dismay the lack of attention being paid to the observance of the national day of fasting and humiliation on the last Wednesday of each month, and likewise the failure to behave with proper respect on the Lord's Day. A similar complaint was made at the Hampshire assizes of March 1647. On both occasions the court made it clear that those who did not make the proper observances were to be bound over to appear at the next assizes.<sup>52</sup> In March 1651 the Hampshire quarter sessions heard a petition from Andover that some inhabitants of neighbouring villages had been ignoring the laws regarding travel on the Lord's Day.<sup>53</sup> But enforcing Sabbath observance remained a problem. In 1656 the quarter sessions felt it necessary to issue an order banning 'help Ales and merry meetings', since such festivals were frequently held on a Saturday, continued into the early hours of Sunday morning, and

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<sup>47</sup> BL Add MS 24860, fols 119r-120r.

<sup>48</sup> BL Add MS 15671, fols 110r-110v.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 72v.

<sup>50</sup> Anon, *The Declaration: together with the petition and remonstrance of the lords, knights, gentlemen, ministers, and free-holders of the county of Hampshire* (London, 1648). *Early English Books Online*, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>, accessed 1 February 2011.

<sup>51</sup> Coleby, *Central Government*, 13.

<sup>52</sup> J. S. Cockburn (ed.), *Western Circuit Assize Orders 1629-1648: a calendar* (London, 1976), 249-50.

<sup>53</sup> HRO Q1/3 Hampshire Quarter Sessions: Order book, 1649-1658, 73.

left the participants totally unfit to attend to their Sabbath duties.<sup>54</sup> There may have been cases of Sabbath-breaking which were dealt with outside the courts. In the churchwardens' accounts for Odiham is an entry for the year to April 1658, recording a payment of ten shillings received from Goodman Home for travelling upon the Sabbath day.<sup>55</sup>

According to David Underdown, there is evidence of a decline in church-sponsored merrymaking, at least in the puritan areas of Dorset, Somerset and Wiltshire, even before the Civil Wars.<sup>56</sup> But as the evidence above from the courts shows, such festivities were not wholly eradicated in Hampshire. Many may have been of the opinion of the elderly Royalist Sir John Oglander, nostalgically recalling Whitsuntide festivities on the Isle of Wight before the Civil Wars. The celebrations were not then seen as something dishonourable, but rather as an honest recreation that brought people together for company and matchmaking, and all for another good purpose, for 'the gain whereof went to the maintenance of the church'.<sup>57</sup>

Many people still held the belief that the king, as God's representative on earth, possessed special powers of healing. Much has been made of the cult of 'King Charles the Martyr' after his execution in January 1649, with healing miracles attributed to relics of the dead king.<sup>58</sup> But divine powers were credited to him even during his imprisonment. So many people came to him to be touched for 'king's evil' (scrofula) that the soldiers guarding him nicknamed him 'Stroker'.<sup>59</sup> Marie Boies, a Hampshire woman from West Worldham, was apparently cured by his touch during his incarceration at Hampton Court in 1647. She wore around her neck the coin given to her by the King, but when she no longer wore the amulet, the disease broke out again, leading to her death in 1657.<sup>60</sup> It was claimed that, while imprisoned on the Isle of Wight in 1648, he had cured many people, not only for scrofula but also those afflicted with lameness and blindness.<sup>61</sup>

Parliament had abolished episcopal administration in the localities before a full Presbyterian system had been established; according to Coleby such a system was never fully operational in Hampshire.<sup>62</sup> This situation was similar in other counties, indeed Michael

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<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 292-3.

<sup>55</sup> HRO 47M81/PW1 Odiham. Churchwardens' account book, 1629-1630, 1654-1695, fol. 37v.

<sup>56</sup> Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion*, 82-3.

<sup>57</sup> Sir John Oglander, *A Royalist's Notebook: the commonplace book of Sir John Oglander Kt. of Nunwell*, F. Bamford (ed.) (London, 1936), 155-6.

<sup>58</sup> Sophie Dicks, *The King's Blood: relics of King Charles I* (London, 2010), 5-6.

<sup>59</sup> Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 233.

<sup>60</sup> HRO 29M79/PR1 West Worldham: Parish registers, 1653-1812, fol. 17v.

<sup>61</sup> John Taylor, *Tailors Travels from London to the Isle of Wight* ([London], 1648), 10-12. *Early English Books Online*, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>, accessed 1 February 2011.

<sup>62</sup> Coleby, *Central Government*, 57.

Watts concluded that there was evidence for Presbyterian classes functioning in only fourteen of forty English counties.<sup>63</sup> John Morrill's research clarifies this figure somewhat, stating that eight out of forty English counties (plus London) established some form of operational Presbyterian schemes, and six other counties, of which Hampshire was one, produced schemes that were not approved nor implemented.<sup>64</sup> Consequently, central control of the parish churches was weak, and in practice devolved to a local level. In October 1653 the mayor and some aldermen of Southampton replaced the minister Nathaniel Robinson as preacher at the regular Thursday lecture with the more conservative Mr Bernard, who would conform after the Restoration. But some of the townspeople appealed against this, with the result that the Council of State ordered that a Committee be appointed to manage the lecture, and the provision of ministers to churches left empty by ejections, to which the mayor and aldermen would be obliged to assent.<sup>65</sup>

Nevertheless, despite this rebuke to those of conservative religious views, in November 1655 the newly-appointed major-general for the county, William Goffe, felt there was a threat. He urged John Thurloe, Secretary of State, to ensure that Parliamentary orders be published, for then there would be more information about Royalists and their estates, and he would more easily be able to deal with ejected ministers still practising, and 'malignant chaplins', or chaplains to known Royalist families.<sup>66</sup> But according to Coleby, there is no evidence that he was able to silence them.<sup>67</sup> After Penruddock's rising in 1655, and the success of Quaker preachers in the county, the attention of local and national authorities turned more to addressing the perceived dangers of sectarians than to the supposed dangers of prayer book loyalists still worshipping in their parish church.

### **The reform of public worship in Hampshire**

The Book of Common Prayer was a target for reformers. Judith Maltby states that this was due to more than concerns over its residual popery; to some Protestants any form of set liturgy was unacceptable. This had been much debated at the Westminster Assembly; not all the assembled divines wished to totally abolish the Book of Common Prayer, rather they wished to reform it. But, according to Maltby, '[t]o more radical Protestants, however,

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<sup>63</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 116.

<sup>64</sup> Morrill, *Nature of the English Revolution*, 156-7.

<sup>65</sup> 'Volume 41: October 1653', *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Interregnum, 1653-4* (1879), 179-228, <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=5349>, accessed 12 April 2011; Coleby, *Central Government*, 57.

<sup>66</sup> John Thurloe, *A collection of the state papers of John Thurloe, Esq.*, vol. 4, ed. T. Birch (London, 1742), 238-9. *Early English Books Online*, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>, accessed 1 February 2011.

<sup>67</sup> Coleby, *Central Government*, 59.

any notion of set forms of public prayer smacked too much of incantation rather than of intercession' and the end result owed much to Scottish presence and influence in the Assembly.<sup>68</sup> The resulting Directory for Public Worship was authorised for use in 1645. Maltby has described it as, to those familiar with the prayer book, 'a set of stage directions without the speaking parts'.<sup>69</sup> It was largely a set of directions for the conduct of public worship, rather than a set liturgy in the manner of the prayer book.

Despite its official status in replacing the prayer book, the Directory does not appear to have been a best seller.<sup>70</sup> Unlike the prayer book, its use was not obligatory, and perhaps less than a quarter of parishes in the country purchased a copy.<sup>71</sup> Whether this was true of Hampshire in particular is not, however, known to have been the subject of study. While the number of surviving Hampshire churchwardens' accounts is limited, the evidence from those that do survive would appear to confirm this. Ten mainland Hampshire parishes and two Isle of Wight parishes have been found to have itemised accounts for either or both of the years 1645 and 1646, when a Directory might have been purchased. But there is only one entry which explicitly mentions the purchase of a Directory during these years, at South Warnborough.<sup>72</sup> Additionally, the North Waltham accounts for 1645-6 record a payment for 'ye new Booke', which may refer to the Directory.<sup>73</sup>

Nor does the Directory receive mention in the surviving inventories of church goods. This study found five mainland Hampshire parishes and one on the Isle of Wight that had made inventories during the period 1640 to 1660. On the Isle of Wight, the Newport churchwardens recorded a bible in 1648, but not the Directory nor the Book of Common Prayer.<sup>74</sup> On the mainland, at Ellingham, the inventory of April 1639 included a bible, two communion books and a book of homilies. By April 1650 the bible remained, but there was no other book.<sup>75</sup> The churchwardens of Winchester St John parish included a bible and 'two Books of com[m]an prayer' in their inventory of 1643, but by 1646 the bible was the only book listed.<sup>76</sup> Southampton St Lawrence recorded four 'service books' in 1637, and was still recording four 'service books' in an inventory made in or around 1648, and in a subsequent

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<sup>68</sup> Maltby, "Good Old Way", 236-7.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 238.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 239.

<sup>71</sup> Spurr, *English Puritanism*, 117.

<sup>72</sup> HRO 70M76/PW1 South Warnborough: Churchwardens' account book, 1611-1700, fol. 31v.

<sup>73</sup> HRO 41M64/PW1 North Waltham: Churchwardens' account book, 1593-1709, fol. 51r.

<sup>74</sup> IWRO NPT/APR/2B/70 Newport: Church book, 1648, fol. 25r.

<sup>75</sup> HRO 113M82/PW1 Ellingham: Churchwardens' account book, 1544-1715, fols 34v, 39v; HRO 113M82/PZ2 Ellingham: Transcript of entries in churchwardens' account book, 1584-1715, and book of seats, 1712-1817, by W. H. Beak, 1936, 19, 23.

<sup>76</sup> HRO 88M81/PW2 Winchester St John: Churchwardens' account book, 1596-1824, fols 58v, 59r.

inventory made in April 1651. By 1655, the inventory no longer listed four 'service books', but it did list four 'prayer books'. The description of the four volumes as 'prayer books' continued after the Restoration, and it seems possible that the parish was holding on to its pre-1645 prayer books.<sup>77</sup>

However, parish inventories may not be a wholly authoritative guide to the possessions of the church. At North Waltham, none of the inventories made by the churchwardens from 1640 to 1660 mention any books, not even a bible. Yet as has been seen, the churchwardens purchased 'ye new Booke' in 1645-6, and there is a further entry in 1657 for payment made to binding of the church bible.<sup>78</sup> Inventories made at Odiham in the 1650s likewise make no mention of any books.<sup>79</sup>

This evidence is somewhat ambiguous – if the Directory is conspicuous by its absence, then so is the Book of Common Prayer, so what service book was the minister using? Maltby has found evidence of ministers loyal to the prayer book memorising services.<sup>80</sup> Spurr maintains that, in the absence of a parish copy of the Directory, ministers employed their own forms of worship.<sup>81</sup> Although there is no evidence for either of these practices happening in Hampshire, it is possible that they did occur.

Coleby observes that the decentralised nature of the church meant that central authorities were largely ignorant of practices in the provinces, and it is impossible to tell how far the Book of Common Prayer was being used in preference to the Directory.<sup>82</sup> Barry Reay also notes that there is little evidence in quarter sessions and county committee records of prosecutions for use of the prayer book.<sup>83</sup> However, John Morrill's investigation of English parishes demonstrated that, in the churches examined, more possessed the Book of Common Prayer than the Directory, despite an ordinance of 1645 which forbade the use of the prayer book.<sup>84</sup>

There are references from both court records and other sources to Hampshire ministers using the prayer book. In addition to the cases of Philip Oldfield and Thomas Sambourne quoted above, Walter Rought, vicar of South Stoneham and rector of Southampton St Mary parish, was accused of using the prayer book, among other

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<sup>77</sup> SAS PR4/2/1 Parish of St Lawrence with St John, Southampton: Accounts, vestry minutes and memoranda, May 1567 – December 1743, fols 126r, 151v, 154v, 161r-175v.

<sup>78</sup> HRO 41M64/PW1, fols 48r-56v.

<sup>79</sup> HRO 47M81/PW1.

<sup>80</sup> Maltby, "'Good Old Way'", 241-2.

<sup>81</sup> Spurr, *English Puritanism*, 117.

<sup>82</sup> Coleby *Central Government*, 59.

<sup>83</sup> Reay, 'Radicalism and religion', in McGregor and Reay (eds), *Radical Religion*, 9.

<sup>84</sup> Morrill, 'Church in England', in Morrill (ed.), *Reactions*, 104-7.

ecclesiastical offences.<sup>85</sup> It is possible, given the evidence of the inventory, that the prayer book was also being used in Southampton St Lawrence parish.<sup>86</sup> The quarter sessions order book records that in 1654 it was alleged that the minister of Newtown parish on the Berkshire border had turned the communion table altar wise, that is, at the east end of the church, and was using the prayer book. The churchwarden bringing this accusation may have had a grudge; he also accused the parish of not having reimbursed him for money he had laid out on new window glass, and on the said communion table.<sup>87</sup> Some Winchester clergy petitioned Oliver Cromwell, by then Lord Protector, about the activities of Mr Preston, sequestered minister of Droxford and former prebendary of Winchester Cathedral, who had for several years been holding prayer book services in the abandoned church of St Michael's, Kingsgate Street. Other former Winchester Cathedral clergy were conducting private communion services around the city. This would suggest a widespread depth of support for the former liturgy, the more so since Preston was allegedly being financed by his unofficial parishioners.<sup>88</sup>

The 'puritans' are notorious for having 'banned Christmas', and this is explicit in the Directory. 'Festivall dayes, vulgarly called Holy dyes, having no Warrant in the Word of God, are not to be continued.'<sup>89</sup> In 1647 the Long Parliament reiterated this with an ordinance confirming the abolition of the celebration of Christmas, Easter and Whitsun, and the restrictions continued to be enforced with further parliamentary legislation during the 1650s. The Directory did permit the celebration of communion at other times, indeed it was 'frequently to be Celebrated', though how often was to be decided by individual ministers and congregations.<sup>90</sup>

However, there is clear evidence that the banned festivals continued to be celebrated. David Underdown demonstrated that the festivals continued to be observed in the West Country, while forty-three per cent of the English parishes studied by John Morrill held communion at Easter 1650.<sup>91</sup> Such observances were not without risk. Judith Maltby quotes the case of John Evelyn and his wife, who were among those in the congregation in a

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<sup>85</sup> BL Add MS 15671, fol. 158v; Matthews, *Walker Revised*, 189, 190.

<sup>86</sup> SAS PR4/2/1, fols 126r, 151v, 154v, 161r-175v.

<sup>87</sup> HRO Q1/3, 225-6; Coleby, *Central Government*, 59.

<sup>88</sup> BL Add MS 24861, fols 113r-114r. The manuscript is undated. Coleby assigns it a date of November 1655, which is plausible, given its placing in the sequence of this collection of papers. Coleby, *Central Government*, 59.

<sup>89</sup> Anon, *A Directory for the Publique Worship of God, throughout the Three Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (London, 1645), 40. *Early English Books Online*, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>, accessed 1 February 2011.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

<sup>91</sup> Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion*, 257-63, 267; Morrill, 'Church in England', in Morrill (ed.), *Reactions*, 104-7.

London church threatened by Parliamentary troopers as they went up to receive the sacrament of holy communion at Christmas 1657.<sup>92</sup>

If Hampshire parishes were obediently subscribing to the parliamentary legislation, it would be expected that references to the purchase of bread and wine for communion would continue, although these communions would not be held on specific festivals. But there is clear evidence in the surviving churchwardens' accounts for the continuation of the old sacramental cycle in Hampshire, despite the limited survival of such evidence. Few Hampshire churchwardens' accounts survive for all or even part of the period 1645 to 1660, and of those that do survive, some accounts are only summaries of total receipts and expenditure. Where itemised accounts do survive, they have not necessarily survived for the whole period; for example, those of Breamore survive only as a single sheet, covering the years 1654 and 1655.<sup>93</sup> Nor, where accounts were kept, did the churchwardens necessarily itemise the accounts; for example, the Ellingham accounts for the period are not itemised until 1659.<sup>94</sup> However, it was possible to examine accounts from twenty-one mainland Hampshire parishes and two Isle of Wight parishes which were itemised for one or more years between the introduction of the Directory in 1645 and the Restoration in 1660. Of these twenty-three parishes, fifteen accounts contained references to the purchase of bread and wine for communion, and ten of these contained at least one reference to the purchase of bread and wine for communion at a major festival during that period.<sup>95</sup>

What is noticeable is that in the two Hampshire parishes where a Directory appears to have been purchased, there are references in the accounts to the purchase of bread and wine for communion on a holy day. In the case of South Warnborough, though there are several references to the purchase of bread and wine for communion, there is only one reference to the purchase of this for a festival.<sup>96</sup> However, the North Waltham churchwardens' accounts drawn up in September 1654 included references to bread and wine purchased for Christmas, Palm Sunday, Easter Day and Midsummer, and a further set of accounts, for the year 1659, include payments made for bread and wine at Christmas, Palm Sunday and Easter.<sup>97</sup> Clearly, even those parishes which purchased the Directory cannot be assumed to be free of prayer book loyalists. It is not possible to make authoritative statements on the evidence of only two parishes, especially as the evidence

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<sup>92</sup> Maltby, "Good Old Way", 241.

<sup>93</sup> HRO 47M48/7 [Breamore]: Page of churchwardens' accounts, 1654-1655.

<sup>94</sup> HRO 113M82/PW1.

<sup>95</sup> See table 1.

<sup>96</sup> The purchase appears to have been for Easter 1648. HRO 70M76/PW1, fol. 33v.

<sup>97</sup> HRO 41M64/PW1, fols 50v-58v.



for purchase of a Directory at North Waltham is ambiguous, but possible explanations include an outward compliance which did not reflect the actual beliefs of the parishioners, or it may indicate divisions of opinion among the congregation.

Elsewhere, the sacramental cycle was celebrated even more frequently. The churchwardens of Chawton made explicit reference on seven occasions in the 1650s to bread and wine purchased at Christmas, and on eight occasions to bread and wine purchased for Palm Sunday and Easter. In 1655 communion was apparently celebrated on the Sunday after Christmas, not on the day itself.<sup>98</sup> Upham churchwardens' accounts record payments for bread and wine at Easter on five occasions between 1647 and 1659, as well as on two occasions in the same period for Whitsuntide, and, in the accounts drawn up for 1654, for Christmas and Low Sunday as well.<sup>99</sup> At Fordingbridge, the accounts for 1647 include payments for bread and wine at Whitsuntide, Christmas and Easter.<sup>100</sup> At Hambledon, also in 1647, bread and wine was purchased on four occasions, one of these specified as Easter Day.<sup>101</sup> Evidence of the celebration of communion on holy days is also recorded for Breamore, Easton, Headbourne Worthy and Soberton.<sup>102</sup> Although the surviving evidence is limited, this does indicate some measure of support for the old prayer book, and consequently, a lack of support for the forms of worship outlined in the Directory.

The limited survival of churchwardens' accounts for Hampshire during the period 1640 to 1660 does mean that some caution is necessary when stating the extent to which Hampshire congregations remained loyal to the old prayer book and its holy days. The accounts for Crondall include regular payments for bread and wine at festivals up to 1644, but no records at all in the years following for the purchase of bread and wine until after the Restoration.<sup>103</sup> Though the accounts for some years are missing, it seems that Crondall parishioners were not celebrating communion, even outside the major festivals, in the years after 1645. This may be related to the influence of the minister, Humphrey Weaver, who was ejected in 1662 and immediately established a Presbyterian congregation in the parish.<sup>104</sup> Though the level of surviving evidence means that any conclusions are necessarily impressionistic, there may have been a connection between a congregation that did not

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<sup>98</sup> HRO 1M70/PW1 Chawton: Churchwardens' account book, 1621-1813, fols 35v-45r.

<sup>99</sup> HRO 74M78/PW1 Upham: Churchwardens' account book, 1640-1665, fols 4v-15r.

<sup>100</sup> HRO 24M82/PW2 Fordingbridge: Churchwardens' account and rate book, 1602-1649, n.d., 7.

<sup>101</sup> HRO 46M69/PW10 Hambledon: Churchwardens' accounts, 1647.

<sup>102</sup> HRO 47M48/7; HRO 72M70/PW1 Easton: Churchwardens' account and rate book, 1655-1820, fols 1v-4v; HRO 21M62/PW2 Headbourne Worthy: Four leaves from a churchwarden's account book, 1645-1652; HRO 50M73/PW1 Soberton: Churchwardens' account book, 1658-1836, fol. 2v.

<sup>103</sup> SHC CRON/6/2 Crondall All Saints Hampshire: Volume containing loose churchwardens' and overseers' accounts, 1623-1822, fols 4v-28v.

<sup>104</sup> LPL MS 639, fol. 262r.

celebrate communion at the major festivals, and the subsequent ejection of their minister. Of the thirteen parishes that did not record celebrating communion at a festival, five later experienced the ejection of a minister. Of those ten that did celebrate communion at a festival, only one experienced the ejection of a minister, and he later conformed.<sup>105</sup>

If the surviving evidence is representative of Hampshire as a whole, then over two-fifths of the parishes in the county would, at some time, have celebrated communion at the major festivals, even though this was proscribed. This indicates a significant grass-roots reaction against the religious orders of Parliament, and of willing disobedience of those orders by ministers. Why churchwardens willingly recorded evidence of this resistance in the accounts is unclear. Kevin Sharpe noted that it is likely that the fullest records were kept by the most diligent churchwardens, who were most inclined to 'order and decency'.<sup>106</sup> If this was the case in Hampshire, the evidence demonstrates that 'order and decency' might be reflected in a clear loyalty to the old prayer book ways, even to the extent of recording evidence of that loyalty in the accounts.

## Conclusion

Coleby's study of Hampshire led him to conclude that the governments during the Commonwealth had 'surprisingly little impact' on local religious life.<sup>107</sup> As this study too has found, there was a general failure to eradicate, or even seriously dent, the practices familiar to many from before 1640. Despite the efforts of central government, the valiant attempts of the godly in the localities, and the ejection of unreformed ministers, loyalty to the prayer book and to sacramental observance at major religious festivals seems to have remained strong in many of the parishes for which data survives. Attempts at moral reformation were also only partially successful, as demonstrated by evidence from the court records as the justices sought to impose these changes on what appears to have been a disinterested citizenry.

This failure to reform the public worship and personal piety of the populace would explain the relative ease with which Anglicanism was re-established in Hampshire, as elsewhere in England, after the Restoration. But, as there had been little serious impact on the continued practice in parish churches, so there was little effective control over the increasing proliferation of sects in the county during the period, and especially in the late

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<sup>105</sup> Table 11. The conforming minister was Richard Crossin of Fordinbridge.

<sup>106</sup> Kevin Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I*, (New Haven and London, 1992), 390.

<sup>107</sup> Coleby, *Central Government*, 63.

1650s. It is the history of the sects in Hampshire which will be discussed in the following chapter.

### CHAPTER THREE: RADICAL PROTESTANT RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS, 1640 TO 1660

Even before the outbreak of the Civil Wars, not all the godly of Jacobean and Caroline England were willing to make compromises to remain part of the Established Church. Some began to separate from the Established Church, critical of those who remained within it, but their numbers remained small until the Civil Wars.

This chapter discusses the extent to which radical Protestant religious movements affected Hampshire during the period of the Civil Wars and Interregnum. As discussed in the literature review, the influence of radical sects in this period has been extensively debated in the secondary literature, most famously by Christopher Hill in *The World Turned Upside Down*, and by numerous subsequent authors. However, the excitement generated by these sects has not, so far, extended to any recent study of radical religion in Hampshire. A useful introduction is provided by Coleby, but only from 1649 onwards, and in the context of local government.<sup>1</sup>

This chapter begins by discussing the possibility of radical sects existing in Hampshire prior to the Civil Wars, though it seems likely that their numbers were negligible. The extent to which Baptist preachers came into the county with the Parliamentary armies during the Civil Wars is considered, as is the success of Baptist preachers in establishing congregations in the 1640s and 1650s.

Hampshire is not known for being a home for extreme radical sects, though there was the brief episode of 'Pseudo-Christ' William Franklin, and tiny numbers of Muggletonians and Fifth Monarchists may have existed by the Restoration. What was more striking was the success of Quakers in the county, despite the alarm they aroused in the authorities. But, as an examination of the evidence shows, during this period the Baptists, and to an extent the Quakers, were left alone by the authorities, enabling them to establish congregations that would endure after the Restoration.

#### **Radical religious sects in Hampshire in the 1640s and the rise of the Baptists**

On the eve of Civil Wars, the English Separatists were, as Watts states, 'numerically too insignificant and politically too impotent to make any direct contribution to the events which led to the outbreak of war', notwithstanding the importance of religious issues in contributing to the conflict.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, there were, according to Watts, a proliferation of conventicles in London as hopes were raised after the Scottish rebellion and the fall of

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<sup>1</sup> Coleby, *Central Government*, 56-63.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 77.

Laud.<sup>3</sup> But the undermining of the bishops' powers was no licence for dissent, nor a sign that separatist groups were in receipt of popular support. Watts notes the 'spate of anti-Separatist pamphlets which issued from the presses in the summer and autumn of 1641, warning sober citizens of the subversive activities of tub orators and mechanic preachers' and observes that behind these attacks, 'lay the fear that society, as they knew it, was on the point of dissolution'.<sup>4</sup>

Although the conventicles immediately prior to the Civil Wars largely proliferated in London, sectarian activity, and opposition to it, was not confined to the capital. Four of the women described in the anonymous 1641 pamphlet *A Discoverie of Six Women Preachers* lived in the provinces.<sup>5</sup> Another tract recounted the seduction of young Surrey woman by the Family of Love.<sup>6</sup>

Nevertheless, despite the allegations in the pamphlet literature that the radical sects were spreading into the provinces, the number of sectarians in Hampshire prior to 1640 would have been very small. Despite fears promulgated in the popular press, John Morrill states that religious separatists and sectarians existed only as 'tiny minorities' in the early 1640s.<sup>7</sup> Hampshire was no exception; the radical sects did not make much headway in the county during the 1640s.<sup>8</sup> Alexander Ross, minister in Southampton, alleged in 1642 that there had been 'slandorous speeches of some new upstart Sectaries in this Towne', but this may have been more a term of contempt directed against the town's puritans than an indication of real religious radicalism.<sup>9</sup>

Nevertheless, small as their numbers may have been, religious separatists did exist in England prior to the Civil Wars. Baptists in England developed out of this wider separatist movement, influenced (though how far is disputed) by Continental Anabaptists and religious heterodoxy. However, though the term 'Anabaptist' was widely used to describe them in the seventeenth century, English Baptists repudiated this description of themselves. Early Baptist beliefs were diverse, but the abiding principle was the doctrine of 'believer's baptism', that is, baptism of an adult believer, upon their confession of faith. It became accepted that this baptism would be by full immersion. Baptist congregations were

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<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 77-8.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 79.

<sup>5</sup> Anon, *A Discoverie of Six Women Preachers*, (s.l., 1641), 4-5. *Early English Books Online*, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>, accessed 20 July 2009.

<sup>6</sup> Anon, *A Description of the sect called the Familie of Love* (London, 1641). *Early English Books Online*, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>, accessed 20 July 2009.

<sup>7</sup> Morrill, *Nature of the English Revolution*, 148-50.

<sup>8</sup> Coleby, *Central Government*, 56.

<sup>9</sup> Ross, *Gods house*, sig. A2.

autonomous, though regional associations were formed by the 1650s for advice and support. The movement would develop into two distinct groups, the Particular and the General Baptists. The Particular Baptists, in most areas the most numerous group, held to a Calvinist theology of predestination, that is, that only particular people would be saved. Whereas the General Baptists held to the concept of God's grace being offered generally to all, though free –will meant that humans might accept or reject this.<sup>10</sup>

After the Civil Wars, Baptist preachers would plant a number of congregations in Hampshire, though this later success would not have been apparent in the early 1640s. In 1626 there were Baptist churches in London, Coventry, Lincoln, Tiverton and Salisbury, and in the early 1630s some Salisbury Baptists were presented for failing to attend their parish church.<sup>11</sup> It is possible that the Salisbury Baptists had some influence in Hampshire, or that Baptist preachers had travelled through Hampshire on their way from London to Salisbury and Tiverton.

Though the numbers of Baptists and other separatists may have been tiny prior to the Civil Wars, the pamphlet evidence is that there was a real fear of the sects. That fear was not limited to the consumers of popular tracts. In February 1644, the king issued a proclamation from his court in Oxford, to the persons of Kent, Surrey, Sussex and Hampshire, forbidding them to raise any forces without his consent. The proclamation declared that the 'Protestant Religion' is 'invaded and threatned to be rooted up by *Anabaptists, Brownists, and Atheists*'.<sup>12</sup>

If religious radicalism was not widespread in Hampshire in the 1640s, this, as demonstrated by the king's proclamation, may not have been how it was perceived at the time. Thomas Edwards, in his extensive and influential anti-sectarian work *Gangraena* (1646) quoted a letter from a correspondent alarmed at the radical religious ideas being spread by 'London Fire-brands' in the West Country, and especially along the Dorset and Hampshire coast.<sup>13</sup> There are in addition glimpses of what may be religiously-motivated

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<sup>10</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 44-5, 49, 166, 318-19.

<sup>11</sup> Arthur Tucker and H. B. Case, 'Salisbury and Tiverton about 1630', *Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society*, 3.1 (May 1912), 1-2; Watts, *Dissenters*, 50.

<sup>12</sup> Charles I, King of England, *By the King. His Majesties proclamation forbidding all His loving subjects of the counties of Kent, Surrey, Sussex and Hampshire, to raise any forces without His Majesties consent or to enter into any association or protestation for the assistance of the Rebellion against His Majesty* (s.l., 1643 [i.e. 1644]). *Early English Books Online*, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>, accessed 9 July 2009.

<sup>13</sup> Thomas Edwards, 'A copy of some letters' in, *The First and Second Part of Gangraena* (London, 1646), 2-4. *Gangraena* was distributed in the West Country, see Thomas Edwards, *The Third Part of Gangraena* (London, 1646), 40-1. *Early English Books Online*, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>, accessed 9 July 2009. For evidence of the wider influence of *Gangraena*, see Ann Hughes, *Gangraena and the Struggle for the English Revolution* (Oxford, 2004), 318-19.

actions in the court records. In March 1648 John Dummer of Wickham was charged at the assizes held at Winchester with refusing to swear the required oath for his office as a constable. But it is not clear whether his refusal to swear was inspired by a religious belief against swearing oaths, or had a secular motivation.<sup>14</sup>

It is certainly possible that religious ideas were spread by soldiers and chaplains of the Parliamentary army. The spiritual needs of the army were partly provided for by army chaplains. The Presbyterian Richard Baxter declined one invitation to serve as chaplain, but accepted a subsequent invitation in order to counteract, as he saw it, the spread of dangerously radical religious ideals among the troops.<sup>15</sup>

But the numbers and influence of official and unofficial army preachers in specific localities is not always easy to deduce from what can be biased contemporary sources. Thomas Edwards claimed that it was impossible to go to a garrison town or city without meeting 'Anabaptists, Antinomians, Brownists, &c.'; he specifically instanced the Hampshire towns of Southampton and Portsmouth as infected by the 'gangrene of Heresie and Error', as well as the towns of Warwick, Gloucester, Bristol, York and King's Lynn.<sup>16</sup> But 'Heresie and Error' may not have been as widespread as Edwards believed. John Trussell, eye-witness of events in Winchester, while he spared nothing in his condemnation of the Parliamentary troops who vandalised its cathedral, did not mention any preaching activity in the town.<sup>17</sup> It is noticeable from Thomas Edwards's references to evangelical activity in Hampshire that the preachers concerned were not serving with the army at the time of their missionary activities in the county. Furthermore, it needs to be pointed out that the Quakers made many converts, in Hampshire and elsewhere, during the 1650s, without the advantages of being able to preach to a mobile population of soldiers.

It is known that the influential Particular Baptist preacher Thomas Collier was a one-time army preacher. By 1645-6 he appears to have left the army, but was travelling widely about southern and western England. Thomas Edwards stated that he went about Surrey, Hampshire and the neighbouring counties 'preaching and dipping'.<sup>18</sup> Collier was reported to have been active in Somerset and Guernsey, before being imprisoned in Portsmouth. On his

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<sup>14</sup> Cockburn (ed.), *Western Circuit Assize Orders*, 271.

<sup>15</sup> N. H. Keeble, 'Baxter, Richard (1615–1691)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, online edn, October 2009, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1734>, accessed 17 December 2011.

<sup>16</sup> Edwards, *Third Part of Gangraena*, 80.

<sup>17</sup> HRO W/K1/13/1 Photostat copy of 'Benefactors to Winchester' by John Trussell, c. 1617-1647, fol. 96; HRO W/K1/13/2 'Benefactors to Winchester': A manuscript volume by John Trussell: Transcribed by Tom Atkinson, City Archivist, Winchester, March 1963.

<sup>18</sup> Edwards, 'A fresh and further discovery', in *First and Second Part of Gangraena*, 122.

release he toured through Dorset, Hampshire and Sussex, and preached at Guildford in May 1646. Edwards claimed that by then he had been evangelising in Lymington, Southampton and Waltham (probably Bishop's Waltham). He then travelled to London. Letters are known to have passed between him, local adherents and other evangelists.<sup>19</sup> He was later to be the first to sign the letter from the regional Particular Baptist association meeting in Wells in 1656.<sup>20</sup>

Nor was he the only active evangelist in Hampshire. Thomas Lambe, who travelled widely as a preacher between 1641 and 1646, visited Hampshire and Surrey in the company of Samuel Oates, a Norwich weaver, and was in Wiltshire with Jeremiah Ives, a London preacher. Which Hampshire towns he visited remains unclear, though he does appear to have visited Portsmouth.<sup>21</sup> John Sims, a Southampton shoemaker, travelling in the company of another Southampton Baptist, Brother Row, was carrying letters to Somerset sectarians when he was arrested in Bridgwater in May 1646.<sup>22</sup>

On the Isle of Wight, a congregation of separatists, said to be Baptist, was established in Newport by June 1645. An attempt to arrest them was thwarted when the Baptists, forewarned, were discovered to be engaged in reading an entirely orthodox sermon, a spiritual exercise that was not only permitted, but encouraged.<sup>23</sup> But active preachers could not so easily avoid arrest. John Chandler of Chichester in Sussex evangelised on the Isle of Wight and for these activities was bound over to appear at the Winchester assizes in August 1645. He returned to the island, where in May 1647 he was arrested with Bartholomew Buckley, a mercer of Lymington and Markes Dewey, a butcher from Wimborne in Dorset, for preaching at Newport.<sup>24</sup>

The activities of Collier and others had planted small congregations in Hampshire, and Baptist preachers continued their missionary work into the 1650s. Sussex and Hampshire may have been evangelised by James Sickelmore, once vicar of Singleton in

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<sup>19</sup> Edwards, *Third Part of Gangraena*, 27-9; Stephen Wright, 'Collier, Thomas (d. 1691)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5922>, accessed 24 June 2009.

<sup>20</sup> AL A1, loose sheet from Association meeting at Wells, 1656.

<sup>21</sup> Edwards, 'A catalogue and discovery of the many errors of the sectaries', in *First and Second Part of Gangraena*, 35; Hayden, *English Baptist History*, 37.

<sup>22</sup> Edwards, *Third Part of Gangraena*, 50-1; Ruth Butterfield, 'The Royal Commission of King Jesus', *Baptist Quarterly* 35, 56-81.

<sup>23</sup> BL Add MS 24860, fol. 124r.

<sup>24</sup> Edwards, *Third Part of Gangraena*, 50-1; Butterfield, 'Royal Commission of King Jesus', 56-81. Buckley may be Bartholomew Bulkley, see chapter four.



Sussex, but the work here fell by 1656 under the influence of Matthew Caffyn, who later settled at Horsham in Sussex.<sup>25</sup>

From 1649 Baptists were making an impact in Hampshire, and became firmly established in the county during the 1650s, even if their numbers appear to have remained small.<sup>26</sup> By 1649 Baptists were sufficiently well-established in the Basingstoke area that they were able to hold a public disputation on the subject of infant baptism in the parish church of Basingstoke with ministers of the national church.<sup>27</sup> A letter from the association meeting at Wells in 1656 is evidence for a Baptist congregation at Andover, and the church of Stoke may be another Hampshire congregation represented at that meeting.<sup>28</sup> Shortly thereafter, the congregations of Andover, Stoke, Whitchurch and North Warnborough joined the Abingdon association of churches in Oxfordshire, Berkshire and elsewhere.<sup>29</sup>

There is likely to have been activity in the village of Broughton, close to the Wiltshire border, since the book for the Baptist church then based at Porton in Wiltshire records a service of adult baptism at 'Broaten' sometime in or before 1657, and if a congregation at Broughton was not established then, one was certainly established later in the century.<sup>30</sup> There may have been Baptist congregations in Portsmouth, Southampton and Lymington, as well as on the Isle of Wight and other places that had witnessed the evangelising activities of Collier and others.<sup>31</sup> The evidence of the 1669 conventicle returns is that Baptist congregations were well-established in the Restoration period.<sup>32</sup>

Furthermore, Baptists seem to have largely avoided persecution until the Restoration. A Parliamentary ordinance of May 1648 attempted to impose penalties for heresy on Baptists, among other religious groups, but its provisions were never put into effect.<sup>33</sup> In 1650 an Act was passed repealing the penalties associated with failure to attend one's parish church, thus granting sectarians freedom to worship, and enabling them to put

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<sup>25</sup> W. T. Whitley (ed.), *Minutes of the General Assembly of the General Baptist Churches in England*, vol. 1 (1654-1728), (London, 1909), xvi; Hayden, *English Baptist History*, 27.

<sup>26</sup> Coleby, *Central Government*, 56.

<sup>27</sup> Humphrey Ellis, *Pseudochristus* (London, 1650), 60. *Early English Books Online*, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>, accessed 17 July 2009.

<sup>28</sup> AL A1, loose sheet from Association meeting at Wells, 1656. Stoke may be either the settlement of Stoke, or possibly that of Laverstoke, both near Whitchurch.

<sup>29</sup> B. R. White (ed.), *Association Records of the Particular Baptists of England, Wales and Ireland to 1660*, vol. 1, part 3 (London, 1974), 162-99.

<sup>30</sup> AL B1/1, 5-8; Compton, *History of the Baptist Church, Broughton*, 8.

<sup>31</sup> Edwards, 'A catalogue and discovery of the many errors of the sectaries', in *First and Second Part of Gangraena*, 35; Edwards, *Third Part of Gangraena*, 27-9, 50-1.

<sup>32</sup> LPL MS 639, fols 261r-264r.

<sup>33</sup> John Coffey, 'The toleration controversy during the English Revolution', in Durston and Maltby (eds), *Religion in Revolutionary England*, 48.

down roots.<sup>34</sup> As will be discussed later in this chapter, some of the more radical Quakers interrupted church services to publicise their convictions, but this was not a Baptist practice. The Porton and Broughton church book was maintained throughout 1657 and for much of 1658, but it is perhaps indicative of the persecution that Baptists suffered after the Restoration that following an entry in July 1660 the book contains no further entries until 1672.<sup>35</sup>

### **Extreme religious sects in Hampshire**

Though Hampshire was largely free from extreme sects in the pre-Restoration period, there was a notable exception in the case of the man labelled by his opponents as 'Pseudo-Christ', William Franklin, and his supposed spouse Mary Gadbury. A detailed account of the affair was published in May 1650 by Humphry Ellis, a minister in Winchester.<sup>36</sup> William Franklin was a Hampshire man, born at Overton, but had lived for many years in London, where he worked as a rope-maker. Following a period of religious crisis, in which he spoke in tongues, had visions, and denied his wife and children as being his own, he had been excluded from his separatist church.<sup>37</sup> At this time he met Mary Gadbury, abandoned by her husband some years earlier. She was already a 'frequent hearer of the Word', attending sermons in the capital. They formed an alliance, both having visions in which they were commanded to go into the Land of Ham, which they took to mean Franklin's home county of Hampshire.<sup>38</sup>

Their period of influence in the county was short. In November 1649 they travelled from London to Andover, where they took lodgings at the Star Inn. Franklin began to preach and attract attention. He then returned briefly to London, leaving Gadbury in Andover. She declared in his absence that she had seen Christ, and the description she gave matched Franklin's appearance. But when Franklin returned on 8 December, it was made clear that he and Gadbury were no longer welcome at the inn. Having convinced Margaret, the wife of William Woodward, minister of the parish of Crux Easton, of their holy calling, they were invited to stay with the Woodwards instead. Franklin's preaching began to attract followers, to whom he gave offices and titles.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Coffey, 'Toleration controversy' in Durston and Maltby (eds), *Religion in Revolutionary England*, 51-2.

<sup>35</sup> AL B1/1.

<sup>36</sup> Ellis, *Pseudochristus*.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>38</sup> Ariel Hessayon, 'Franklin, William (b. c.1610)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/40435>, accessed 25 November 2009.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

On 27 January 1650, both Franklin and Gadbury were arrested and taken to Winchester gaol. Here, Franklin recanted his alleged heresies, including his claim to be Christ. Gadbury later followed Franklin and recanted her belief that he was Christ.<sup>40</sup> They were tried at the assizes in March, along with the minister Woodward and other followers. Franklin was sentenced to remain in gaol until he could give security for his good behaviour. Gadbury was released shortly after Easter and returned to London. It is not known what became of them. William Woodward lost his living at Crux Easton. He apparently later recovered his career, becoming a minister in Kent, but in June 1666 was deprived of this living for various errors, including stating that one 'William Frankelin' who had once lived with him was the Christ and Saviour.<sup>41</sup>

The influence of Franklin and Gadbury during their brief stay in the county is difficult to ascertain. Ellis's account implies that their claims attracted great interest in Hampshire, and he quotes a source which suggested that they may have had 500 to 600 followers. But not all those who came to hear Franklin speak were necessarily convinced by him. In prison they had numerous visitors, but these included not only those sympathetic to them, but also the godly who wished to dispute with them, and the merely curious.<sup>42</sup>

According to McGregor the Franklin case probably influenced the framing of the Blasphemy Act in August 1650.<sup>43</sup> This may be to give too great a weight to a single case. In May 1648, over a year before the Franklin case, Parliament had already passed 'An Ordinance for the Punishing of Blasphemies and Heresies', though its provisions were not put into effect.<sup>44</sup> Furthermore, if Franklin's claims of messiahship were unique in Hampshire, there were similar claims made by others elsewhere in England. In London, John Robins announced that he was God the Father and his wife was carrying the new Christ, while another prophet, Thomas Tany, claimed that he was ordained to lead the Jews to Zion.<sup>45</sup> The concerns behind the 1650 Blasphemy Act were to tighten restrictions on the activities of religious extremists, particularly the Ranters, and on the few English Socinians. It would later be used against Quakers.<sup>46</sup>

The Franklin case was an exception in Hampshire, and it probably attracted the interest it did because of its scandalous nature. Nevertheless, despite the apparently low

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<sup>40</sup> Ellis, *Pseudochristus*, 43, 45.

<sup>41</sup> Hessayon, 'Franklin, William (b. c.1610)', *ODNB*.

<sup>42</sup> Ellis, *Pseudochristus*, 45-6.

<sup>43</sup> J. F. McGregor, 'Seekers and Ranters', in McGregor and Reay (eds), *Radical Religion*, 133.

<sup>44</sup> Coffey, 'Toleration controversy', in Durston and Maltby (eds), *Religion in Revolutionary England*, 48.

<sup>45</sup> McGregor, 'Seekers and Ranters', in McGregor and Reay (eds), *Radical Religion*, 133.

<sup>46</sup> G. E. Aylmer, *Rebellion or Revolution? England from Civil War to Restoration* (Oxford, 1986), 153, 177; Reay, *Quakers and the English Revolution*, 52.

impact of radical religious thought in Hampshire in the 1640s, there is some evidence for the possible existence of these sectarian groups during the 1650s. A list of seventeenth-century Muggletonian groups in England included the towns of Andover and Southampton.<sup>47</sup>

Hampshire was also represented among the Fifth Monarchist groups; a list apparently from 1656 showed agents in Portsmouth and in Yarmouth on the Isle of Wight. There may have been a group in Southampton.<sup>48</sup> A small group of radical Independents in Alton petitioned in February 1653 against the 'multitude of laws' enacted by Parliament.<sup>49</sup> Radical religion may have been spread by those who had come into contact with such views outside the county. In 1654, the prophet Anna Trapnel was taken by ship from Plymouth to Portsmouth on her way to gaol in London. As she prayed and sang the sailors were 'much affected' and 'the Lord refreshed them'.<sup>50</sup>

### **The Quakers in Hampshire in the 1650s**

But the Muggletonians and Fifth Monarchists were fringe religious groups, whose numbers remained miniscule. It was the Quakers who, of all the sects, established themselves most strongly, or at any rate most visibly, in the county. During the 1650s preachers from this new sect arrived in the southern counties, a sect that was to rapidly establish itself and to achieve an initial notoriety with its acts of witness, such as interrupting church services and refusing to pay tithes.

The term 'Quakers' was originally used in derision, but was early adopted by the movement to identify themselves to outsiders, though early Quakers used other terms, such as 'Friends of the Truth' and 'Children of the Light'.<sup>51</sup> Central to Quaker belief was the understanding that a person could have a direct inward experience of God, without the need for a formal priesthood. This set them apart from the other major religious groups of the time, since even the Baptist congregations recognised pastors. Though Quakers disavowed the need for trained ministers, the ideas of the movement were spread by active and tireless travelling preachers, most famously George Fox, who has come down to history as the founding Friend.

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<sup>47</sup> Christopher Hill, Barry Reay and William Lamont, *The World of the Muggletonians* (London, 1983), 55.

<sup>48</sup> Capp, *Fifth Monarchy Men*, 77.

<sup>49</sup> BL Add MS 24861, fol. 67r; Coleby, *Central Government*, 56.

<sup>50</sup> Anna Trapnel, *Report and Plea, or, a narrative of her journey from London into Cornwall* (London, 1654), 34-45. *Early English Books Online*, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>, accessed 17 July 2012.

<sup>51</sup> The movement would become known as the 'Society of Friends', and hence the widespread use of the term 'Friends' among Quakers to describe themselves. The terms 'Friends' and 'Quakers' have been used interchangeably within this thesis, reflecting use by modern Quakers.

These first Quakers preached where they could gather an audience – in market squares, churchyards, and inns.<sup>52</sup> They hoped to ‘convince’ their hearers of the truth of their message, hence the use of the term ‘convincement’ of those who believed their message. Early Quakers particularly attracted those who were already members of other sects.<sup>53</sup> Those who were in disagreement with the church authorities over tithes were natural converts to the movement.<sup>54</sup> In 1653, four men who would later become Quakers appear to have had goods distrained for non-payment of tithes.<sup>55</sup>

Tracing the influence of Quakerism in pre-Restoration Hampshire is facilitated by the wealth of printed tracts issued by the movement at the time, particularly those describing the sufferings of the faithful, and by later memoirs. The structure of monthly and quarterly meetings, and their attendant record-keeping, would not come about until the 1670s, but though local manuscript material is limited prior to this, Restoration Quakers collected evidence of sufferings dating from the earliest days of the movement, and these county sufferings books provide valuable evidence for the extent of the movement’s influence.<sup>56</sup>

The first Quaker preachers appear to have arrived in the county in 1655.<sup>57</sup> Ambrose Rigge and Thomas Robertson were imprisoned in Basingstoke that summer, and would later visit Southampton and Portsmouth.<sup>58</sup> In late 1655 George Fox visited Portsmouth and Ringwood, and then journeyed via Poole to Southampton.<sup>59</sup>

From these first attempts at evangelism, the movement spread throughout the county. There is evidence from records of sufferings for pre-Restoration meetings in several places in Hampshire, including Basingstoke, Baughurst, Bramshott, Ringwood, Southampton and on the Isle of Wight. Additionally, the intensive persecution of Portsmouth Quakers in the period immediately after the Restoration argues strongly for a well-established meeting in the town in the 1650s.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> For example, see George Fox, *The Journal of George Fox*, J. L. Nickalls (ed.) (Philadelphia PA, 1997), 71-2, 107, 225.

<sup>53</sup> B. Reay, ‘Quakerism and society’, in McGregor and Reay (eds), *Radical Religion*, 143.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 141.

<sup>55</sup> Joseph Besse, *A Collection of Sufferings of the People Called Quakers*, vol. 1 (London, 1753), 228. The four names all occur subsequently in Besse’s account as suffering for their Quaker beliefs post-1655.

<sup>56</sup> HRO 24M54/14.

<sup>57</sup> Norman Penney (ed.), *“The First Publishers of Truth”: being early records (now first printed) of the introduction of Quakerism into the counties of England and Wales* (London, 1907), 112.

<sup>58</sup> HRO 24M54/14, fols 3r-3v; Ambrose Rigge, *Constancy in the Truth Commended* (London, 1710), 10-12.

<sup>59</sup> Fox, *Journal*, pp. 230-1.

<sup>60</sup> HRO 24M54/14, fols 2r-6v.

Even before James Nayler's alleged act of blasphemy in Bristol in October 1656, Quaker activity was noted by the authorities. When Ambrose Rigge and Thomas Robertson went to Basingstoke in the summer of 1655, they were arrested after holding a meeting. For refusing to swear the oath of abjuration against papal supremacy – Quakers were morally opposed to the practice of swearing oaths – they were cast into gaol, where they remained for fifteen weeks.<sup>61</sup> The Basingstoke authorities seemed to have been determined to suppress this religious radicalism. While Rigge and Robertson were in prison, another Quaker, Robert Hodgson, held a meeting at the house of William Knight. Both men were apprehended and examined by the justices. Knight stated that a man he did not know (presumably Hodgson) had come to his house and spoken of God. When asked why he had entertained the man, he replied, 'the Text saith "by entertainment of strangers men have entertayned Angells!"' He refused to say whether or not he considered the vicar of Basingstoke to be a minister of Christ. For refusing to swear the oath of abjuration, both men remained in gaol for thirteen weeks.<sup>62</sup>

As the experience of Rigge and Robertson demonstrated, the names of active Quakers soon become known to the authorities. Major General William Goffe wrote to Secretary of State John Thurloe from Winchester on 10 January 1656 that 'all things seem to goe on very cheerefully' except that George Fox and two more eminent northern Quakers had been in Sussex and 'delude many simple soules'. At the same time, wrote Goffe, there were 'base bookes against the lord protector disperst among the churches, but rejected by all sober men'.<sup>63</sup>

The distribution of subversive literature, both political and religious, was something that concerned Goffe and others among Thurloe's informants. John Desborough (or Disbrowe), major-general for Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, Dorset, Wiltshire and Gloucester, wrote to Thurloe in February 1656 that he had intercepted a large quantity of Quaker literature intended for the West Country.<sup>64</sup> Goffe himself wrote again to Thurloe in March 1656 that subversive literature had been seized in Sussex, and also that he had discharged some known Quakers from his troops.<sup>65</sup>

Goffe was soon expressing concerns about the activities of Quakers in Hampshire. One Mr Cole, a burgess of Southampton, interfered in the burgess elections for Southampton in the summer of 1656; he was described by Goffe as 'enclining to the way of

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<sup>61</sup> Rigge, *Constancy in the Truth*, 11; HRO 24M54/14, fols 3r-3v.

<sup>62</sup> HRO 148M71/2/6/1/5-8; HRO 24M54/14, fols 3v-4r.

<sup>63</sup> Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. 4, 408.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 531.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 642-3.

the Quakers'.<sup>66</sup> A subsequent letter described Cole as a 'perfect leveller', well known in Southampton by his nickname of 'Common Freedom'. Cole had undesirable friends; one Clement Ireton was believed by Goffe to be a Fifth Monarchist.<sup>67</sup>

The aftermath of James Nayler's trial saw several measures enacted in 1657 which were disadvantageous to Quakers. The Vagrancy Act was extended, which affected travelling Quaker preachers. The Lord's Day Act penalised disruption of ministers, and made attendance compulsory at a church or other place of Christian worship. This was advantageous to Independents and Presbyterians, but the definition excluded Quakers.<sup>68</sup> There appears to be no evidence that Hampshire Quakers experienced any troubles directly resulting from the Nayler affair, but during 1657 the outwardly expressed radicalism of some Quakers resulted in several arrests. In that year seven Quakers, including three women, were arrested for interrupting church services in Southampton, Basingstoke, Bournemouth and Southwick. Four of the interruptions were in Southampton, and at least two of these occurred at services led by the Independent minister Nathaniel Robinson.<sup>69</sup>

There were other instances of Quakers being harassed in Hampshire in the years immediately before the Restoration. Ambrose Rigge, who had earlier interrupted a service in Southampton, was whipped for vagrancy when he returned to the town to visit Friends still in prison.<sup>70</sup> He was also imprisoned on the Isle of Wight; the prison being near the street, he was able to continue preaching, but the authorities, on discovering this, ordered him to be confined in a back room.<sup>71</sup> Thomas Morford also experienced difficulties on the Isle of Wight; he wrote to Margaret Fell in August 1657 that he had been dragged out of a private house by some soldiers and sent out of the island.<sup>72</sup> It may have been personal experience that led another Quaker, William Bayly, to pen a tract to the inhabitants in January 1659, warning them against hindering the work of God.<sup>73</sup>

William Bayly had been arrested in early 1658 with fellow-Quakers Humphrey Smith and Anthony Melledge near Ringwood on a charge of unspecified 'several misdemeanors' by a local magistrate, John Bulkley. The three men could have been released, had they promised to return to their homes, and forbear from any itinerant preaching activities. This

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<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 5, 287.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 396-7.

<sup>68</sup> Reay, *Quakers and the English Revolution*, 56.

<sup>69</sup> HRO 24M54/14, fols 2r-2v, 4r-4v; Rigge, *Banner of Gods Love*, 20.

<sup>70</sup> HRO 24M54/14, fols 4r-5v.

<sup>71</sup> Rigge, *Constancy in the Truth*, 15-16.

<sup>72</sup> FHL Swarthmore MSS Transcripts, vol. 2, F-N, 767-8.

<sup>73</sup> William Bayly, 'A Voice & Visitation of God to the Inhabitants of the Isle of Wight (A Warning to the Isle of Wight)', in William Bayly, *A Collection of the Several Wrightings of ... William Bayly*, (s.l., 1676), 79-84.

they refused to do, and so continued prisoners.<sup>74</sup> Their preaching activities, especially in the case of Smith, appear to have been the primary reason for their incarceration, but there was an allegation that shortly before his arrest Smith has cursed Mary Hinton, a maidservant. The claim was made by the young woman's employer; why is unclear. A single-sheet tract was issued in Smith's defence with testimonies by local supporters. Mary Hinton had been sick when Smith visited her, and one of the testimonies could be read as claiming that he healed her, though Smith himself made no such claim, only denying that he had cursed her.<sup>75</sup> In her study of Quaker tracts, Rosemary Moore found no published accounts from the 1650s by Quakers claiming healing miracles.<sup>76</sup> The evidence of this obscure tract is ambiguous, but if it is a claim of healing, it is a unique exception.

Coleby notes that, in Hampshire at least, the year 1657 saw the beginnings of a crackdown on dissent, although it was Quakers and Roman Catholics who bore the brunt of it.<sup>77</sup> As discussed above, as far as the Quakers were concerned, this was at least partly the result of the Nayler affair. Furthermore, there were fears that the Quakers had an insurrectionist agenda. On 29 December 1657 one of Thurloe's correspondents, John Dunch, wrote from Hursley that a Southampton Quaker had allegedly predicted 'that ere long we should have our bellies full of blood'. Another Quaker, Captain Every, one of the excise, had, according to Dunch, enough arms to arm a company.<sup>78</sup> 'Captain Every' was probably George Embree; whether he had the stash of arms claimed by Dunch is unverifiable, but Embree would become one of the most active Quakers in Southampton and in the county after the Restoration. There is no evidence from the Hampshire sufferings book that any Quaker was actually indicted for suspected rebellion prior to the Restoration, but the fear seems to have been real enough.

By September 1658 there were seven Friends in Winchester gaol. This may support Coleby's assertion that there was a crackdown on dissent in Hampshire; the same number of Quakers were imprisoned in Colchester, a known centre of Quaker activity, and was rather more than lay in the gaols at Carlisle, York, Pontefract and Lancaster, all areas where

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<sup>74</sup> 'Volume 183: October 1658, 16-30', *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Interregnum*, 1658-9 (1885), 156-171, <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=104031>, accessed 15 April 2011; Norman Penney (ed.), *Extracts from State Papers Relating to Friends 1654 to 1672* (London, 1913), 46, 59-60; Humphrey Smith, *The true and everlasting Rule* (London, 1658), 39; Humphrey Smith, (et al.), *The Fruits of unrighteousnes and injustice* (London, 1658), 8-15.

<sup>75</sup> Humphrey Smith, et al, *The Defence of Humphery Smith, Anthony Melledge and William Bayley*, (s.l., 1659). *Early English Books Online*, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>, accessed 1 October 2009.

<sup>76</sup> Rosemary Moore, *The Light in their Consciences: the early Quakers in Britain 1646-1666* (Pennsylvania PA, 2000), 131-2.

<sup>77</sup> Coleby, *Central Government*, 61-3.

<sup>78</sup> Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. 6, 710-11.



Quakers were active.<sup>79</sup> Nationally, some imprisoned Friends were pardoned and released in November 1658, including, in Winchester, James Potter, imprisoned for disrupting a minister during the church service and refusing to pay the fine of five shillings.<sup>80</sup> Other Friends were released by a Committee of Parliament in May or June 1659.<sup>81</sup>

Nevertheless, the fact that the Quaker influence spread so widely throughout Hampshire may indicate that the persecution may not have been as intense as Coleby suggests. The evidence of the Hampshire sufferings book is that, up until the mass arrests in the aftermath of Venner's Rebellion in January 1661, no-one in the county was arrested simply for attending a Quaker meeting. Friends were arrested for activities related to their faith, such as interrupting church services and refusing to pay tithes, and active Quaker preachers who became known to the authorities were liable to be imprisoned on the flimsiest of excuses.<sup>82</sup> There were a handful of cases of Friends being detained when visiting their fellows in prison.<sup>83</sup> But those Friends whose Quakerism expressed itself only in attendance at the meetings do not appear to have attracted undue attention from the authorities.

Furthermore, there is evidence of Quakers continuing their activities in support of the movement unmolested by the authorities. Barbara Blaugdone, who had already preached widely in the southern part of England, went to Basingstoke to endeavour to secure the release of Ambrose Rigge and Thomas Robertson when they were imprisoned there in 1655. According to her own account, she spoke to the mayor of the town on their behalf and appears to have been politely received. Friends in Basingstoke held a meeting the next day, and the two men were released a few days later.<sup>84</sup> Another active Quaker evangelist, William Caton, recorded his own extensive travels in the faith. Among his journeys in 1656, he travelled through Hampshire on his way from Bristol to Kent. He met several other Quaker evangelists on the way, but at no point during this particular section of

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<sup>79</sup> 'Volume 182: September 1658, 16-30', *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Interregnum, 1658-9* (1885), 139-150, <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=104029>, accessed 15 April 2011; Penney (ed.), *Extracts from State Papers*, 37.

<sup>80</sup> 'Volume 183: November 1658, 16-30', *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Interregnum, 1658-9* (1885), 183-203, <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=104033>, accessed 12 April 2011; Penney (ed.), *Extracts from State Papers*, 89.

<sup>81</sup> HRO 24M54/14, fols 4r-4v. Those released included Humphrey Smith, Anthony Melledge and William Bayly.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, fols 2r-6v.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 6v.

<sup>84</sup> Barbara Blaugdone, *An Account of the Travels, Sufferings and Persecutions of Barbara Blaugdone* (London, 1691), 20.

his travels does he mention any adverse attention from the authorities.<sup>85</sup> His missionary activities later in 1656 and in the early part of 1657 resulted in 'exceeding *good Service for the Lord*' in Hampshire (he specifically mentioned Portsmouth and Southampton), Sussex, Surrey and Kent. He suffered some abuse near Reigate in Surrey, and in Sussex a mob attempted, unsuccessfully, to break up a meeting, but he did not appear to have attracted any official attention.<sup>86</sup> In 1658 he visited Southampton Quakers, and went to Winchester to visit imprisoned Friends, but he does not suggest that he was at risk of being incarcerated himself.<sup>87</sup> The evidence of Blaugdone and Caton's accounts suggests that active Quaker evangelists could travel extensively, and for sufficient periods of time to establish and nurture networks of Friends in the counties, and this needs to be set alongside the accounts of those Friends who were imprisoned for their faith.

## Conclusion

Hampshire, on the eve of the Civil Wars, was not a county in which radical religion is known to have at all prevalent. Despite the alleged proliferation of radical sects in the 1640s, it seems unlikely that there was much, if any, activity of this nature in the county. The evidence for the proliferation of Baptist preachers in the 1640s, and the extent to which they arrived with Parliamentary armies, is, for Hampshire, anecdotal and inconclusive, though it does appear to be the case that there was at least some Baptist preaching activity in the county, and Baptist congregations were well-established by the mid-1650s.

The activities of Baptist preachers in the county may have been the awakening of Hampshire's radical religious conscience. The short-lived enthusiasm over William Franklin may be seen as evidence of this. But dissent in Hampshire was never characterised by fringe views, but by a more cautious acceptance of the message of those radical groups who were to become well-established both before and after the Restoration. The success of the Quakers in the county may have built on existing feelings about the payment of tithes, and been nurtured by repeated visits from Quaker missionaries, and by the distribution of literature.

The radical sects had an uneasy relationship with the authorities. There was a level of toleration for the peaceful expression of divergent religious views, but the more assertive activities of the Quakers, especially in the aftermath of the Nayler case, resulted in a

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<sup>85</sup> William Caton, *A Journal of the Life of that Faithful Servant and Minister of the Gospel of Jesus Christ Will. Caton* (London, 1689), 36.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 42-3.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 50-1.

disproportionate amount of adverse attention being focused on them, and Hampshire was no exception to this general rule. It was attention which the Baptists, at least in Hampshire, seem to have escaped.

The Restoration held early promises of the religious freedom, even to the separatist sects. But as all radical sects were to discover, as were the Presbyterians and Congregationalists who did not regard themselves as radicals, the Restoration, despite its early promises, was to see a worsening of their liberty to worship as they saw fit. It is this persecution of dissent that will be discussed in chapter four.

## CHAPTER FOUR: THE PERSECUTION OF DISSENT, 1660 TO 1689

This chapter considers the persecution of dissent in Hampshire from the Restoration of Charles II in 1660 to the passing of the Toleration Act in 1689. It is a period much discussed in the secondary literature, as national policies and legislation affected the lives of dissenters throughout the country. But the Restoration persecutions in Hampshire have received less attention than persecutions in other counties.<sup>1</sup> This chapter therefore considers the how far the Hampshire persecutions can be seen to be related to national policies and legislation, and the extent to which dissenters experienced persecution by the civil and ecclesiastical authorities. It makes a contribution towards a more comprehensive overview of the effect in the provinces of the policies of central government, and how those policies were enacted in the localities.

The Restoration seemed initially to offer hope of toleration towards differing religious beliefs. The Declaration of Breda, issued in April 1660, declared a 'Liberty to tender Consciences' in all matters of religion that did not disturb the peace of the kingdom.<sup>2</sup> Many Presbyterians hoped for comprehension within the re-established Church of England, while Independents, Baptists and Quakers looked forward to toleration of their beliefs.<sup>3</sup>

But those whose beliefs placed them outside the mainstream Church of England were to be disappointed. In 1660 an Act confirmed the right of ministers whose livings had been sequestered to return to their former parish. Moderate Presbyterians had their hopes of comprehension within the Church of England encouraged by the Worcester House Declaration, but its provisions failed to make it into the statute book. Following the Act of Uniformity in 1662 nearly a thousand clergy, mostly Presbyterian, would surrender their livings rather than, as Watts phrases it, 'genuflect before the ghost of Archbishop Laud' and agree to the terms of the Act; they would join a similar number who had already been deprived of their livings during the previous two years.<sup>4</sup>

In his research into the clergy of the Diocese of Winchester in the seventeenth century, Andrew Thomson has noted a decline in support for the Established Church after the Restoration, suggesting that the upheavals of the 1650s had left in their wake a

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<sup>1</sup> Chapter one.

<sup>2</sup> Charles II, King of England, *His Majesties Gracious Letter and Declaration sent to the House of Peers by Sir John Grenvil, Kt. from Breda* (London, 1660), 12-13. *Early English Books Online*, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>, accessed 17 July 2012.

<sup>3</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 217, 222.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 215-19.

discontented people whose loyalty to the Established Church was unreliable.<sup>5</sup> In Hampshire, as elsewhere after the Act of Uniformity, Presbyterians found themselves in the position of being nonconformists, and thus joining those sects whom they did not regard as natural bedfellows. But, though Presbyterians and Independents did not escape persecution, it was the more radical sects of Baptists and Quakers who were to bear the brunt of the Restoration persecution, a persecution which intensified after the Fifth Monarchist uprising in London in 1661, and was reinforced under the legislation of the 1660s (the so-called 'Clarendon Code'), and by the second Conventicle Act of 1670. Following a brief period of respite during the Declaration of Indulgence in 1672-3, a further period of persecution as a result of the Popish Plot, Exclusion Crisis and Rye House Plot characterised the last years of Charles's reign.<sup>6</sup> Although in 1685 some Protestant dissenters were implicated in Monmouth's rebellion, from 1686 a reversal of policy by James II saw the beginnings of a policy of toleration towards Protestant dissenters which is reflected in the marked decrease in the number of prosecutions of dissenters, even before the Act of Toleration passed in 1689 early in the reign of William and Mary.<sup>7</sup>

That was the national picture, and as a broad generalisation, was reflected in the pattern of persecution of Hampshire dissenters. But research undertaken for this chapter showed that, while incidents of persecution spiked in Hampshire as they spiked nationally, the persecution in Hampshire was not evenly spread throughout the county. Some dissenters, such as those in Southampton, suffered repeatedly, and in line with national events and policies, but elsewhere persecution was more sporadic.

Furthermore, some dissenters were more likely than others to be prosecuted, regardless of location. The more radical dissenters, namely most Independents, as well as Baptists and Quakers, are more likely to appear in the historical record, as they could be indicted before the courts for not attending church as well as for attending their religious meetings. Conversely, those dissenters who were prepared, as many Presbyterians were, to attend their parish church in addition to worshipping at their conventicles usually escaped prosecution, unless they had the misfortune to be present at a meeting that was disrupted. The evidence of the 1669 conventicle returns is that the Presbyterians were the largest single group of dissenters in the county, but this is not necessarily reflected in the court records.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Thomson, 'Diocese of Winchester before and after the English Civil Wars', 125.

<sup>6</sup> Coleby, *Central Government*, 196.

<sup>7</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 257.

<sup>8</sup> LPL MS 639.

It is difficult to assess the full impact of national government policy against dissenters in Hampshire, as the records of the various courts are incomplete. This is particularly apparent for the 1660s and 1670s, when the courts must have heard cases brought under the Conventicle Acts of 1664 and 1670, but for which there is now little evidence in the assize and quarter sessions records.<sup>9</sup> Records of the dissenting congregations themselves are non-existent for the Presbyterian and Independent congregations in Hampshire, and the only surviving Baptist church book for any part of the county was not kept for the twelve years between 1660 and 1672.<sup>10</sup> The records of Quaker sufferings make up for this to an extent as far as Friends are concerned, since they cover the period from 1655 onwards.<sup>11</sup>

Almost 1,600 churchwardens' presentments survive for the period 1664 to 1705. The coverage is not uniform across all parishes, and the precise allegiance of those presented is seldom given. However, two abstracts of these presentments, from 1664 and c. 1673, do survive, which appear to list all presentments made throughout the county in those years. In addition, the surviving consistory court papers record dissenters appearing before the bishop's court for various misdemeanours, and provide some indication of the extent to which dissent was prosecuted in the ecclesiastical courts.<sup>12</sup>

### **The Fifth Monarchist Uprising, 1661**

Watts states that immediately after the Restoration, meetings of both Baptists and Quakers were broken up and disrupted.<sup>13</sup> But in Hampshire the radical sects may have largely been left alone prior to the Fifth Monarchist uprising of January 1661. Baptists, or at least those on the Hampshire/Wiltshire borders for whom the church book survives, may have lost members, but there is no evidence in the church book of violence towards the congregation<sup>14</sup>. The evidence of the Quakers' own Book of Sufferings is that persecution in the period immediately after the Restoration was limited. Two Crawley Quakers were arrested in the autumn of 1660.<sup>15</sup> But otherwise the major exception, prior to January 1661, was the sustained campaign of harassment suffered by Quakers in Portsmouth. This began

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<sup>9</sup> Coleby, *Central Government*, 133; White, *Quarter Sessions Records*, 6-9.

<sup>10</sup> AL B1/1.

<sup>11</sup> HRO 24M54/14.

<sup>12</sup> Sarah Lewin, *Records of the Diocese of Winchester in the Hampshire Record Office* ([Winchester], 1991), 10-11, 13-14; HRO 21M65/B1/37; HRO 21M65/B1/41.

<sup>13</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 215.

<sup>14</sup> AL B1/1, 15-16.

<sup>15</sup> HRO 24M54/14, fols 9v-10r.

with the breaking up of a meeting in October 1660, and continued into 1662.<sup>16</sup> According to the manuscript Book of Sufferings at least thirty meetings were broken up during this time, property damaged, and Friends assaulted and imprisoned.<sup>17</sup>

The attacks on the Quakers were strongly encouraged by the deputy governor Colonel Legge. He may or may not have initiated the persecution, since his name does not appear in connection with the trouble before January 1661.<sup>18</sup> Nevertheless, even up to his death in 1662 he was still trying to persecute Quakers.<sup>19</sup> What motivated Legge is unknown; the Quaker sufferings book implies it was personal malice. But it may have been a genuine fear of insurrection by radical groups, perhaps inspired by an incident in the days immediately before Charles's return to England when 'some Phanatickes neer Portsmouth [were] quelled by Col[onel] Norton'.<sup>20</sup>

Legge's campaign lost momentum after his death, and it may not have had the whole-hearted support of the townsfolk. A bystander protested at the soldiers' abusive treatment of Friends who opened their shops on Christmas Day 1660, and when the treatment was repeated the following year, it was 'to the grieve of diverse moderate people'.<sup>21</sup> Nevertheless, six male Friends were still in gaol in early 1663.<sup>22</sup>

The violent disruption of their meetings experienced by the Portsmouth Quakers was exceptional, until the London cooper and Fifth Monarchist Thomas Venner started an uprising in the capital on 6 January 1661.<sup>23</sup> The rebellion, though small, was armed, and despite its inevitable defeat it caused considerable alarm among the authorities not only in London, but nationally. Baptists and Quakers, as radical groups, were associated with the uprising, although there is no evidence that any Quaker participated in it. Both sects issued printed declarations in an attempt to disassociate themselves from the rebellion.<sup>24</sup> But it was in vain. According to one contemporary pamphlet, over 4,230 Quakers were imprisoned nationwide, and George Fox later wrote of 'several thousand of our Friends that were cast

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<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, fols 6v-9r, 12v-14v.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 7v. Colonel Legge is described as the deputy governor in *Ibid.*, fol. 8v. He seems to have had responsibility for the garrison, not the more senior position of lieutenant-governor. D. Dymond, *Portsmouth and the Fall of the Puritan Republic* (Portsmouth Papers 11), (Portsmouth, 1971), 13-14.

<sup>19</sup> HRO 24M54/14 fols 14r-14v.

<sup>20</sup> Bulstrode Whitelocke, *The Diary of Bulstrode Whitelocke 1605-1675*, Ruth Spalding (ed.) (Oxford, 1990), 586-7.

<sup>21</sup> HRO 24M54/14, fols 7r, 7v, 14v.

<sup>22</sup> [Humphrey Smith, et al], *The Cause of the Long Afflicted* ([London] [1662/3]), 6.

<sup>23</sup> The Fifth Monarchists took their name from prophecies in the Book of Daniel, which stated that four monarchies had gone, and the world now waited for the fifth.

<sup>24</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 223; George Fox, et al, *A Declaration from the Harmles & Innocent People of God called Quakers* (London, 1660 [1661]), 2.

into prison'.<sup>25</sup> Baptists in London were dragged out of their beds by soldiers and one Baptist preacher was sentenced to death for allegedly treasonable words preached in his sermon.<sup>26</sup>

That the government was seriously concerned is clear from a letter from the Privy Council of 8 January. It ordered county lieutenants to ensure that all persons known or suspected of disloyalty were disarmed, and to have the oaths of supremacy and allegiance administered to them. Those refusing to co-operate were to be proceeded against according to the law.<sup>27</sup> The Earl of Southampton, lord lieutenant for Hampshire, wrote a covering note with this letter to his deputies on 9 January, in which he emphasised the dangers of the rebels.<sup>28</sup> The deputy lieutenants' reply to Southampton assured him that they had taken action against any possible insurrection in the county, but they warned him of the existence of unlawful assemblies and conventicles being held by those who 'call themselves by ye names of Quakers, Anabaptists & 5<sup>th</sup> Monarch Men as a mark of Distinction'. The deputy lieutenants found 'their number, as well as their spirits to be very great, and apt to carry themselves very contumaciously against any maner [sic] of Authority'.<sup>29</sup>

As Baptists and Quakers refused on principle to swear oaths, the gaols could fill up fast. The evidence for this is clear from events mentioned in the Hampshire Quakers' sufferings book, although the uprising itself is not explicitly mentioned. The manuscript claims that at one time in 1661 there were eighty-one Friends in prison in the county, and though it is not clear how many of them were detained as a direct result of Venner's rebellion, the evidence is that this was the case for the majority. On 11 January, Ambrose Rigge was stopped on the highway at Petersfield. He was brought before one of the lieutenants, Humphrey Bennet, and eventually imprisoned in Winchester gaol where he remained for four months.<sup>30</sup> Two days later seventeen Quakers in Alton were taken from their meeting and imprisoned.<sup>31</sup> On 15 January Humphrey Bennet wrote that he was confident that he had prevented any insurrection in Hampshire.<sup>32</sup> Nevertheless, on 17 January William Buckland, another Quaker, was arrested while going to visit his sister. On refusing to swear the oath of allegiance, he too was imprisoned. There were other incidents

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<sup>25</sup> Braithwaite, *Second Period of Quakerism*, 9; Fox, *Journal*, 398.

<sup>26</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 223.

<sup>27</sup> BL Add MS 21922: Letter book of Sir Richard Norton, 1625-1640, 1660-1662, fol. 244v.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 245r.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 245v. The letter is undated, but is a response to Southampton's letter of 9 January.

<sup>30</sup> HRO 24M54/14, fols 9r-10v, 12r-12v.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 9v.

<sup>32</sup> Penney (ed.), *Extracts from State Papers*, 126.



in the county, including the breaking-up of meetings in Southampton, following which twelve men and eight women were gaoled.<sup>33</sup>

The evidence for the detention of Baptists and others not connected to the Quakers is less clear from the surviving Hampshire evidence, although the response of the deputy lieutenants quoted above implies that they too were arrested. There is evidence from Wiltshire which suggests that Baptists were imprisoned alongside Quakers. A letter from two Quaker preachers imprisoned in the county gaol near Salisbury mentions Baptists jailed for refusing to swear.<sup>34</sup> It is probable that one of these was the Salisbury Baptist Walter Pen, whose name appears as one of the signatories of the Baptist declaration of peace issued in the aftermath of the London uprising.<sup>35</sup> After his release Walter Pen would continue to be a leading figure in the group of Baptist congregations on the Hampshire/Wiltshire borders.<sup>36</sup>

The net spread to catch potential rebels was cast widely, catching up less radical religionists. Several citizens appeared before the Basingstoke borough sessions in April 1661 for being at a 'conventicle' contrary to the king's order forbidding such gatherings, but were discharged upon swearing the oath of allegiance and paying their court fees.<sup>37</sup>

Many of those imprisoned at the time of the rebellion were released by the spring.<sup>38</sup> However, the suppression of Venner's uprising did not entirely suppress the government's fears of further insurrection. Campaigns against religious radicals may have been motivated by continued fears of rebellion, even after the suppression of Venner's uprising. In the summer of 1661, the Privy Council were still concerned about the dangers of disaffected persons, and the Earl of Southampton was relaying these concerns to his deputies in the county.<sup>39</sup> These concerns remained an issue in the summer of 1662, when he wrote again desiring that any dangerous persons be detained. He received a reassuring reply that such persons had been found to be conformable to church and state.<sup>40</sup>

### **The Corporation Act, 1661**

After the election of the 'Cavalier Parliament' in March 1661, several items of legislation were enacted during the early 1660s which individually and collectively were

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<sup>33</sup> HRO 24M54/14, fols 9r-10v, 12r-12v.

<sup>34</sup> FHL Swarthmore MSS Transcripts, vol. 1, A-F, 917.

<sup>35</sup> Thomas Perrot, *et al.*, *To the King of these Nations, the Humble Representation of Several Societies, commonly called by the Name of Anabaptists* (London, 1660 [i.e., 1661]). *Early English Books Online*, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>, accessed 17 July 2012.

<sup>36</sup> AL B1/1.

<sup>37</sup> HRO 148M71/2/1/118 Basingstoke Borough: Leet and sessions rolls, 1661-1662, 1664.

<sup>38</sup> HRO 24M54/14, fols 9r-10v, 12r-12v; Coleby, *Central Government*, 134-5.

<sup>39</sup> BL Add MS 21922, fols 246v-247r; Coleby, *Central Government*, 135.

<sup>40</sup> BL Add MS 21922, fols 250v-251v.

designed to suppress dissent. The Corporation Act, passed by Parliament in December 1661, required all municipal office holders to take the Anglican sacrament of holy communion, to renounce the Presbyterian covenant, and take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. Watts implies that it was made in response to Venner's armed insurrection of Fifth Monarchists the previous January.<sup>41</sup> It was the first of those parliamentary Acts passed against dissent which later became known collectively as the 'Clarendon Code'. From 1662-3 a commission was in operation to enforce the terms of the Corporation Act, ensuring that those who would not conform would be expelled from their positions in local government.

The effect of the Corporation Act was that, as Coleby put it, '[e]ligibility for office was not simply defined by social status, but by sworn or proven loyalty to the regime'.<sup>42</sup> Purges of those of suspect loyalty took place in several Hampshire towns. A dramatic purge took place at Portsmouth, which lost over ninety members of its corporation, perhaps because its strategic importance as a naval town demanded the absolute loyalty of its officers.<sup>43</sup> Lymington also experienced a purge, which saw it lose twenty-one members of its corporation, as did Winchester, where seventeen to eighteen freemen were removed.<sup>44</sup>

As this study concerns dissenters, the issue here is how far the purges, as experienced in Hampshire, were concerned with ejecting religious nonconformists, rather than being primarily politically motivated. Undoubtedly there was a religious concern embedded in the Corporation Act, since it required candidates for office to take the Anglican sacrament of holy communion, but the purges in Portsmouth, Lymington, Winchester and elsewhere in the county do not appear to have been related to a failure to take communion. Rather, the purges seem to have been largely politically motivated.<sup>45</sup> In Portsmouth, the minister Benjamin Burgess and his curate Thomas Bague were ejected from the corporation, but this may have had as much to do with their involvement in the Hesilrige affair as their Presbyterianism.<sup>46</sup>

There is further evidence of political motivation, shortly before the Corporation Act, in an account in Winchester's city records, confirming Ferdinando Bye in the position of

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<sup>41</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 223.

<sup>42</sup> Coleby, *Central Government*, 97.

<sup>43</sup> B. D. Henning (ed.), *The House of Commons 1660-1690*, vol. 1 (London, 1983), 253. Coleby, *Central Government*, 92, 94.

<sup>44</sup> Henning (ed.), *House of Commons*, vol. 1, 248-9, 259-60; Coleby, *Central Government*, 94.

<sup>45</sup> Henning (ed.), *House of Commons*, vol. 1, 248-9, 253, 259-60; Coleby, *Central Government*, 92, 94.

<sup>46</sup> PHC CE 1/7 Elections and sessions records September 1653-April 1662; Dymond, *Portsmouth and the Fall of the Puritan Republic*, 15; Christopher Durston, 'Hesilrige, Sir Arthur, second baronet (1601-1661)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2006, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13123>, accessed 7 December 2012. Burgess and Bague were also ejected from their parish. Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 70-1, 87-8.

town clerk. Bye, a loyal Royalist, had previously been rejected as town clerk in favour of the Parliamentary Stephen Welstead, but Welstead, who had the added disadvantage of having been recommended to the post by the regicide, and former city Recorder, John Lisle, was clearly out of favour for his political affiliations, not his religious adherence.<sup>47</sup>

It is likely that many of those excluded from the corporations may have had Presbyterian or Independent leanings, but how far they actually became dissenters from the re-established Anglican church is open to some doubt. If active dissenters were being ejected from the corporations, one would expect to find their names among the lists of sectarians presented by the churchwardens in 1664.<sup>48</sup> However, the evidence is hardly conclusive. At Andover, the town minutes from December 1654 list twenty-four officials, yet the next surviving set of minutes, from June 1662, records only seven officials.<sup>49</sup> None of the missing names appear in the churchwardens' presentments for the town.<sup>50</sup> Nor do any of the ejected Winchester burgesses appear in the presentments.<sup>51</sup> Indeed, one of the Winchester burgesses, Edward Hooker, remained on the corporation, despite his dissenting affiliation.<sup>52</sup> At Lymington, none of the ejected burgesses appear in the presentments themselves, though the wife and maidservant of one ejected burgess, Bartholomew Bulkley, were presented, as were other members of the Bulkley family.<sup>53</sup> Yet his possible religious affiliations did not prevent Bulkley from being re-elected as a burgess by November 1677.<sup>54</sup>

Southampton had a high proportion of dissenters; the 1669 conventicle returns listed nine separate dissenting meetings, comprising Presbyterian, Independent, Baptist and Quaker meetings, and even a Fifth Monarchist conventicle.<sup>55</sup> By 1676 between one in ten and one in five adults in the city parishes were Protestant nonconformists.<sup>56</sup> Henning's study of Parliament states that dissenters were not numerous on the corporation of Southampton, but their prosperity meant that their names did appear on the roll of freemen. In 1662 the commissioners removed 'one particularly loud-mouthed republican' from the corporation, but otherwise this study records no other ejections in the period 1662

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<sup>47</sup> HRO W/B1/5 Winchester City Archives: Fifth book of ordinances, 1647-1662, fol. 146v-147r.

<sup>48</sup> HRO 21M65/B1/37.

<sup>49</sup> HRO 37M85/4/MI/1/24 Andover Borough: Town Council before 1836: Minutes, 1654; HRO 37M85/4/MI/2 Andover Borough: Town Council before 1836: Minutes, 1662.

<sup>50</sup> 21M65/B1/37, fol. 21v.

<sup>51</sup> HRO W/B1/5, fols 131r-147r; HRO 21M65/B1/37, fol. 1r.

<sup>52</sup> A dissenting conventicle was held at his house in 1677-8. HRO Q1/5 Hampshire Quarter Sessions: Order book, 1672-1679, 83-4.

<sup>53</sup> 21M65/B1/37, fol. 7v.

<sup>54</sup> HRO 27M74/DBC2 Town Book of Lymington, c. 1616-1715, fols 51v, 85r.

<sup>55</sup> LPL MS 639, fol. 264r.

<sup>56</sup> Tables 3e, 10f.

to 1663.<sup>57</sup> However, Coleby states that there was a 'moderate purge', with nine burgesses being removed during the work of the commissioners.<sup>58</sup> Given the number of dissenters in the town, this seems to indicate that the aim of the purge was not primarily religious.

Michael Watts observes that the Corporation Act 'gave unscrupulous corporations the opportunity of replenishing their coffers by electing Dissenters to office and then fining them if they refused to take the Anglican eucharist in order to serve'.<sup>59</sup> He includes Southampton as among the towns where nonconformists were affected in the early 1660s.<sup>60</sup> But this is questionable. If it did occur in Southampton at this date, it is not mentioned by Coleby in his discussion of the effects of the Corporation Act on Hampshire.<sup>61</sup> Watts's source for his information is the 1909 history of the Above Bar Congregational Church in Southampton, which states that Isaac Watts senior (father of the celebrated hymn writer) was fined on three occasions between 1675 and 1703 for allegedly 'refusing' civic office, but no other examples are given in this source.<sup>62</sup> There were cases in Southampton after the 1660s where dissenters were charged with 'refusing' office, but how far this was a cynical money-making exercise, and how far an inevitable consequence of civic life in a town with a significant number of dissenters, cannot reliably be deduced from the historical record.<sup>63</sup>

Tim Harris notes that the purges did not always succeed in removing those who sympathised with dissent, while others who should have been disqualified managed to intrude themselves back into office.<sup>64</sup> Even if the purges of the corporations did succeed, at least for a time, in largely eliminating active nonconformists from local government, they failed to purge dissent from the towns themselves. The Hampshire borough towns of Christchurch, Lymington, Portsmouth, Southampton and Winchester all feature in the Compton Census of 1676 as having greater than five per cent of their adult population

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<sup>57</sup> Henning (ed.), *House of Commons*, vol. 1, 255. The right of election from 1660 to 1685 was in the freemen of Southampton, and in 1689 in the inhabitants paying scot and lot. The number of voters was less than 50 in 1679, but over 100 in 1689.

<sup>58</sup> Coleby, *Central Government*, 94.

<sup>59</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 223.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 223-4. The other towns listed by Watts are Coventry, Warwick, Stratford-upon-Avon, Exeter, Bristol, Norwich and London.

<sup>61</sup> Coleby, *Central Government*, 2-7.

<sup>62</sup> S. Stainer, *History of the Above Bar Congregational Church, Southampton, from 1662 to 1908* (Southampton, 1909), 30.

<sup>63</sup> HRO 24M54/14, fol. 26r; SAS SC9/4/24/12 Southampton Quarter Sessions: File of sessions papers, 1683-1687: Recognizances, 1686. The proportion of nonconformists in Southampton as a percentage of the population was 15.77% in 1676; see table 6.

<sup>64</sup> Tim Harris, *Restoration: Charles II and his kingdoms 1660-1685* (London, 2006), 67.

dissenting from the Established Church.<sup>65</sup> Portsmouth, Southampton and Winchester were all recorded in the 1669 conventicle returns as having dissenting meetings. While no meetings were noted for Christchurch or Lymington, there was a dissenting presence in Milford, one of the parishes adjacent to Lymington, while a preacher at a Hordle conventicle came from nearby Christchurch.<sup>66</sup>

### **The Quaker Act, 1662**

The Quaker Act of 1662 saw 'hundreds' thrown into prison across the country.<sup>67</sup> Its impact was certainly felt in parts of Hampshire. In Southampton several Quaker meetings were disturbed, and a number of Friends fined and imprisoned. Fourteen were arrested at one meeting alone.<sup>68</sup> The effect was also felt in Portsmouth, where six Quakers were imprisoned after a meeting in Portsmouth in July 1662, but it appears from the Book of Sufferings that their main persecutor, Colonel Legge, had recently died, and the campaign against them was losing momentum.<sup>69</sup> The authorities also took the opportunity to arrest the prominent Quaker evangelist Humphrey Smith at a meeting in Alton.<sup>70</sup> John Bishop of Gatcombe on the Isle of Wight was arrested for attending a meeting, and imprisoned for refusing to swear the oaths of allegiance and supremacy.<sup>71</sup> There were two incidents the following year when meetings were disturbed and Friends arrested; one in Southampton, and one near Ringwood. The Ringwood meeting may have been a target due to the fact that the Quaker leader George Fox was known to be present.<sup>72</sup> Quakers were not only indicted in the secular courts for meeting together in defiance of the Quaker Act, but also in the ecclesiastical courts for failure to attend church. Five Basingstoke Friends were summoned to appear before the bishop's court for this offence.<sup>73</sup>

But the absence of evidence in other parts of the county suggests that Quakers elsewhere in Hampshire escaped prosecution. There is no mention in the Book of Sufferings of any persecution at this date of meetings in Andover, Kingsclere or Upper Clatford, yet all

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<sup>65</sup> See tables 3a-j, 10a-l.

<sup>66</sup> LPL MS 639, fols 262v-264r.

<sup>67</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 225.

<sup>68</sup> HRO 24M54/14, fols 10v-12r; *Mercurius Publicus* (25 September-2 October 1662), 643-4. *Early English Books Online*, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>, accessed 23 July 2012.

<sup>69</sup> HRO 24M54/14, fol. 14v.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 15r.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 18r.

<sup>72</sup> TNA PRO ASSI 24/22 Order book: Western Circuit, July 1652-March 1677, fols 104r-104v; HRO 24M54/14, fol. 17r; Fox, *Journal*, 440-2.

<sup>73</sup> HRO 24M54/14, 15v.

these places were listed in the 1669 conventicle returns as having Quaker meetings.<sup>74</sup> Even in beleaguered Southampton, some meetings remained undisturbed. Immediately prior to the Ringwood meeting, George Fox had been present at a meeting in Southampton, which remained untroubled.<sup>75</sup>

However, a growing campaign against all sectarians that was to receive formal legislation with the First Conventicle Act of 1664 can be seen in that the Quaker Act was not only used against Quakers. By the end of 1662 a number of sectarians, including Independents and Baptists as well as Quakers, had been arrested in Southampton. Some were released upon payment of a small fine and a promise of future conformity, but those who were more obdurate remained in gaol. James Wise, a clothworker and preacher, took advantage of his imprisonment to continue preaching through an iron grate that faced onto the street.<sup>76</sup> On the Isle of Wight, Baptists attracted the notice of deputy governor Colonel Walter Slingsby, who reported on 28 October 1663 that he had seized an Anabaptist's letter which mentioned a meeting and fast day.<sup>77</sup> Some days later, on 8 November, he reported that he had detained a person who had allowed his house to be used for a conventicle and the conventicle's teacher. He had admonished them and let them go, presumably hoping that they would refrain from further assembly, but the conventicle continued to meet.<sup>78</sup>

### **Act of Uniformity, 1662**

The Quaker Act had a serious impact on some, if not all, Quakers, and its effects began to be felt on other sectarian groups. But it was the Act of Uniformity, enacted later in 1662, which was to have a far greater impact on Hampshire, in this case on those who had an allegiance towards Presbyterian or Independent congregations. The Act required that by St Bartholomew's Day on 24 August 1662 all clergy were to assent to using the Book of Common Prayer, to abjure the Solemn League and Covenant and to seek ordination by a bishop if they had not previously been ordained by one. Conformity was also required of university fellows, schoolmasters and private tutors. Watts observes:

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<sup>74</sup> LPL MS 639, fols 261r-264r; HRO 24M54/14.

<sup>75</sup> Fox, *Journal*, 440.

<sup>76</sup> *Mercurius Publicus* (4 December-11 December 1662), 797. *Early English Books Online*, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>, accessed 23 July 2012.

<sup>77</sup> 'Charles II - volume 82: October 18-31, 1663', *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Charles II, 1663-4* (1862), 306-324, <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=54734>, accessed 18 December 2012; Paul Hooper, 'The churches of the Isle of Wight during and after the Commonwealth', *Congregational History Society Magazine*, vol. 6, no. 6 (Autumn 2012), 305.

<sup>78</sup> 'Charles II - volume 83: November 1-16, 1663', *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Charles II, 1663-4* (1862), 324-342, <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=54735>, accessed 18 December 2012.

To scrupulous Puritans the demand that they give unquestioning approbation to the rubrics against which they and their forefathers had contended for a century was tantamount to an order to disobey God. 'We will do anything for his majesty but sin', declared Robert Atkins, hitherto rector of St. John's, Exeter. 'We will hazard anything for him but our souls. We could hope to die for him, but we dare not be damned for him.'<sup>79</sup>

Nationally, a total of 2,029 clergy, lecturers and fellows were deprived of their posts between 1660 and 1662, of whom nearly a thousand gave up their livings as a direct result of the Act of Uniformity. They largely comprised Presbyterians, and those Independents who had until this point avoided identifying themselves as sectarians. The Presbyterian hopes of reforming the Church of England from within were destroyed.<sup>80</sup>

Coleby states that in Hampshire, a 'narrow, intolerant Anglican church was established' following the ejection of those ministers who failed to conform, and that control of the Established Church returned to a more centralised structure.<sup>81</sup> But Bishop Morley of Winchester was initially confident that far more of his clergy had conformed. Writing to the Earl of Clarendon on 28 August 1662 he stated that only eight clergy in Hampshire and the Isle of Wight had not subscribed to the new requirements.<sup>82</sup>

However, it seems that rather more clergy failed to conform than Morley had at first believed. In *Calamy Revised*, Matthews estimates that twenty-six clergy in Hampshire and the Isle of Wight were ejected as a direct result of Black Bartholomew's Day alone, in addition to those ejected earlier in the Restoration.<sup>83</sup> An analysis made for this project of the entries in *Calamy Revised* has given an estimated figure of sixty clergy ejected in Hampshire between 1660 and 1662. Excluding three Winchester Cathedral clergy, who did not minister to a Hampshire parish, there were an estimated fifty-seven ejected ministers who were parish clergy, or had pastoral responsibilities, in Hampshire.<sup>84</sup> If the number of parishes in Hampshire and the Isle of Wight is taken to have been 253, then the proportion of parishes suffering the ejection of a minister was over twenty-two per cent, that is, more than one in five parish clergy were ejected during the period 1660 to 1662.<sup>85</sup> In Portsmouth

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<sup>79</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 219. The source of the Atkins quote is given as *Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society*, i (1901-4), 86.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 219-20.

<sup>81</sup> Coleby, *Central Government*, 130.

<sup>82</sup> I. M. Green, *The Re-establishment of the Church of England 1660-1663* (Oxford, 1978), 151-2.

<sup>83</sup> Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, xii.

<sup>84</sup> Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 577-8. The figure for parish clergy includes curates, and the ejected chaplain of St Cross hospital, who also ministered to the parishioners of St Faith, Winchester. Ward (ed.), *Parson and Parish*, 144.

<sup>85</sup> The number of parishes is taken from Coleby, *Central Government*, 10. (Ward, *Parson and Parish*, 347-52, lists 252 parishes.) Fifty-seven as a percentage of 253, to two decimal points, is 22.53%. One

both the minister and his curate were ejected. Of those ejected, only two parish clergy are known to have later conformed, as did one of the Winchester Cathedral appointees.<sup>86</sup>

It became part of later nonconformist folklore that ejected clergy suffered great privations at the loss of their livings. In 1911 the Hampshire Congregational Union noted the importance of the forthcoming 250<sup>th</sup> anniversary, writing that 'We cherish the memory of men and women who faced ridicule, opposition, and starvation rather than surrender at the bidding of a hostile power their high vision of truth and the sacred rights of conscience.'<sup>87</sup>

It might be overly dramatic to suggest that ejected ministers faced actual starvation; a number had private incomes which enabled them to continue a preaching vocation with little or no maintenance from any congregation, in some cases until after the Toleration Act.<sup>88</sup> Nevertheless, some ejected ministers did find themselves in need of charity. Samuel Dunch, a wealthy Hampshire landowner, relieved such ministers in his lifetime, as well as leaving money to several of them in his will.<sup>89</sup> Among his bequests was an annuity to Robert Webb of Droxford, turned out of the parsonage by the former incumbent. He and his family were subsequently given shelter by Dorothy Cromwell, wife of Oliver Cromwell's son Richard, in her parish of Hursley.<sup>90</sup> Others sought alternative employment. Edward Buckler, ejected from Calbourne on the Isle of Wight, retired to Dorset and took up the trade of malting, while Samuel Tutchin of Odiham later became a ship's chaplain.<sup>91</sup>

Some ejected ministers found themselves at odds with the authorities within weeks of the passing of the Act. In September 1662 Nathaniel Robinson appeared before the authorities in Southampton on account of some words allegedly spoken against King Charles II and the Bishop of Winchester, but on payment of a small fine the case was dismissed.<sup>92</sup> In November 1662 the ejected Portsmouth minister, Benjamin Burgess, was released from imprisonment on promising the authorities that he would not draw the inhabitants into

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parish, Portsmouth, experienced the ejection of two clergy, so the number of parishes actually affected was fifty-six, or 22.13% to two decimal places.

<sup>86</sup> Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 149, 182, 302.

<sup>87</sup> HRO 127M94/62/56 *Annual Report of the Hampshire Congregational Union for 1911* (Southampton, 1911), 23–4.

<sup>88</sup> Gordon, *Freedom After Ejection*, 100–1.

<sup>89</sup> TNA PRO PROB 11/328 Will of Samuelli Dunch of Badgley, Hampshire, 13 November 1668; Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 393.

<sup>90</sup> Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 516. Webb had been intruded into Droxford after the previous incumbent, Nicholas Preston, was sequestered. BL Add MS 24861, fols 113r–114r.

<sup>91</sup> Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 84–5, 499.

<sup>92</sup> *Mercurius Publicus* (25 September–2 October 1662), 644.



nonconformity, and that he would leave the town.<sup>93</sup> However, the evidence of the hearth tax returns is that he remained.<sup>94</sup>

### **First Conventicle Act, 1664**

Responding to a perceived threat from religious nonconformists, in 1664, the provisions of the Quaker Act were extended to all dissenters.<sup>95</sup> The resulting Conventicle Act of 1664 ordered that any person over the age of sixteen years who attended an unauthorised religious gathering of more than five persons was to be fined up to £5 for a first offence, and £10 for a second offence. If there was a third conviction, the person faced a fine of £100 or transportation for seven years. Local officers who failed to enforce the Act were to be subject to penalties, as were High Sheriffs who failed to arrange the transportation of those who incurred that penalty.<sup>96</sup>

The Act should, in theory, have been used equally against all dissenting meetings. But, as Anthony Fletcher found in his study, the enforcement of both the 1664 and later the 1670 Conventicle Acts was uneven in the counties he examined.<sup>97</sup> Coleby states that in Hampshire, ejected ministers appear to have largely escaped prosecution under it, while Quakers experienced a disproportionate amount of persecution.<sup>98</sup>

There is certainly truth in this statement as far as Southampton Quakers were concerned. Meetings were again disrupted in Southampton, and Friends arrested; some were convicted twice, and two men, George Embree and Henry Pointer, convicted three times.<sup>99</sup> But otherwise, the evidence of the Book of Sufferings is that Quaker meetings, other than in Southampton, remained largely undisturbed under the terms of the 1664 Conventicle Act. Persecution in Hampshire remained as uneven as that in Fletcher's study.<sup>100</sup>

This is not to suggest that religious persecution was insignificant outside Southampton. On the Isle of Wight, Colonel Walter Slingsby continued his campaign against 'Quakers', though Paul Hooper has suggested that Slingsby used the term indiscriminately to

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<sup>93</sup> 'Charles II - volume 62: November 1-15, 1662', *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Charles II, 1661-2* (1861), 538-559, <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=54698>, accessed 18 December 2012. The entry is dated November 9, 1662.

<sup>94</sup> Hughes and White (eds), *Hampshire Hearth Tax*, 13.

<sup>95</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 225.

<sup>96</sup> Hutton, *Restoration*, 208.

<sup>97</sup> Anthony Fletcher, 'The Enforcement of the Conventicle Acts', in Sheils (ed.), *Persecution and Toleration*, 235-46.

<sup>98</sup> Coleby, *Central Government*, 136.

<sup>99</sup> HRO 24M54/14, fols 17v-18r.

<sup>100</sup> Fletcher, 'Enforcement of the Conventicle Acts', in Sheils (ed.), *Persecution and Toleration*, 235-46.

refer to any dissenters.<sup>101</sup> Certainly, the Quaker sufferings book makes no mention of any of the incidents Slingsby mentions occurring in late 1664.<sup>102</sup> On 29 October 1664 Slingsby reported that he had fined some 'Quakers' who had met contrary to the Act, but they met again the following Sunday, in the company of strangers from the mainland.<sup>103</sup> On 10 December he reported that there had been another large meeting; several of those attending had been arrested and fined, but some, refusing to pay the half-crown fine, went to prison. One of them, Priscilla Moseley, fell ill and died. Slingsby noted that he had sent the strangers present at that meeting a copy of the Quran in English to read, in the hope that they might turn Muslim and discredit the sect.<sup>104</sup> There was a local connection to this suggestion, since the only English language translation available in print was that published in 1649 by Alexander Ross, who had had livings in both Southampton and in Carisbrooke on the Isle of Wight, until ejected in the 1640s.<sup>105</sup>

Dissenters who avoided prosecution under the Conventicle Act were still at risk of prosecution in the ecclesiastical courts if they failed to attend church. An examination of the abstract of churchwardens' presentments for 1664 shows that seven of the ejected Hampshire clergy were presented for this offence, four of them with their wives.<sup>106</sup> Among those presented was Nathaniel Robinson, who failed to appear for his offence at the consistory court on three separate occasions, and was ordered to be imprisoned.<sup>107</sup> John Haddesley, ejected from Rockbourne, while not presented for failing to attend church, was presented for holding conventicles in his former parish.<sup>108</sup>

The ejected ministers and their wives cited for non-attendance at church were only a small proportion of the total number of persons appearing in the 1664 abstract of churchwardens' presentments for this offence. In total, 976 persons appear in this source for having failed to attend church, of whom 599 were unspecified sectaries, twenty-nine Quakers, nineteen Anabaptists, and a lone Familist. There were also 201 Catholics. Coleby

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<sup>101</sup> Hooper, 'The churches of the Isle of Wight', 305.

<sup>102</sup> HRO 24M54/14.

<sup>103</sup> 'Charles II - volume 103: October 1664', *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Charles II, 1664-5* (1863), 24-50, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=54772>, accessed 18 December 2012.

<sup>104</sup> 'Charles II - volume 106: December 1-18, 1664', *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Charles II, 1664-5* (1863), 100-116, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=54775>, accessed 18 December 2012.

<sup>105</sup> Nabil Matar, 'Alexander Ross and the first English translation of the Qurʾān', *The Muslim World*, vol. LXXXVIII, no. 1 (January 1998), 81-92; Allan, 'Ross, Alexander (1591-1654)', *ODNB*.

<sup>106</sup> HRO 21M65/B1/37, fols 2r, 5r, 7v, 9r, 10v, 25v; Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 53, 413, 498-9, 515-16, 519.

<sup>107</sup> HRO 21M65/B1/37, fol. 5r; HRO 21M65/C1/38/1 Diocese of Winchester: Consistory Court: Office act book, 1664-1665, fol. 2r; Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 413.

<sup>108</sup> HRO 21M65/B1/37, fol. 7v; Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 240-1.

comments that these figures are under-estimates, and there are gaps in the returns; he notes that there is no record in this source of the Baptist church at Whitchurch.<sup>109</sup> The figure of twenty-nine Quakers in the county is certainly far too low, given the thirteen Quakers arrested near Ringwood for meeting illegally in May 1663, and the total of twenty Quakers arrested in Southampton between August and November 1664 for the same offence.<sup>110</sup> There are also some ambiguities in the returns, which make precision difficult. Though Roman Catholics and Protestant sectarians are usually listed separately, at Tichborne the two are not distinguished.<sup>111</sup> Furthermore, the churchwardens made no attempt to differentiate the allegiances of many sectarians. For example, no attempt is made to distinguish the allegiances of the thirty-nine sectaries listed for the Southampton city parishes, although an examination of the list shows that it includes Nathaniel Robinson, the Independent minister, and a prominent Quaker, Daniel Hersent.<sup>112</sup> Nineteen sectarians were presented by the churchwardens of Bishop's Waltham; it is known from the consistory court records that at least one of them, the widow Joan Dorset, was suspected of being a Baptist.<sup>113</sup>

Sometimes the Hampshire churchwardens were defeated in their attempts to make sense of the different dissenting groups. A post-Restoration presentment from Portsmouth explained:

That our Towne abounds with Sectaries of all sorts, and the populousnes of the place, and the frequency of strangers dayly fritting this port by ye extraordinary occasions for his Maiesties service, discapacitates us for truly knowing how many they are or what assemblies they keep, nether can we observe the other abuses in this place committed.<sup>114</sup>

The mid-1660s saw a lull in persecutions. This may partly have been due to the plague epidemic of 1665-6, which affected provincial towns, as well as London.<sup>115</sup> Southampton was badly hit; the king called for a collection on its behalf, and the corporation was obliged to offer not only money but also local offices to induce men to bury the dead.<sup>116</sup> The disruption caused by many people dying, and of the absence of others who

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<sup>109</sup> HRO 21M65/B1/37; Coleby, *Central Government*, 131. Familists were members of the 'Family of Love', a quietist sect of Continental origins with similar beliefs to Baptists and Quakers.

<sup>110</sup> HRO 24M54/14, fols 16v-18r.

<sup>111</sup> HRO 21M65/B1/37, fol. 3v.

<sup>112</sup> HRO 21M65/B1/37, fols 5r, 20v; Coleby, *Central Government*, 131.

<sup>113</sup> HRO 21M65/B1/37, fol. 15v; HRO 21M65/C1/38/1, fol. 1r.

<sup>114</sup> HRO 202M85/3/952 Churchwardens' presentments: Portsmouth, [n.d.].

<sup>115</sup> For a discussion of the plague in Hampshire, see J. Taylor, 'Plague in the towns of Hampshire: the epidemic of 1665-6', *Southern History*, vol. 6 (1984), 104-22.

<sup>116</sup> Hutton, *Restoration*, 229.

fled to friends and family in the countryside, would have seen many congregations, both conformist and nonconformist, depleted, and reduced the opportunities for informing on dissenters. In June 1665, justices on the Isle of Wight were reported to be remiss in prosecuting religious ‘fanatics’, which may have been due to an outbreak of smallpox on the island at the same time as the plague was raging in Southampton.<sup>117</sup>

It is possible that for a time denominational boundaries were dissolved. Daniel Defoe’s fictional diarist, in his 1722 work *A Journal of the Plague Year*, described dissenting ministers preaching from pulpits deserted by Established Church clergymen.<sup>118</sup> In commenting that some Established Church clergy had fled, Defoe was recording a belief current at the time of the plague itself. In Southampton, Monsieur Couraud, the pastor of the French church, baptised three English children, and married one English couple, after Church of England ministers had left the town.<sup>119</sup> One of these ministers, William Bernard of Holy Rood, had written to Charles II begging assistance for the poor townsfolk, commenting that many inhabitants who might have been able to assist them had already left the town, before he left the town himself for the safety of Eling. But the pestilence came to Eling, where Bernard caught it and died.<sup>120</sup>

Not all dissenting ministers remained in the towns, some also removed to the countryside. This may not have been a cowardly desertion of their flock, but a removal with them, or a call to minister to those refugees from the plague without a pastor. Calamy wrote that Joseph Swaffield, ejected from the village of Odstock near Salisbury, left his home in Salisbury during the plague and settled in the Hampshire village of Burgate, just outside Fordingbridge, where he ‘set up a meeting and had a numerous auditory to whom he continued preaching some years’.<sup>121</sup> Since Taylor notes that the Avon Valley towns of Ringwood and Fordingbridge seem to have avoided any infection during the plague epidemic, it seems likely that the size of his congregation would have been unaffected by the disease that was decimating other parts of the county.<sup>122</sup> The size of his congregation during the epidemic is unknown, but in the 1669 conventicle returns Swaffield was listed as

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<sup>117</sup> ‘Charles II - volume 125: June 22-30, 1665’, *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Charles II, 1664-5* (1863), 440-458, <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=54794>, accessed 18 December 2012.

<sup>118</sup> Daniel Defoe, *A Journal of the Plague Year* (Harmondsworth, 1981), 46-7.

<sup>119</sup> Taylor, ‘Plague in the towns of Hampshire’, 113.

<sup>120</sup> Andy Russel, Peter Cottrell and Jane Ellis, *Southampton’s Holy Rood: the church of the sailors* (Southampton, 2005), 30-1.

<sup>121</sup> Samuel Palmer, *The Nonconformist’s Memorial: being an account of the ministers who were ejected or silenced after the Restoration ... originally written by the reverend and learned Edmund Calamy, D.D.* (London, 1775), 508-9. See also Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 470.

<sup>122</sup> Taylor, ‘Plague in the towns of Hampshire’, 107.

being the chief preacher at a Fordingbridge Presbyterian conventicle of between 200 and 300 persons.<sup>123</sup>

Despite the disruption caused by the plague, the Archdeacon of Winchester persevered with his visitations in the spring of 1666. There is curiously little evidence of disruption caused by the plague from this source, possibly because the plague had, in some parishes, largely burnt itself out. Plague deaths in Farnborough seem to have peaked in the previous autumn.<sup>124</sup> Nevertheless, this was not the case in all parishes. The plague does not seem to have taken hold in Portsmouth until January 1666, and in Gosport slightly later.<sup>125</sup> The parish clerk of Upton Grey had died of the plague only shortly before Easter 1666.<sup>126</sup> The county quarter sessions of Easter 1666 were transferred from Winchester to Basingstoke because of plague in the city, but Basingstoke itself was soon burying plague victims, as was Petersfield.<sup>127</sup> The disruption caused by the plague thus affected the county for the best part of a year, or more.

### **Five Mile Act 1665**

The Five Mile Act made it an offence for an ejected minister to live within five miles of a former parish, or of a borough town, unless he swore an oath of compliance to the existing government of church and state. Its passing is credited by Watts to the 'impudence' of ejected clergy taking the place in the pulpit of those Anglican clergy who had fled plague-ridden towns.<sup>128</sup>

However, not all dissenting ministers remained in the towns, as the case of Joseph Swaffield illustrates. Furthermore, the Act was not only aimed at ejected ministers in towns, but those who remained in their former parish, urban or rural. The 1665 hearth tax returns are an indicator of who among the ejected clergy remained in their mainland Hampshire parish immediately prior to the passing of the Act.<sup>129</sup> However, these 1665 returns are not an indicator of who remained in their former parish in actual defiance of the Five Mile Act since they cover the eighteen month period up to Michaelmas 1665, and the Act was not passed until October 1665. Furthermore, ejected clergy who swore an oath of non-resistance could lawfully live in a former parish or borough town, and could expect

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<sup>123</sup> LPL MS 639, fol. 263v.

<sup>124</sup> HRO 202M85/3/455 Churchwardens' presentments: Farnborough, 1666.

<sup>125</sup> Taylor, 'Plague in the towns of Hampshire', 105.

<sup>126</sup> HRO 202M85/3/1210 Churchwardens' presentments: Upton Grey, 1666.

<sup>127</sup> Taylor, 'Plague in the towns of Hampshire', 106.

<sup>128</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 225-6.

<sup>129</sup> As noted in chapter five, the 1665 returns for mainland Hampshire exclude Southampton.

problems only if they continued preaching.<sup>130</sup> Additionally, the returns only list householders, not clergy living in someone else's house as a guest or lodger.

Nevertheless, the 1665 returns for mainland Hampshire (excluding Southampton) indicate that at least seven ministers had remained as householders in their former parish up to that time. Samuel Tutchin was still living in Odiham, and his brother Robert remained in Brockenhurst. John Haddesley was still resident in Rockbourne, and Richard Symmonds, 'Mister Simons', at Southwick. Noah Webb, according to Calamy, had become curate of Upton Grey following his ejection from a Berkshire parish in 1660; after his second ejection he continued to reside in Upton Grey at least until the time the returns were collected, though by 1672 he was living in Surrey.<sup>131</sup> Humphrey Weaver, ejected from Crondall, can be found in the hearth tax returns for Ewshot (or Ewshott) near Crondall, but Ewshot was not a separate parish. The 'Mister Burgis' of Copnor near Portsmouth would have been Benjamin Burgess, ejected from Portsmouth, but Copnor, like Ewshot, was not a separate parish. Both men continued to minister in their former parishes.<sup>132</sup> One Isle of Wight minister stayed in his former parish; Robert Tutchin senior, ejected from Newport, remained in the town until his death in 1671.<sup>133</sup> In Southampton, where the returns survive for 1662 and 1670, both ministers ejected in the town appear in their former parish in 1670; Nathaniel Robinson in All Saints, and Giles Say in the parish of St Michael.<sup>134</sup>

The Hampshire hearth tax returns that survive for the 1670s are damaged in places, so it is not possible to be certain which ejected ministers remained as a householder in their former parish from this source alone.<sup>135</sup> But it seems that several ministers remained and continued to minister in or near their former parishes. The evidence of the 1672-3 licence applications, made under the Declaration of Indulgence, shows that at least nine Hampshire

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<sup>130</sup> Hughes and White (eds), *Hampshire Hearth Tax*, ix; Watts, *Dissenters*, 226. A seventeenth-century guide for local magistrates states that the Act did not become effective until after 24 March 1666 (1665 old style). Michael Dalton, *The Countrey Justice* (London, 1666), 52-3. *Early English Books Online*, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>, accessed 17 July 2012.

<sup>131</sup> Hughes and White (eds), *Hampshire Hearth Tax*, 10, 53, 71, 203, 219; Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 240-1, 443, 499, 516.

<sup>132</sup> Hughes and White (eds), *Hampshire Hearth Tax*, 13, 225. See the list of parishes for 1725 given in Ward, *Parson and Parish*, 347-52. See also LPL MS 639, fols 261r-264r; Turner (ed.), *Original Records*, vol. II, 1035-52; Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 87, 515.

<sup>133</sup> P. D. D. Russell (ed.), *The Hearth Tax Returns for the Isle of Wight, 1664 to 1674* (Isle of Wight Records Series, vol. 1), ([Newport], 1981), 71. Robert Tutchin senior was the father of Robert Tutchin junior, ejected from Brockenhurst, and of Samuel Tutchin, ejected from Odiham. A third son, John Tutchin, was ejected from Fowey in Cornwall. Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 498-9.

<sup>134</sup> Hughes and White (eds), *Hampshire Hearth Tax*, 296, 303; Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 413, 427-8.

<sup>135</sup> TNA PRO E179/176/569 Exchequer: King's Remembrancer: Particulars of Account: Hampshire hearth tax, [c. March 1673]; TNA PRO E179/247/30 Exchequer: King's Remembrancer: Particulars of Account: Hampshire hearth tax, 12 January 1675.

ministers were continuing to minister to their former parishioners, whether or not they were still living in the parish. Fifteen other clergy applied for licences in the county, but not for their former parish.<sup>136</sup>

If the Act was intended to deter ejected ministers from preaching to their one-time parishioners, or from establishing congregations in towns, it does not appear to have been very effective in Hampshire. The Act seems to have been weakly enforced, although Nathaniel Robinson was reported for remaining in Southampton.<sup>137</sup> Nevertheless, the threat itself may have been sufficient to persuade some to move. According to Calamy, Humphrey Weaver of Crondall and Henry Coxe of Bishopstoke moved as a result of the Act. But neither man moved far beyond the five miles stipulated by the Act, and both continued to minister to their former parishioners. Coxe later lived in Southampton, and he was certainly preaching there by 1669. As Southampton was a borough town, his residence there would also have been contrary to the Act.<sup>138</sup>

Those clergy who left their former parish may not have done so because of the Five Mile Act, but because there were better opportunities for preaching elsewhere, or because they required the financial maintenance that could only be provided by a large congregation. By 1672 John Haddesley of Rockbourne was living and preaching a few miles over the county boundary in the Wiltshire town of Salisbury.<sup>139</sup> James Terry, ejected from Michelmersh, was by 1672 living in the market town of Odiham, where he had a congregation, while Robert Tutchin junior had left Brockenhurst, possibly to reside and minister in Lymington.<sup>140</sup> Walter Marshall, who in 1664 had been presented by the churchwardens in his former living of Hursley for failing to attend church, later became minister to the large Presbyterian meeting in Gosport.<sup>141</sup>

## **Second Conventicle Act 1670**

The central government's campaign against nonconformity between 1668 and 1671 saw various measures enforced against all dissenters in Hampshire. Warrants were issued for the arrest of nonconformist ministers in Southampton, and two imprisoned. Baptists

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<sup>136</sup> Turner (ed.), *Original Records*, vol. II, 1035-52.

<sup>137</sup> Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 413.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, 139, 515; LPL MS 639, fols 262r, 264r.

<sup>139</sup> HRO 21M65/B1/37, fol. 7v; Edmund Calamy, *An Abridgment of Mr Baxter's History of his Life and Times* (London, 1702), 294-3. *Early English Books Online*, accessed 11 July 2012; Turner (ed.), *Original Records*, vol. II, 1067-8; Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 240-1.

<sup>140</sup> Turner (ed.), *Original Records*, vol. II, 1036, 1042.

<sup>141</sup> HRO 21M65/B1/37, fol. 2r; Samuel Tomlyns, *The faith of the saints as to a future house and happiness in the other world* (London, 1680), 5-6. *Early English Books Online*, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>, accessed 11 July 2012.

were indicted for attending a conventicle, and 102 persons presented at quarter sessions for failure to attend church.<sup>142</sup>

The persecution was largely the result of the Second Conventicle Act of 1670, described by the poet Andrew Marvell as 'the quintessence of arbitrary malice'.<sup>143</sup> Given royal assent by Charles II as the price he was required to pay to obtain finance from Parliament, it modified the now-lapsed Conventicle Act of 1664. It made those attending conventicles subject to a fine of five shillings for the first offence and ten shillings for second and subsequent offences, which were milder penalties than those imposed under the 1664 Act. But under the new Act, new penalties were introduced for those found to be preaching at a conventicle, or allowing one to be held on their property. They would now be subject to twenty-pound fine for a first offence, and forty pounds for any further offence. Magistrates who failed to enforce the law might have penalty of £100 levied upon them. Those who informed on conventicles could claim a third of any fines. New powers were added allowing the authorities to search premises and to use the militia to break up meetings.<sup>144</sup>

The 1670 Act was especially enforced against Quakers, and as such is explicitly mentioned in the Hampshire Book of Sufferings.<sup>145</sup> There were numerous prosecutions in 1670, and incidents such as the taking of Samuel Burgess's mare in lieu of a fine, 'which was a grieve to some Neighbours to behold'.<sup>146</sup> But nationally, enforcement of both the 1664 and the 1670 Conventicle Acts depended upon the enthusiasms of local magistrates, themselves dependent upon the will of local constables to enforce the legislation.<sup>147</sup> Even when sectarians were fined under the Act, the authorities were satisfied with payment of the five shilling fine by a third party. Quakers were not appreciative of the intervention of others, since they felt the fine should not be paid at all, but some non-Quakers did pay a relative's fine. Thus a kinswoman of Robert Terry of Froyle paid his fine without his consent, as did the sister of Andrew Russell of Alton, and the wife of George Vidder of Crondall.<sup>148</sup>

It was not only Quakers who were indicted; active preachers of other denominations were always at risk of prosecution. Six men, including the ejected minister Thomas Newnham, were convicted before the magistrate John Richards on the Isle of Wight in January 1671 for being at a conventicle. Four of the men had been fined not only for their own attendance at the conventicle, but also for the attendance of Thomas Newnham and

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<sup>142</sup> Coleby, *Central Government*, 136.

<sup>143</sup> John Punshon, *Portrait in Grey: a short history of the Quakers*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (London, 2006), 103.

<sup>144</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 226-7, 244-5.

<sup>145</sup> HRO 24M54/14, fol. 18v.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 20v.

<sup>147</sup> Fletcher, 'Enforcement of the Conventicle Acts', in Sheils (ed.), *Persecution and Toleration*, 244-5.

<sup>148</sup> HRO 24M54/14, fol. 19r.



another defendant, John Brading of Whitwell. Goods and chattels of Newnham and Brading had been seized in default of their fines, but had proved of insufficient value, and the remaining defendants, under the terms of the Act, were liable for the difference. Their appeal against conviction was successful, but the convictions of Newnham and Brading appear to have been uncontested.<sup>149</sup>

Those dissenters not indicted under the Act were still liable to prosecution in the consistory courts. The Independent Nathaniel Robinson was cited before the consistory court in January 1671, as was the prominent Southampton Baptist Thomas Trodd.<sup>150</sup>

Coleby states that the Declaration of Indulgence of March 1672 brought the persecution to an end in Hampshire.<sup>151</sup> But the evidence of the Quaker sufferings book is that even before that, the persecution in the county was declining. This may have been because of the effort involved in prosecuting so many sectarians, and possibly because the Act failed to suppress the conventicles, not only those of the Quakers, but those of other sects.<sup>152</sup> By June 1671 Lodowicke Muggleton could write from Southampton that 'all is still and quiet'.<sup>153</sup>

### **Declaration of Indulgence 1672-3**

Watts states that Charles's most significant act on behalf of dissenters was his Declaration of Indulgence of March 1672. This suspended all ecclesiastical penal laws. So long as dissenters had a licence for their meeting place and for their preacher, they could now meet freely for worship.<sup>154</sup>

It was received by dissenters with mixed feelings. Had they known, Watts says, that it was part of Charles's promise to the French king Louis XIV to declare himself a Roman Catholic, this would have become outright opposition. As it was, their misgivings focused on the liberty of worship also allowed to Catholics (who were allowed to worship in private houses) and on the uncertainty of the measure. It had been issued by Charles while Parliament was prorogued, and by virtue of the royal prerogative; it was not therefore a formal Act of Parliament and could be perceived as a direct challenge to Parliament's

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<sup>149</sup> HRO Q1/4 Hampshire Quarter Sessions: Order book, 1658-1672, 329, 344. Thomas Newnham had been ejected from the parish of St Lawrence on the Isle of Wight. Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 363-4.

<sup>150</sup> HRO 21M65/C1/42 Diocese of Winchester: Consistory Court: Office act book, 1670-1671, f. 22v; Coleby, *Central Government*, 137.

<sup>151</sup> Coleby, *Central Government*, 137.

<sup>152</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 231.

<sup>153</sup> John Reeve, *Sacred Remains: or, a Divine Appendix; being a collection of several treatises, epistolary and publick* (London? 1751?), 463-4. *Early English Books Online*, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>, accessed 12 July 2012.

<sup>154</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 247-9.

authority.<sup>155</sup> Many dissenters feared that the information they would be required to supply in order to obtain licences could later be used against them. Watts states that the Quakers as a body declined to take out licences on the ground that the state had no more right to give, than to take away, religious liberty. Many Baptists and Congregationalists adopted the same position. Even Presbyterians, who represented by far the largest number of licences granted, were uneasy about the toleration granted by the Indulgence; for them toleration of dissent outside the Church of England represented the failure of comprehension of dissent within it.<sup>156</sup>

Despite disquiet among many dissenters, the Indulgence is credited with providing an important stimulus to dissent. Across the country, a number of dissenting meeting houses were built, and nonconformists released from prison. Some 491 dissenters were released by a country-wide general pardon issued by the King.<sup>157</sup> Nationally a total of 1,610 licences were issued for preachers, of whom 939 were named as Presbyterians, 458 as Congregationalists or Independents, and 210 as Baptists.<sup>158</sup>

There were applications from the county's Presbyterians and Congregationalists, and some Baptists, for licences from preachers and for meeting places. In total, some forty-five settlements recorded an application for a Congregational or Presbyterian meeting place or preacher.<sup>159</sup> Though not all Baptists may have applied under the Declaration, applications were still received for eight separate meeting places, and five Baptist preachers applied to preach in the county.<sup>160</sup>

Quakers did not apply for licences, but from the first known record of a county Quarterly Meeting, held at Swanmore on 1 June 1675, there is evidence for meetings in Alresford, Alton, Andover, Basingstoke, Baughurst, Bramshott, North Warnborough, Portsmouth, Ringwood, Romsey, Southampton, Swanmore, Wallop, Whitchurch, Winchester and on the Isle of Wight.<sup>161</sup>

But if 1672 was a pause in the harassment of dissenters for meeting together, it was not a total respite from all risk of prosecution for their beliefs. In this year the Hampshire

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<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, 247-8.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, 248.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, 249.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, 248.

<sup>159</sup> Turner (ed.), *Original Records*, vol. II, 1035-52.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.* There was a sixth application from a Hampshire Baptist preacher, but this was to preach in the Wiltshire village of Stoford.

<sup>161</sup> HRO 24M54/1, 1.

Quaker William Valler had two cows and calves worth seven pounds taken from him for not sending arms to the muster, an early example of Quaker pacifism.<sup>162</sup>

The Declaration of Indulgence was revoked in March 1673. The Test Act of 1673 required civil and military office holders to swear the oath of supremacy and to declare against the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation. This may have been aimed primarily at Catholics, but also affected Protestant dissenters who refused to swear oaths on principle.<sup>163</sup>

In Hampshire, the revocation of the Indulgence saw the resumption of persecutions in some parts of the county. In Southampton twenty-four people were presented for failing to attend church.<sup>164</sup> At Newport on the Isle of Wight, thirty persons were presented at the July 1673 sessions for non-attendance at church and failure to take communion, and a further four as suspected recusants.<sup>165</sup>

The arrests made on the Presbyterian congregation at Andover in 1673 were made as direct result of the information given by informers, who may have been motivated by the likelihood of their share of the reward.<sup>166</sup> The congregation was observed by the informers on two separate Sundays, and a number of those attending were subsequently fined, as were the two owners of the barn where the congregation met for having allowed the meetings. Two ejected ministers were cited, one being Samuel Sprint, ejected from Tidworth, about ten miles from Andover. He had already been preaching in Andover for several years, being mentioned in the 1669 conventicle returns, and had applied for a licence in 1672. Isaac Chauncy, who had been ejected from a Wiltshire parish, was also fined for preaching.<sup>167</sup> Some testimony to the feelings some of the townspeople had towards the conventicle is evident in that at the first conventicle, one of the town constables, Richard Butcher, was present, but failed to give evidence to the justices that the conventicle had taken place, for which he was fined. Two churchwardens, John Bray and John Seagreve, failed to execute a warrant ordering them to suppress a subsequent conventicle, and were also fined.<sup>168</sup> The anonymous author of pamphlet supporting the two ministers implied that

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<sup>162</sup> HRO 24M54/14, fol. 21r. This was not the earliest example in Hampshire of refusal to pay the muster rate. William Valler was among the Quakers previously indicted for this offence in 1661-2 and 1666. *Ibid.*, fols 14v-15r, 16v-17r.

<sup>163</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 249-52.

<sup>164</sup> Coleby, *Central Government*, 137-8.

<sup>165</sup> IWRO NBC/45/59 Newport Borough Quarter Sessions: Minute book, 1673-1727, fols 4r, 5r.

<sup>166</sup> HRO 37M85/13/DI/1 Andover Borough: Dissenters: Depositions in case, 1673.

<sup>167</sup> Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 112.

<sup>168</sup> HRO 37M85/13/DI/1.

the breaking up of the conventicle was the personal project of a handful of town officials, and took place in spite of the active objections of many townsfolk.<sup>169</sup>

The action, or inaction, of Butcher, Bray and Seagreve was not exceptional. Alexandra Walsham notes that '[n]ot a few' village constables were prosecuted for 'conniving at local conventicles and misleading the authorities'.<sup>170</sup> Belief in a Christian duty of charity and neighbourliness may, she suggests, have led to a tolerance towards those of a different religious persuasion that over-rode the demands made by the authorities.<sup>171</sup>

Despite the imperfect survival of the evidence, it seems that the end of the Declaration of Indulgence may have seen a resurgence in prosecutions of dissenters, but to what extent is difficult to determine. The lack of evidence may reflect the uneven nature of the persecutions as much as the survival of the records. The prosecutions on the Isle of Wight, and at Andover and Southampton may not have been typical of the county as a whole. In Portsmouth, Baptist and Presbyterian conventicles were proceeded against at the Michaelmas sessions of 1677, but these were the only such cases to have survived in the borough session papers for the 1670s.<sup>172</sup> The evidence of the Quaker sufferings book is that, after 1670, Quakers were prosecuted almost exclusively for tithes until persecutions of all dissenters resumed in the wake of the Popish Plot and Exclusion Crisis. In the years 1671 to 1677, all but two entries were for non-payment of tithes. These two exceptions were the attempted disruption in 1675 of the Baughurst meeting by William Woodward, minister of the parish, and the charges laid against fourteen Alton Quakers in 1677 for their refusal to pay their church rates. The Baughurst case may be regarded as another skirmish in Woodward's campaign against the Potter family. The Alton case was the first case of Quakers in Hampshire charged with non-payment of church rates since 1664, and the last such case recorded prior to the Act of Toleration in 1689.<sup>173</sup>

### **The Popish Plot, Exclusion Crisis, and the Rye House Plot**

Fears of Roman Catholic designs against the stability of the kingdom were apparently realised in the late summer of 1678 with the revelation of an alleged 'Popish Plot'. The plot was revealed by Titus Oates, who told a false, but convincing, story that disguised Jesuit priests would provoke rebellion in Scotland and Ireland, before

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<sup>169</sup> Anon, *Don Quixot Redivivus* ([London?], [1673]). *Early English Books Online*, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>, accessed 21 April 2013.

<sup>170</sup> Walsham, *Charitable Hatred*, 271.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*, 272.

<sup>172</sup> Willis and Hoad (eds), *Portsmouth Borough Sessions Papers*, 65-7.

<sup>173</sup> HRO 24M54/14, fols 15v, 22v-24r.

assassinating Charles II, encourage Catholic massacres of Protestants, and establish Catholicism in England, with the Catholic James, Duke of York, on the throne.<sup>174</sup> The plot was almost certainly a fabrication, but, as Tim Harris has suggested, he was believed because he was telling people what they wanted, or feared, to hear, and circumstantial events lent it some credibility.<sup>175</sup>

Coleby states that the discovery of the alleged plot brought to an end, at least until 1681, the government's policy of repressing Protestant dissenters equally with Roman Catholics. In Hampshire, Catholics were harassed, and a leading Catholic, Sir Henry Tichborne, imprisoned for alleged involvement in the plot. At the Epiphany quarter sessions in January 1679, justices were ordered to issue warrants to the constables of the hundreds to apprehend reputed papists.<sup>176</sup> The Portsmouth borough sessions held at Easter 1679 heard that Francis Perkins had refused to take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, and was suspected of being a papist. He was ordered not to return to his former home at Portsea without a licence.<sup>177</sup>

But, according to Coleby, the problem with the enforcement of an anti-Catholic policy between 1679 and 1681 was the 'inherent contradictions and inconsistencies in the policy itself'.<sup>178</sup> Anti-Catholic laws were likely to hit Protestant dissenters as well, and Quakers were especially vulnerable since they refused to swear oaths. In 1678 Robert Reeves of Droxford had land confiscated 'by Force of the Statute against *Popish* Recusants'.<sup>179</sup> In Winchester Stephen Whitland was imprisoned at the Epiphany 1679 quarter sessions for refusing to swear; meanwhile forty reputed Catholics, accompanied by a priest, dutifully swore the oath of allegiance. Whitland was gaoled twice for this offence, once at the Epiphany sessions and again the following May.<sup>180</sup> William Jennings of Southampton, chosen to be a beadle in the town, was imprisoned in the Bargate for three months at Michaelmas 1679 for refusing to swear his oath for that office.<sup>181</sup> In December 1679 five Quakers were arrested for travelling on a Sunday and put in the stocks at Alresford.<sup>182</sup> In the summer of 1680 Thomas Austin (or Austen) was committed to Winchester gaol for refusing to take oath required to serve as a constable for the hundred

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<sup>174</sup> Harris, *Restoration*, 136-7; Watts, *Dissenters*, 253.

<sup>175</sup> Harris, *Restoration*, 137.

<sup>176</sup> Coleby, *Central Government*, 196-7.

<sup>177</sup> Willis and Hoad (eds), *Portsmouth Borough Sessions Papers*, 68.

<sup>178</sup> Coleby, *Central Government*, 198.

<sup>179</sup> Besse, *Collection of the Sufferings*, vol.1, 237. See also TNA PRO E 377/73 Exchequer: Pipe Office: Recusant Rolls (Pipe Office Series), 30 Chas II.

<sup>180</sup> HRO 24M54/14, fol. 25v; Coleby, *Central Government*, 198.

<sup>181</sup> HRO 24M54/14, fol. 26r.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 25r.

of Odiham. The Hampshire Book of Sufferings records his willingness to serve in the office, but for conscience sake, he could not take the oath. He was in prison for nearly a year before being released by the court at Easter 1681 and his fine remitted.<sup>183</sup>

That Quakers were unfairly indicted under recusancy laws is not a solely the viewpoint of modern historians. A petition from Hampshire Quakers to the county's MPs in November 1680 spoke of the sufferings of true Protestant Quakers under laws made against Catholics.<sup>184</sup> However, while Quakers may have suffered disproportionately compared to other Protestant dissenters, the numbers involved in Hampshire in the immediate aftermath of the Popish Plot's discovery were relatively small. If tithe prosecutions are removed from the record, it was still only a minority of Quakers who suffered under the penal laws between 1678 and 1681.<sup>185</sup> The indictments are against isolated individuals; there is no evidence of a campaign by local officials in any town.<sup>186</sup> None of the five Quakers put in the stocks at Alresford were from the town itself.<sup>187</sup> William Jennings was the only casualty in Southampton, a town where dissenters were harassed periodically for over twenty-five years.<sup>188</sup> Furthermore, the existence of the Quaker sufferings records may imbalance the historical record towards Friends; there are no comparable sufferings records for other dissenting groups in the county, and as noted earlier, court records are incomplete. Nevertheless, there is evidence that prominent dissenters of other sects were liable to prosecution in the consistory court; two ejected ministers, Samuel Sprint and Samuel Tomlyns, were both excommunicated by an order of July 1679.<sup>189</sup>

Though the Popish Plot was later discredited, the very real fears to which it gave rise led directly to the Exclusion Crisis. A bill brought before Parliament by the Earl of Shaftesbury in May 1679 endeavoured to exclude James, Duke of York, from the succession. It passed with a substantial majority. Furious, Charles dissolved Parliament. Parliament was recalled and dissolved twice more, and each time the Commons insisted on the Bill. After the third Parliament was dissolved in 1681, Charles called no more Parliaments before his death in 1685.

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<sup>183</sup> HRO Q1/6, fol. 29v; HRO Q9/1/7 Hampshire Quarter Sessions: Sessions rolls: Indictments, Epiphany 1681, sheet 9; HRO 24M54/14, fol. 26r.

<sup>184</sup> HRO 44M69/G2/55 Jervoise of Herriard: Petition of named Quakers, 1680.

<sup>185</sup> Tithe prosecutions continued throughout the period 1660 to 1689 and beyond.

<sup>186</sup> HRO 24M54/14, fols 25r, 26r.

<sup>187</sup> *Ibid.* Three were from Alton, one from Holybourne and one from Newbury in Berkshire.

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>189</sup> HRO 21M65/C13/1/42 Diocese of Winchester: Consistory Court: Excommunications, 1663-1672: List of excommunications, 1679.

The crisis saw Charles and the court party come to regard the Exclusionists and their nonconformist allies as more dangerous to the government than any perceived Catholic threat.<sup>190</sup> Early evidence of this was the release on bail of Sir Henry Tichborne in May 1680. Changes made in the county commissioners of the peace saw many who sympathised with dissent lose office. Before the end of 1681, Charles II ordered conventicles to be suppressed and the statutes to be enforced against both Catholics and Protestant dissenters.<sup>191</sup>

Coleby states that there is once again a problem with the evidence in estimating the full extent of persecution.<sup>192</sup> Yet it is clear from primary source material that some magistrates made an effort to prosecute dissenters, and those who threatened the authority of the Church of England, especially from 1682 onwards. There were isolated incidents prior to this. As noted above, in the summer of 1680 Thomas Austin had been imprisoned for refusing to swear his oath as a constable.<sup>193</sup> At Michaelmas 1681, Thomas Lamb, a blacksmith of Fareham, was convicted for speaking against the Established Church and for uttering malicious and scandalous words against Lord Noel of Titchfield, and ordered to stand in the pillory.<sup>194</sup>

But it was in 1682 that the persecutions stepped up. In April 1682 the prominent Independent minister, Nathaniel Robinson, was prosecuted at Southampton, as were two nonconformist schoolteachers.<sup>195</sup> In June 1682 James Potter, leading member of the Quaker meeting at Baughurst, refused to take the oath to serve as a constable for the hundred of Evingar, and was committed to gaol.<sup>196</sup> His replacement as constable was not necessarily wholly committed to his duties in identifying and reporting dissent, for at the Epiphany sessions of 1683, the court learnt that the constables of Evingar hundred had neglected to collect fines imposed on several persons convicted for being at and keeping an illegal conventicle. The court ordered the constables to collect the money by the next quarter sessions or face a fine of £5 each.<sup>197</sup>

The spring and summer of 1682 saw a concerted attempt to persecute Quakers in Andover, where the town council, controlled by Thomas Westcombe and his allies, was known to be unsympathetic to Protestant dissent.<sup>198</sup> The Quakers in the town appear to

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<sup>190</sup> Michael C. Questier, *Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2006), 507.

<sup>191</sup> Coleby, *Central Government*, 199-200.

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.*, 200.

<sup>193</sup> HRO Q9/1/7, sheet 9; HRO 24M54/14, fol. 26r.

<sup>194</sup> HRO Q1/6, fol. 35r.

<sup>195</sup> HRO 24M54/14, fol. 26r; Coleby, *Central Government*, 200.

<sup>196</sup> HRO Q1/6, fol. 45r; HRO 24M54/14, fols 27r, 27v.

<sup>197</sup> HRO Q1/6, fol. 48v.

<sup>198</sup> Coleby, *Central Government*, 199.

have known that they were at risk, and may have been attempting to avoid arrest by meeting elsewhere than their usual meeting house, but Hampshire Quarterly Meeting ordered them to keep their meetings in the meeting house.<sup>199</sup>

Their fears were quickly realised, since the following Quarterly Meeting minutes recorded the imprisonment of Andover Friends.<sup>200</sup> On 7 May 1682, acting on information from the parish minister, magistrates and local officials ordered Friends out of the meeting and secured the doors against Friends returning. A week later, Quakers were disturbed again, ordered to swear the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and upon refusing to do so, cast into prison. What is noticeable is that those imprisoned on this occasion were not exclusively from the Andover area, but included two Friends from Whitchurch and one from Marlborough in Wiltshire, which suggests a deliberate show of solidarity within the movement, and one which crossed county boundaries.<sup>201</sup>

The town council was clearly determined to persecute its Quakers. Ten days after these arrests, five Friends coming to visit those in prison were themselves cast briefly into the town gaol. Further meetings were broken up in June and July, but the harassment ceased after the cases were brought before the borough sessions and assizes.<sup>202</sup>

Not all the townspeople were supportive of the council's endeavours. A neighbour offered the gaoler two pence to provide imprisoned Quakers with a flagon of water. Other neighbours were reportedly horrified to witness the violence of the constable in throwing Thomas Hooper to the ground, and pushing aside his young son. By the time the cases came before the town sessions in July, twelve men were charged before the court for the offence of riot. But the jury, though threatened by the magistrates, refused to find them guilty. The magistrates, however, were able to return the Quakers to prison when they refused to swear the oaths of allegiance and supremacy.<sup>203</sup>

It was not only the Andover jury that refused to find the Quakers guilty. At the county assizes held in Winchester later in July, three of the men charged at the Andover sessions were indicted for riot, and were again found not guilty, though under pressure from the judge the jury found them guilty of unlawful assembly.<sup>204</sup> The three men were still in Winchester gaol over a year later.<sup>205</sup> The reason for the harassment is unclear, but may

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<sup>199</sup> HRO 24M54/1, fols 28v, 29v.

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>201</sup> HRO 24M54/14, fols 26v-27r.

<sup>202</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>204</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>205</sup> HRO 24/M54/1, 67-69.



have been linked to the granting of a new charter for Andover which gave it control over Weyhill Fair, the largest fair in southern England, a prize long-coveted by the town.<sup>206</sup>

The efforts of the town council at Andover were not isolated and attempts were made to suppress other nonconformist conventicles in the county. During 1682 Southampton Quakers were 'frequently pulled by force out of their Meetings, and several of them presented in the Ecclesiastical Court'.<sup>207</sup> On the Isle of Wight, three men were presented at the Newport sessions in July 1682 for failure to attend church.<sup>208</sup> But the main effort on the island in persecuting dissent was made in November 1682, when a Sunday evening meeting of upwards of fifty or sixty persons was broken up. Despite the dark, and the successful efforts of many of those present to escape or hide, twenty-one men and women were identified and later fined. The woman in whose house the meeting was held was also fined; being unable to pay the statutory penalty of £20 for allowing her house to be used for a conventicle, her fine was instead levied on three other members of the meeting.<sup>209</sup>

Gosport, hitherto a haven for dissent, experienced persecution of nonconformists in 1682 when Portsmouth's new charter gave the borough jurisdiction over the town.<sup>210</sup> Portsmouth had seen a brief campaign against dissenting conventicles in 1677, but being both a garrison town and a naval port, its constantly changing population meant that acting against known dissenters was always problematic.<sup>211</sup> It may have appeared relatively easy, in the autumn of 1682, to exercise its new jurisdiction upon the Gosport conventicle. In September 1682 Theophilus Lloyd was fined for preaching at a conventicle. But this success was not repeated. When Humphrey Scott, a Gosport constable, attempted to suppress the conventicle in November, he was outwitted by Lloyd who told him that it was unlawful to disturb the Sabbath. When Scott returned later, he found a congregation of some two hundred persons, but no preacher.<sup>212</sup> The evidence suggests that no further efforts were made to suppress the conventicle.

Breaking up conventicles required significant intervention by local officials. A total of eleven men had been involved in breaking up the Newport conventicle in November

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<sup>206</sup> Henning (ed.), *The House of Commons 1660-1690*, vol. 1, 246.

<sup>207</sup> Besse, *Collection of the Sufferings*, vol. 1, 239.

<sup>208</sup> IWRO NBC/45/59, fol. 70r.

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid.*, fols 98r-103r.

<sup>210</sup> Willis and Hoad (eds), *Portsmouth Borough Sessions Papers*, 97-99; Coleby, *Central Government*, 202-3.

<sup>211</sup> HRO 202M85/3/952; Willis and Hoad (eds), *Portsmouth Borough Sessions Papers*, 65-7, 148, 165.

<sup>212</sup> Willis and Hoad (eds), *Portsmouth Borough Sessions Papers*, 97-9.

1682.<sup>213</sup> Violence was not unknown; the Newport officers broke down the door of the house where the meeting was being held, and at Andover the violence had extended towards persons as well as property. But the officials at Gosport seem to have been unwilling to use physical restraint. It may have been an unwillingness to act violently, which might be seen as contrary to Christian charity, which led to a reluctance to proceed directly against conventicles.<sup>214</sup> Magistrates increasingly tried to act on church attendance, rather than act against conventicles.<sup>215</sup> It may have been much easier to follow this method of prosecuting dissent, even though it would not have caught those dissenters who conformed as required by the statutes.

But the effect was inevitably felt by those sectarians who refused to attend church. In the winter of 1682-3 a Quaker from Yateley was presented for failure to attend church, and he was followed during 1683 by two Quakers from Hartley Wintney, presented at the quarter sessions for the same offence.<sup>216</sup> Nevertheless, there were a number of communities where there is no record in the Quaker sufferings book of any case concerning a failure to attend church during the Restoration period. Alton and Portsmouth were among the meetings apparently unaffected, as were the Avon Valley meetings of Fordingbridge and Ringwood.<sup>217</sup>

The discovery of the Rye House Plot that saw a concerted attack against all Protestant dissenters. This failed assassination attempt was planned as an attack on the king and the Duke of York. Details of the plot were discovered in June 1683, and the alarm it generated made itself evident in Hampshire at the Midsummer county quarter sessions, where a constable from Stockbridge was presented for not having reported seditious words spoken against the king, though the charge was dismissed.<sup>218</sup> At the end of June, all nonconformists in Southampton were disarmed, and the veteran Independent minister Nathaniel Robinson committed to prison under the Five Mile Act. Early in July fifty people were convicted of holding or attending conventicles in the town.<sup>219</sup> In September 1683, eighty-five men and women were indicted before the Southampton sessions for failing to

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<sup>213</sup> IWRO NBC/45/59, fols 98v-99r.

<sup>214</sup> Walsham, *Charitable Hatred*, 271-2.

<sup>215</sup> Coleby, *Central Government*, 201.

<sup>216</sup> HRO 24M54/14, fol. 27v.

<sup>217</sup> HRO 24M54/14, fols 7r-30r.

<sup>218</sup> HRO Q1/6, fol. 56r.

<sup>219</sup> 'Charles II: June 1683', *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Charles II, 1683: January-June* (1933), 284-390, <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=57443>, accessed 4 October 2012; Coleby, *Central Government*, 201.

attend their parish church, and William Gibson, churchwarden of St John's parish, for refusing to give information to the Grand Jury.<sup>220</sup>

By October 1683 a dissenting schoolmaster from the Isle of Wight, William Herne, had been sent to the county gaol for six months for having a school and for refusing to swear the oath when it was required of him.<sup>221</sup> At the county quarter sessions for Michaelmas 1683, a total of twenty-one persons were ordered to find security for their appearances at the next assizes. The nature of the charge, or charges, against them is not stated in the order book, but given the order made at the Midsummer sessions, it is certainly likely that the charge was related to religious nonconformity.<sup>222</sup>

At the Midsummer sessions for 1683, shortly after the plot became known, the justices had ordered hundred constables to report all dissenters who absented themselves from church, and to confer with churchwardens to this end.<sup>223</sup> This resulted in indictments before county quarter sessions which were almost all found 'true bills' by the grand jury. At least 376 people were indicted in this way, and some were indicted two or three times in successive sessions.<sup>224</sup> All dissenters were potential targets; those indicted included Stephen Kent and Thomas Kent, leading members of the Baptist congregations in Broughton and Over Wallop.<sup>225</sup>

The Southampton borough quarter sessions for 1683 record the indictment of Nathaniel Robinson, still active in the town as an Independent minister, for failing to attend church, and several other townsfolk were indicted for the same offence.<sup>226</sup> The Quaker Book of Sufferings records a number of incidents in 1683, some or all of which may be related to the enforcement of the law after the Rye House Plot.<sup>227</sup> A Southampton schoolmaster was prosecuted for teaching, and prosecutions took place of men who refused to swear the necessary oath to become a parish official, although they were willing to take on the responsibilities of the office.<sup>228</sup>

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<sup>220</sup> SAS SC9/1/31 Southampton Quarter Sessions: Presentments of the Grand Jury, 13 September 1683.

<sup>221</sup> HRO Q9/1/15 Hampshire Quarter Sessions: Sessions rolls: Indictments, Midsummer 1683, sheet 9; Coleby, *Central Government*, 201.

<sup>222</sup> HRO Q1/6, fol. 57v.

<sup>223</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 54r.

<sup>224</sup> HRO Q9/1/16 Hampshire Quarter Sessions: Sessions rolls: Indictments, Michaelmas 1683; HRO Q9/1/19 Hampshire Quarter Sessions: Sessions rolls: Indictments, Midsummer 1684; Coleby, *Central Government*, 201.

<sup>225</sup> HRO Q9/1/19, sheet 28; AL B1/1, 27, 29, 45, 47.

<sup>226</sup> SAS SC9/4/19c Southampton Quarter Sessions: Indictment of Nathaniel Robinson, 1683; SAS SC9/4/19e Southampton Quarter Sessions: Indictment of certain parishioners of All Saints, 1683.

<sup>227</sup> HRO 24M54/14, fols 27v-28r.

<sup>228</sup> *Ibid.*, fols 26r-29r.

Unlike the relative brief period of persecution that characterised the enforcement of the Second Conventicle Act in 1670, the campaign against dissenters following the Rye House Plot was sustained up until the death of the king in February 1685. In September 1683, the grand jury at the quarter sessions presented eighty people for absence from church for three Sundays.<sup>229</sup> The order of the Midsummer 1683 sessions to the hundred constables was reiterated at the sessions of Easter 1684 and again at Midsummer 1684.<sup>230</sup> It was made clear that those officers who failed in their duty could face a charge of contempt of court.<sup>231</sup> The implementation of justice could cross jurisdictional boundaries. The Holybourne Quaker John Kilburne was fined £20 for being at a meeting in Reading in June 1684. When he refused to pay the sum, word was sent to the magistrate Richard Bishop of South Warnborough, who issued a warrant to constables to distrain Kilburne's goods for the fine.<sup>232</sup>

Eleven men and one woman were still being held in Winchester gaol at Easter 1685 for refusing to pay their fines for unspecified offences.<sup>233</sup> It is clear from the Hampshire Book of Sufferings that all but one man were Quakers, gaol for refusing to pay fines incurred for not attending church.<sup>234</sup> The exception, Edward Sickes, was almost certainly imprisoned for the same offence, but his religious allegiance is unknown. Nine of the men, including Sickes, were still in gaol a year later, but later seem to have been released, possibly by James II's pardon of 1686.<sup>235</sup>

How far the court's orders of 1683 and 1684 were followed by the constables is difficult to ascertain. Coleby's calculation that at least 376 people were indicted for recusancy, is referred to by him as 'a stream of indictments' and it was certainly a substantial number for the court to handle.<sup>236</sup> However, the Compton Census of 1676 had given a figure of 3,711 Protestant nonconformists in Hampshire, alongside 846 Roman Catholics.<sup>237</sup> If 376 persons were presented at the county quarter sessions, that is still only around one dissenter in every ten who appeared in the county court. The figure of 376 does not include those presented to the borough sessions, so the actual numbers appearing before a court somewhere in the county would have been rather higher. Nevertheless, if the

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<sup>229</sup> HRO Q1/6, fol. 57v; Coleby, *Central Government*, 202.

<sup>230</sup> HRO Q1/6, fols 63v, 67r.

<sup>231</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 63v.

<sup>232</sup> HRO 24M54/14, fol. 29r.

<sup>233</sup> HRO Q9/1/22 Hampshire Quarter Sessions: Sessions rolls: Indictments, Easter 1685, sheet 4.

<sup>234</sup> HRO 24M54/14, fols 27v, 28v.

<sup>235</sup> HRO Q9/1/25 Hampshire Quarter Sessions: Sessions rolls: Indictments, Easter 1686; HRO 24M54/14, fol. 29r.

<sup>236</sup> Coleby, *Central Government*, 201.

<sup>237</sup> Whiteman (ed.), *Compton Census*, 71.

parish and hundred officials were doing their duty, the courts should have been overwhelmed with several hundred more names. Hampshire's dissenters did experience a period of undoubted persecution in the period following the Rye House Plot, but the majority did not experience a court appearance.

An examination of the indictments does not clarify who was being presented. Some would have been Protestant dissenters, others Catholics, while some of those who appeared may have been merely negligent in their duty, rather than actively dissenting. The limited prosecutions of dissenters in Hampshire from the mid-1670s up to the spring of 1682 may have induced a sense of security in many, which they belatedly realised to have been false. What can be said is that the indication is that the majority were not Quakers. The Hampshire Book of Sufferings records at least eighteen Friends who were indicted in 1683 and 1684 for failing to come to public worship, and one of these, Francis Jobson of Southampton, was sued for the fines of five more, un-named, persons.<sup>238</sup> This still leaves over 350 non-attenders who cannot be easily classified. Some, coming from parishes where there were known dissenting meetings, are more likely to have been absent from church for religious rather than secular reasons. Evidence of pre-Restoration radical Independency can be seen in the case of David Roberts, an old Parliamentary soldier from Brockenhurst, who had asserted that the Book of Common Prayer was unfit to be read in churches, but this was an isolated incident.<sup>239</sup>

It is possible that the surge of prosecutions against dissenters in the latter years of Charles II's reign led to a decline in nonconformity, but this is open to speculation. Watts believes that apostasy was uncommon, but it did happen.<sup>240</sup> There is some Hampshire evidence for apostasy in the 1680s, but it is limited to individual cases. An un-named Winchester Quaker reportedly allowed himself to be touched by Charles II for scrofula, and was so grateful at having been cured of his affliction that he went to Winchester Cathedral to give thanks, and became a loyal Anglican.<sup>241</sup> Richard Mountaine was gaoled with other Andover Quakers in 1682, an experience which seems to have weakened rather than strengthened his resolve. By 1684 he appears in the meeting minutes as under censure for his 'contrary walking'; he later married without the consent of Friends, probably before a priest, and was disowned.<sup>242</sup> In January 1684 Southampton's sole remaining Muggletonian

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<sup>238</sup> HRO 24M54/14, fols 27v-29r.

<sup>239</sup> HRO Q9/1/20 Hampshire Quarter Sessions: Sessions rolls: Indictments, Michaelmas 1684, sheet 1.

<sup>240</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 242-3.

<sup>241</sup> John Browne, *Adenochoradologia*, part III (London, 1684), 172-3. *Early English Books Online*, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>, accessed 16 May 2013.

<sup>242</sup> HRO 24M54/1, 53-4, 56-60, 63-8, 71-2, 79-80.

received a letter of encouragement from Lodowicke Muggleton after the other members of the sect in the town had conformed through fear of distrains and imprisonment.<sup>243</sup>

But some dissenters sought to avoid persecution while remaining true to their faith. The Southampton Congregationalist Isaac Watts left the town for two years after he appeared in court in September 1683 for failing to attend church and for unlawfully keeping a school.<sup>244</sup> Some Southampton dissenters sought refuge with the French Reformed church, a Calvinist congregation established under royal protection in the reign of Elizabeth I. It was reported in December 1683 that the community of traders and merchants from Jersey and Guernsey, despite being subject to English laws, were frequenting that church rather than the Anglican churches they should have been attending. In response, some magistrates sought to revoke the congregation's privileges, but they were unsuccessful.<sup>245</sup>

As Watts suggests, cases of apostacy may have been the exception rather than the rule. It is possible that those who drifted away from dissenting groups were those whose allegiance was weak to begin with and who had never played a very active part in the life of the congregation. Those who were more strongly committed were those who were more likely to remain constant in the face of threatened persecution, even as they were more likely to be persecuted. In 1682, the tenants of Alton's Quaker meeting house, aware of the possibility that they might be charged with allowing the meeting to take place in the building, let it be known to Friends that 'they are freely given up to suffer therefore, if the Lord permit'.<sup>246</sup>

But there is evidence that dissenters were not wholly preoccupied with the effects of persecution, nor did it necessarily feature heavily in their lives. In 1680 the Presbyterian minister Samuel Tomlyns was able to publish the sermon he preached at the funeral of another Hampshire minister, Walter Marshall; no suggestion is made that this event was disturbed in any way.<sup>247</sup> The book of the Porton and Broughton Baptist church makes no reference, after the meeting records were resumed in 1672, to any form of official penalty, for meeting together or for any other offence. The record consists principally of baptisms, church expenditure and the occasional disciplinary case. It seems that prominent members

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<sup>243</sup> Reeve, *Sacred Remains*, 177-9.

<sup>244</sup> SAS SC9/1/26 Southampton Quarter Sessions: Sessions papers: Evidence in the case of Isaac Watts, 1683; SAS SC9/1/31; Isabel Rivers, 'Watts, Isaac (1674-1748)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, October 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28888>, accessed 22 October 2011.

<sup>245</sup> 'Charles II: December 1683', *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Charles II, 1683-4* (1938), 127-187, URL: <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=57571>, accessed 18 December 2012; Coleby, *Central Government*, 202.

<sup>246</sup> HRO 24M54/34, 35.

<sup>247</sup> Tomlyns, *The faith of the saints*.

of the congregation were able to travel freely on its business. In 1677 John Rede of Porton and Walter Pen of Salisbury travelled to Fordingbridge at the invitation of its Baptist church to settle some differences within the congregation, Walter Pen visited Baptists in the Wiltshire town of Trowbridge, and two other church members travelled to Gloucestershire.<sup>248</sup>

Even the sometimes-beleaguered Quakers were usually occupied with matters other than the sufferings of their fellows. Even during the persecutions of the early 1680s, the men's meetings continued to discuss financial matters, the apprenticing of young Friends, disciplinary cases, and correspondence received from Yearly Meeting in London.<sup>249</sup> The meeting minutes of the Alton women's meeting make no mention of persecution at all, but instead record decisions made regarding couples coming forward to be cleared for marriage, money given for the relief of poor Friends, and a few disciplinary cases.<sup>250</sup>

### **The reign of James II, 1685-8**

The accession of James II did not immediately see a reduction in cases brought against dissenters. Even before Monmouth's rebellion, at the county quarter sessions held at Easter 1685, twelve Quakers from Selbourne and Odiham were indicted for not attending church; they refused to pay their fines and were gaoled.<sup>251</sup> Nine of them were still in the county gaol a year later.<sup>252</sup> They were released shortly afterwards by the King's proclamation of pardon.<sup>253</sup>

Despite his Catholicism, James II appears to have ascended the throne in 1685 with a large measure of popular support.<sup>254</sup> Monmouth's rebellion of 1685 was defeated, and although dissenters were implicated, the rebellion's effect in Hampshire was slight, though the county militia was mustered, and there appears to have been a sympathetic uprising in the New Forest. The aftermath of the rising saw the famous show-trial of a prominent dissenter, Dame Alice Lisle, accused of harbouring rebels, but otherwise the county appears to have been quiet.<sup>255</sup> John Allison of Winchester was accused of making a supportive

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<sup>248</sup> AL B1/1, 17-63, esp. 29, 32, 35.

<sup>249</sup> HRO 24M54/1; HRO 24M54/33 Alton Monthly Meeting: Men's meeting: Minute book, 1672-1676; HRO 24M54/34; HRO 24M54/60 Alton Monthly Meeting: Accounts, 1672-1810.

<sup>250</sup> HRO 24M54/48; HRO 24M54/49.

<sup>251</sup> HRO Q9/1/22; HRO 24M54/14, fol. 28v.

<sup>252</sup> HRO Q9/1/25.

<sup>253</sup> HRO 24M54/14, fol. 29r.

<sup>254</sup> Tim Harris, *Politics Under the Later Stuarts: party conflict in a divided society 1660-1715* (London, 1993), 120.

<sup>255</sup> Robin Clifton, *The Last Popular Rebellion: the Western Rising of 1685* (Hounslow, 1984), 184, 195, 232, 233, 291.

statement regarding the rebels, but the records of the various sessions in the county do not indicate mass arrests of dissenters.<sup>256</sup>

Upon his succession, James had issued assurances that he would preserve the established law as it affected both church and state, which implied an acceptance of the laws against Catholics and Protestant dissenters.<sup>257</sup> Yet he was soon acting to improve the position of Catholics in the country, and to place Catholics in positions of high office. This alienated his former Tory supporters in Parliament, and many Anglican bishops and clergy. Faced with this opposition, James sought to ally himself with dissenters, as having common cause with the Catholics in mitigating the penal code.

In March 1686, James issued a general pardon which resulted in 1,200 Quakers being released from prison.<sup>258</sup> Hampshire Quakers still in gaol for not attending church were released on or about 13 April.<sup>259</sup> Also in the spring of 1686 James allowed Quakers to hold religious meetings, and when Baptists presented an address of thanks for the general pardon, he extended that protection to them also. But in some parts of the country committed Anglicans continued to persecute dissenters, 'insisting that if they did not enforce the penal laws against nonconformists, it would be impossible to protect the Church against popery'.<sup>260</sup> In Hampshire, some Southampton Quakers had been indicted in February for an illegal conventicle, and in October four dissenters were charged with failing to undertake civic office.<sup>261</sup> But the Southampton incidents were not typical of the county as a whole. After James issued his pardon, the only prosecutions recorded in the Quaker's Book of Sufferings for 1686 were for non-payment of tithes.<sup>262</sup>

In 1687 James issued a Declaration of Indulgence suspending all the penal laws, the Test Acts and the Corporation Act. In 1688 he issued a second Declaration, instructing bishops to order all their clergy to read this in their pulpits. Seven bishops petitioned the Crown asking to be excused from this obligation. They were tried on grounds of seditious libel, but acquitted to popular acclaim. Bishop Peter Mews, who had succeeded Bishop Morley at Winchester in 1684, supported the actions of the Seven Bishops, and refused to order that the Declaration be read in the diocese. But in practice, the Declaration was

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<sup>256</sup> HRO W/D3/86 Winchester City Archives: Judicial Records: Quarter sessions: Sessions papers, 1684-1685, fol. 44.

<sup>257</sup> Harris, *Politics Under the Later Stuarts*, 123-4.

<sup>258</sup> Tim Harris, *Revolution: the great crisis of the British monarchy, 1685-1720* (London, 2007), 206; Braithwaite, *Second Period of Quakerism*, 125.

<sup>259</sup> HRO 24M54/14, fol. 29r.

<sup>260</sup> Harris, *Revolution*, 206-7.

<sup>261</sup> SAS SC9/4/20 Southampton Quarter Sessions: Certificate of conviction for unlawful assembly at a conventicle, 17 February 1685/6; SAS SC9/4/24/12.

<sup>262</sup> HRO 24M54/14, fols 29r-29v.



operational throughout 1688. Coleby suggests that local officials in Hampshire were somewhat relieved to be freed of the burdens of prosecuting their dissenting and Catholic neighbours.<sup>263</sup> As Walsham suggests, they may also have been motivated by Christian concern.<sup>264</sup>

Braithwaite comments that for many dissenters, and especially for the Quakers, persecuted by now for twenty-five years, 'the Declaration necessarily bore a benign complexion'. Yearly Meeting, the Quakers' national administrative body, sent an Address of Thanks to the king.<sup>265</sup> But there was some caution among the rejoicing. Many of the addresses sent to the king, including that of Yearly Meeting and that of the Baptist general assembly, explicitly encouraged him to secure parliamentary confirmation of the Declaration.<sup>266</sup> The minutes of Alton Monthly Meeting for 13 June 1687 include a note that Friends had agreed to send two Friends from each particular meeting to visit a Justice of the Peace, 'and acquaint him of their meeting places as required by the king in his declaration for liberty of conscience.'<sup>267</sup>

### **The Act of Toleration, 1689**

Though dissenters had been wary of the motives of a Catholic king, James II's later policies at least 'broke the back of Anglican intolerance and made possible the toleration of Dissent once William of Orange had landed at Torbay and James himself had fled to France'.<sup>268</sup> Shortly before the Glorious Revolution of 1688, Anglicans had been seeking the support of nonconformists in their campaign to protect the Church of England from the dangers of 'popery', promising a measure of toleration if they did so.<sup>269</sup> The Act of Toleration, passed in 1689, was therefore a necessary concession to nonconformists. It granted freedom of worship to Protestant Trinitarian dissenters who obtained a licence for their meeting houses, and who were prepared to swear the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. Quakers were allowed to make a declaration instead of taking the oaths. Nonconformist ministers who subscribed to thirty-six of the thirty-nine articles of the Anglican church were exempt from the penalties of the Act of Uniformity and of the Five

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<sup>263</sup> Coleby, *Central Government*, 205-6.

<sup>264</sup> Walsham, *Charitable Hatred*, 271-2.

<sup>265</sup> Braithwaite, *Second Period of Quakerism*, 131, 133.

<sup>266</sup> Gary S. De Krey, 'Reformation and "Arbitrary Government": London Dissenters and James II's Policy of Toleration, 1687-1688' in Jason McElligott (ed.), *Fear, Exclusion and Revolution: Roger Morrice and Britain in the 1680s* (Aldershot, 2006), 17.

<sup>267</sup> HRO 24M54/34, 56.

<sup>268</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 259-60.

<sup>269</sup> Harris, *Politics Under the Later Stuarts*, 128-9.

Mile Act, with Baptist ministers also excused from the article on infant baptism. It was only a partial measure of toleration; it excluded Catholics and non-Trinitarians from its provisions, and dissenters were still barred from taking degrees at Oxford and Cambridge, and from holding public office. Nevertheless, its provisions are widely assumed by modern scholars to represent a watershed in the historical record.

Yet this apparently seminal event did not merit a mention in the Hampshire Quakers sufferings book, and it is recorded in Hampshire Quarterly Meeting minutes as a purely administrative matter.<sup>270</sup> This attitude may not have been specific to Quakers and other separatists. It has been argued that the 1689 Act was no watershed for Presbyterians either, since they had been hoping for comprehension within the Church of England, not toleration outside it. Rather it was James II's Declaration of Indulgence in 1687 that marked their freedom to worship and hear preaching without resorting to partial conformity to avoid persecution.<sup>271</sup> The importance of the Declaration of 1687 may have been disregarded by dissenters after the Glorious Revolution editing their 'historical memory', as one historian suggests, to avoid accusations that they dallied with a 'popish despot'.<sup>272</sup>

It may be that later historians, with the benefit of hindsight, see the 1689 Act as having an importance unrealised at the time. Lord Macaulay (1800-59), discussed the Act in detail in his *History of England*, describing it as '[t]his celebrated statute, long considered as the Great Charter of religious liberty', and commenting that it 'approaches very near to the idea of a great English law'.<sup>273</sup> Later scholars take it for granted that the Revolution of 1688, the accession of the Protestants William and Mary and the 1689 Act, marked 'the end of the heroic age of Dissent', and the beginning of a new era for Friends and other nonconformists.<sup>274</sup> If seventeenth-century dissenters did not realise it, later generations would be appreciate the significance of the Act of Toleration as the start of a long journey towards integration and acceptance.

## Conclusion

Persecution of dissent in Hampshire broadly conformed to national trends, from the perceived threat of the Fifth Monarchist uprising in January 1661 through to the Toleration

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<sup>270</sup> HRO 24M54/1, 103-7.

<sup>271</sup> David Wykes, 'Toleration and the Development of Religious Dissent in Cheshire during the late 1680s', unpublished lecture notes, Dr. Williams's Library, London, 13 June 2007.

<sup>272</sup> De Krey, 'Reformation and "Arbitrary Government"', 29.

<sup>273</sup> Macaulay's treatment of the Act was not entirely uncritical; he noted its limitations and the political compromises made. Lord Macaulay, *The History of England from the Accession of James the Second*, vol. III, C. H. Firth (ed.) (London, 1914), 1386, 1388-9.

<sup>274</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 261; Braithwaite, *Second Period of Quakerism*, 160.

Act of 1689. If a specific piece of legislation, or an event, had caused incidents of persecution to increase nationally, or indeed to decrease, then Hampshire dissenters would feel the effect of this. Many Hampshire magistrates seem to have been aware of their duties in keeping the peace, and enforcing the law, and many churchwardens were as zealous in reporting misdemeanours to the ecclesiastical authorities. Yet both the civil and ecclesiastical authorities in Hampshire seem to have been largely conformist to the prevailing climate of the day. Cases of personal malice unrelated to external legislation and events were unusual.

However, the evidence is that, if Hampshire as a county experienced persecution in line with national trends, that persecution was not experienced uniformly over the county. While Southampton's dissenters were persecuted throughout this period, dissenters elsewhere suffered far more sporadically, if at all. Other areas experienced a single intense period of persecution. Hard evidence is difficult to find, but it seems that persecution may have been dependent on the will of local magistrates, and on officers to enforce that will, as well as on the willingness or otherwise of churchwardens to present their neighbours for ecclesiastical offences. While some individuals, such as Colonel Legge at Portsmouth, or town councils, such as Andover in 1682, were prepared to pursue an aggressive policy against dissenters, this was not necessarily the case everywhere. It seems that neighbourly bonds may have been more influential than legislation, or the threat of fines, as prosecutions of constables who neglected their duty demonstrate. Additionally, the effort involved in arresting and prosecuting offenders may have influenced the inaction of those who should have been involved, since their duties were an unpaid role.

What is noticeable is that, despite the years of persecution, and the uncertainty of not knowing, even in times of peace, when the arrests might recommence, many, if not all, Hampshire dissenters remained faithful to their beliefs. The evidence of those dissenting congregations whose records survive for the Restoration period is that dissenters spent much of the time on concerns other than persecution. Members in need were assisted, and church business discussed. Congregations were established and consolidated, especially in the towns. It is the distribution and strength of dissent in the Restoration period, and early eighteenth century, that is discussed in the following chapter.

## CHAPTER FIVE: THE DISTRIBUTION OF DISSENT, 1660 TO 1740

This chapter discusses the distribution of dissent and numbers of dissenters in the period 1660 to c. 1740. No previous study is known to have attempted to ascertain in detail the distribution of dissent in Hampshire during this period, nor its numerical strength, although some comments and summary analyses have been made in work by Andrew Coleby and by Michael Watts, as well as by Anne Whiteman in her study of the Compton Census.<sup>1</sup> This chapter analyses the distribution and numerical strength of dissent in the county, and compares this, where appropriate, with national statistics and research undertaken for other counties. It adds to the existing corpus of such studies, enabling a more balanced picture to be drawn of the distribution and prevalence of dissent nationally.

There are a number of themes that need to be considered in any discussion of the distribution and prevalence of dissent in a region. For ease of analysis, this chapter is therefore divided into several sub-sections. The first section considers previous studies, and the main sources available for studies of Hampshire. There are certain themes which are claimed to have a particular effect on the distribution and numerical strength of dissent. These themes are developed in this chapter, with particular attention to the available Hampshire evidence. The importance of the geography of a region and its agriculture has been a subject of some discussion among historians; this chapter considers how far it is possible to make a connection between agricultural practice and dissent. Some historians have made a connection between the county boundaries and the strength of dissent, and this is also considered.

A number of studies have considered the effect urban areas had on dissent, and whether it was more prevalent there than in rural areas.<sup>2</sup> This question is particularly pertinent for Hampshire, which, while a largely rural country, had several market towns, including certain types of town have been noted by some studies to have attracted dissent, these being towns where the textile trade was particularly strong, and port towns. As towns were linked by trade routes, both by land and water, the effect of communications networks on the spread of dissent is discussed.

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<sup>1</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 272-6; Coleby, *Central Government*; Whiteman (ed.), *Compton Census*.

<sup>2</sup> For example, Peter Clark and Paul Slack, *English Towns in Transition 1500-1700* (Oxford, 1976), 15, 23-4, 150-2; Judith J. Hurwich, 'Dissent and Catholicism in English society: a study of Warwickshire, 1660-1720', *The Journal of British Studies*, vol. 16, no. 1 (Autumn 1976), 32-3, 43-4; Stephen A. Timmons, 'From persecution to toleration in the West Country, 1672-1992', *The Historian*, 68.3 (Fall 2006), 462-3, 467-8; Watts, *Dissenters*, 267-89.

The number of dissenters in any locality could be affected by more human-centred influences than its agriculture, or whether or not it was an urban or rural area. The attitude of a lord of the manor could have an effect on dissent, especially in a settlement with a single manor. But the even more personal relationships with one's family could influence whether or not a person became a dissenter, and this too is briefly considered.

Any study of the numerical strength of dissent in the Restoration period has to consider the results of the Compton Census of 1676. But a study of the Compton Census returns for Hampshire has thrown up anomalies when the results of the census are compared with the 1669 conventicle returns. These anomalies are considered, since, while not invalidating the usefulness of the census to historians, they do raise questions about its overall reliability.

Finally, the changing distribution and numerical strength of dissent in Hampshire after the Toleration Act of 1689 is discussed. This period suffers the disadvantage of not having the court records which identified dissenters in the Restoration period, and the poor survival of meeting house registrations means that it is difficult to make a quantitative study of the distribution and strength of dissent in Hampshire in this period. However, membership lists begin to be available in the surviving records of the dissenting churches and these, with other sources, can be used to make some observations regarding the state of Hampshire dissent under toleration. In conclusion, as this chapter covers a period of eighty years, it considers how far it is possible to ascertain how much the numerical strength of dissent changed in Hampshire during this period. The social status of dissenters is not discussed in this chapter, since it will be considered in chapter six.

### **Distribution of dissent: general points**

Protestant nonconformity was not evenly spread throughout England.<sup>3</sup> An examination of Michael Watts's map analysis of Protestant dissent would appear to demonstrate that the proportion of dissenters in Hampshire was relatively low across all religious groups (Presbyterian, Independent, Particular Baptist, General Baptist and Quaker).<sup>4</sup> But a closer analysis of the figures in his appendix and a comparison of those figures with the figures for neighbouring counties and for England as a whole, demonstrate that the level of dissent in Hampshire was comparable in strength with that elsewhere in the region.<sup>5</sup> At a national level, variations are most easily expressed in terms of whole

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<sup>3</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 272-6. Watts's maps are based on the Evans List of 1715-18.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 509.

counties, but Watts also indicates variations within county boundaries.<sup>6</sup> Individual county studies can examine the factors involving variations in dissent which may be specific to a particular locality, and these are discussed in the course of this chapter.

Andrew Coleby, in his study of local government in Hampshire, touches on the geographical distribution of nonconformists, but, as noted above, a detailed analysis of the county has yet to be published.<sup>7</sup> However, the surviving primary sources for Restoration Hampshire do enable such a study to be made.<sup>8</sup> The most obvious source is the 1676 Compton census returns.<sup>9</sup> Arranged by parish within the deaneries, the returns provide numbers of adult conformists, nonconformists and Roman Catholics, although they do not separate out the different Protestant dissenting groups.<sup>10</sup>

The returns to the 1676 census demonstrate that dissent was not evenly spread over the entire county. It was strongest in Alton and the parishes to the east of the town towards the county boundary; in a line extending from Wellow and Romsey down through Southampton and the eastern bank of the Hamble; and in the parishes in the far west of county, between the extra-parochial area of the New Forest and the county boundary with Dorset.<sup>11</sup>

The Compton census returns can be used alongside other contemporary evidence to provide an estimate of the strength of dissent in the county. Although the 1669 conventicle returns for Hampshire are incomplete, they do provide information on the different sects and their preachers, information which is not part of the solely numerical data of the Compton census. The applications for licences to preach and hold conventicles from 1672-3, made under Charles II's Declaration of Indulgence, are evidence for Presbyterian, Independent and some Baptist conventicles in the county, although they are not an indication of the numbers of people attending such meetings. Nor are they a guide to the distribution of all Protestant dissent in the county, since Baptists did not always make applications for their meetings, and Quakers made none at all.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 277-8, 282, 285.

<sup>7</sup> Coleby, *Central Government*, 131-2.

<sup>8</sup> Tables 3a-j; map 4.

<sup>9</sup> See chapter one.

<sup>10</sup> Whiteman (ed.), *Compton Census*.

<sup>11</sup> See map 4.

<sup>12</sup> LPL MS 639, fols 260r-264r; Turner (ed.), *Original Records*, vol. II, 1035-51; Coleby, *Central Government*, 131-2.

The uneven survival of churchwardens' presentments means that they are most profitably used as additional evidence for the existence of dissent.<sup>13</sup> Of particular interest, however, are the abstracts of churchwardens' presentments made for the bishop in 1664 and c. 1673, which provided the diocesan authorities with an indication of the geographical distribution of dissent in the county, and the names of active dissenters.<sup>14</sup>

Statistical sources enable a framework to be drawn up, as Henry Lancaster observed in his study of Wiltshire dissent, but cannot alone explain why dissent was distributed in the manner it was.<sup>15</sup> In her study of rural communities, Margaret Spufford comments that explaining the distribution of religious phenomena in terms of its geographical background can lead to an over-simplified approach. She cites Alan Everitt as making more nuanced distinctions with regard to the distribution of dissent in country parishes.<sup>16</sup> Everitt's study of nonconformity in country parishes demonstrated to him that, while similar characteristics appear in dissenting parishes in the regions of his research, these were 'rather echoed than repeated precisely' in each area. He concluded that 'the proliferation of Dissent was due to a conjunction of favourable circumstances rather than to any single universal cause'.<sup>17</sup> Social, agricultural, economic and ecclesiastical influences all contributed to the patterns of dissent in a locality, and this chapter aims to examine how far these determinants affected the distribution of Protestant dissent in Restoration Hampshire.

### **Distribution of dissent: geography and agriculture**

The geographical basis of dissent in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries has been examined in a number of studies. Its importance was acknowledged even by contemporaries. John Aubrey observed:

In North Wiltshire, and like the vale of Gloucestershire (a dirty clayey country) the Indigense, or Aborigines, speake drawling ... hereabout is but little, tillage or hard labour, they only milk the cowes and make cheese; they feed chiefly on milke meates, which cooles their braines too much, and hurts their inventions. These circumstances make them melancholy, contemplative and malicious ... they are generally more apt to be fanatiques ... On the downes, sc. [namely] the south part, where 'tis all upon tillage, and where the shepherds labour hard ... being

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<sup>13</sup> The 1664 to 1705 churchwardens' presentments were used as will wrappers and survived by chance. Lewin, *Records of the Diocese of Winchester*, 10-11.

<sup>14</sup> HRO 21M65/B1/37; HRO 21M65/B1/41; Coleby, *Central Government*, 131.

<sup>15</sup> Lancaster, 'Nonconformity and Anglican dissent', 221.

<sup>16</sup> Spufford, *Contrasting Communities*, 298.

<sup>17</sup> Alan Everitt, 'Nonconformity in country parishes', in Joan Thirsk (ed.), *Land, Church and People* (Reading, 1970), 189.

weary after hard labour, they have not leisure to read and contemplate of religion, but goe to bed to their rest, to rise betime the next morning to their labour.<sup>18</sup>

This seventeenth-century observation is supported by modern historians. Donald Spaeth concurs that dissent in Wiltshire was strong in the 'cheese' country in the north-west of the county, where the heavy clay soils were suitable for pastoral farming.<sup>19</sup> David Underdown stated that in dairying and cattle-grazing districts, and in wooded areas, the scattered settlements and small family farms resulted in a tendency towards individualism. Arable areas, in contrast, tended to have nucleated villages, often with a resident squire, and, Underdown stated, were bound by neighbourhood, custom and powerful mechanisms of social control.<sup>20</sup>

Farming was by far the most important single occupation in early modern Wessex and the majority of people obtained their livelihood directly from the land.<sup>21</sup> Wordie states that much of Hampshire, except the New Forest region, was arable, but this is a simplification; there was a diversity of farming practice throughout the county.<sup>22</sup> The underlying geology alone would indicate a more complex agricultural situation. A geological map of the county shows a diversity of underlying geology in the northern and eastern parts of the county, and in the southern half of the county, not only in the New Forest region in the south-west.<sup>23</sup> This underlying geology would have affected farming practice, resulting in a far more mixed agricultural economy than might be supposed by Wordie's analysis. Indeed, John Hare's study of medieval farming in Hampshire states that mixed farming dominated Hampshire's agriculture, and Gavin Bowie has suggested that early modern farming practice in Hampshire, at least up to the end of the seventeenth century, remained substantially the same as in the medieval period.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> John Aubrey, *The Natural History of Wiltshire* ([Whitefish, MT], n.d.), 21. Aubrey's *Natural History* was not published in his lifetime, but is believed to have been largely completed by 1686, with some additions in 1691. *Ibid.*, 6-7.

<sup>19</sup> Spaeth, *Church in an Age of Danger*, 157-8.

<sup>20</sup> Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion*, 5.

<sup>21</sup> J. H. Bettey, *Rural Life in Wessex 1500-1900* (Bradford-on-Avon, 1977), 10.

<sup>22</sup> J. R. Wordie, 'The South: Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Berkshire, Wiltshire and Hampshire', in Joan Thirsk (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales: Volume V 1640-1750: I. Regional Farming Systems* (Cambridge, 1984), 318, 342-6.

<sup>23</sup> F. H. W. Green, et al., *The Land of Britain: the report of the Land Utilisation Survey of Britain* (London, 1940), 89.

<sup>24</sup> John Hare, 'The bishop and the prior: demesne agriculture in medieval Hampshire', *Agricultural History Review*, vol. 54, part II (2006), 194; Gavin Bowie, 'The practice of the sheep and corn farming system on the English south central chalk downlands between the early 13<sup>th</sup> century and the late 17<sup>th</sup> century', unpublished draft paper for British Agricultural History Society conference, Norwich, April 2011, 7.



The New Forest region included large tracts of heathland with poor, acid soils, largely unsuitable to arable farming. The New Forest economy was characterised by a large number of independent or semi-independent small-holders, reliant on stock-keeping for their livelihood, and needing to derive additional income from secondary employments.<sup>25</sup> Such an economic structure, with no overall control by one landowner, can be an indicator of religious nonconformity. In his analysis of Wiltshire meeting house certificates, John Chandler observed that it was parishes with many small freeholders that tended to register a greater number of meeting houses.<sup>26</sup> E. J. T. Collins has suggested that in pre-industrial England, self-employment may have commanded a higher status than wage-work, which could have had connotations of economic dependency and servility.<sup>27</sup>

The vast area of the New Forest itself was extra-parochial during this period, but the Compton census returns show that parishes to the west and south had a high proportion of Protestant dissenters, and the 1669 conventicle returns identify several dissenting meetings, including two large Presbyterian meetings at Fordingbridge and Ellingham.<sup>28</sup> Those parishes to the west of the New Forest were also strung out along the valley of the river Avon. This valley, with its deep, alluvial loam was suited to both arable and pastoral farming.<sup>29</sup> The strength of dissent along the Avon valley is not necessarily only to be attributed to its agriculture, it can also be attributed to the presence of the market towns of Fordingbridge, Ringwood and Christchurch, and to the proximity of the county boundary with Dorset, issues which will be considered later in this chapter.

Although, as noted above, arable farming areas are seen by some historians as having a low likelihood of dissent among the population, there is not complete agreement on this point. In her essay in *The World of Rural Dissenters*, Margaret Spufford returns to the point she made in her earlier work *Contrasting Communities*, warning against oversimplification of geographical models and citing both her own research and that of Bill Stevenson as demonstrating that dissent could be found everywhere, even in mainly arable areas.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> C. R. Tubbs, 'The development of the smallholding and cottage stock-keeping economy of the New Forest', *Agricultural History Review*, 13.1 (1965) 23-39; Bettey, *Rural Life in Wessex*, 19; Coleby, *Central Government*, 3-4.

<sup>26</sup> J. H. Chandler (ed.), *Wiltshire Dissenters' Meeting House Certificates and Registrations 1689-1852* (Wiltshire Record Society 40), (Devizes, 1985), xxviii.

<sup>27</sup> E. J. T. Collins, 'Harvest technology and labour supply in Britain, 1790-1870', unpublished Ph.D. thesis (University of Nottingham, 1970), 9.

<sup>28</sup> LPL MS 639, fol. 263v. See also tables 3a-j and map 3.

<sup>29</sup> Wordie, 'The South', 344-5.

<sup>30</sup> Margaret Spufford, 'The importance of religion in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries' in Spufford (ed.), *World of Rural Dissenters*, 42.

### Distribution of dissent: border areas

Alan Everitt has identified areas bordering ecclesiastical or secular boundaries as likely to show a propensity to dissent.<sup>31</sup> The Avon valley parishes, previously discussed, bordered Dorset, and attracted dissenters from that county, at least to the Presbyterian meetings recorded at Fordingbridge and Ellingham in 1669.<sup>32</sup> In the east of the county some of the parishes bordering Surrey showed significant proportions of dissent. The dissent in these eastern parishes may have been related to their proximity not only to the county boundary, but also to the market town of Alton and the presence of the main road to London.<sup>33</sup>

At the county boundary with Wiltshire the adjoining parishes of Grateley, Over Wallop and Nether Wallop register a significant percentage of dissent.<sup>34</sup> (Over Wallop and Nether Wallop may be considered together; they are not always distinguished separately in the historical record.<sup>35</sup>) Although the Compton census does not distinguish between sects, it appears clear that some of the Wallop dissenters were Baptists. The 1669 conventicle returns list a Baptist meeting, and an application for a licence to preach and hold meetings was made by the Baptist John Kent in 1672.<sup>36</sup> A believers' baptism ceremony was held there in the mid-1680s, and a record of church members, probably made around the same time, lists eleven persons as members of the Wallop church. The Porton and Broughton Baptist church book indicates the connections Wallop Baptists had with their co-religionists in Wiltshire; the baptism was carried out by Walter Pen of Salisbury, and while two of the baptised were from Wallop itself, the third candidate had travelled from the Wiltshire town of Amesbury.<sup>37</sup> The 1669 conventicle returns additionally record a Presbyterian conventicle and a Quaker meeting at Nether Wallop, and a licence application was made for a meeting place for Independents in 1672.<sup>38</sup>

Conventicles may have been held in border areas to facilitate the escape of preachers and congregation over the county boundary if the authorities threatened to break up the meeting and arrest those attending. But this argument is questionable. Since many

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<sup>31</sup> Everitt, 'Nonconformity in country parishes', 193-7.

<sup>32</sup> LPL MS 639, 263v.

<sup>33</sup> HRO 120M94W/C2 Copy of John E. Holehouse, 'John Ogilby's strip road maps -1675', from *Hampshire* magazine, January 1974, 45-8.

<sup>34</sup> Whiteman, *Compton Census*, 81-3. See table 3a.

<sup>35</sup> The church book of 1653-87 consistently records the place as 'Wallop'. AL B1/1.

<sup>36</sup> LPL MS 639, fol. 261r; Turner (ed.), *Original Records*, vol. II, 1050.

<sup>37</sup> AL B1/1, 106, 110. The entries are undated, but the Wallop baptisms appear to have taken place sometime in the mid-1680s.

<sup>38</sup> LPL MS 639, fol. 261r; Turner (ed.), *Original Records*, vol. II, 1046.

people attending conventicles travelled on foot, any meetings would have to be held a very short distance from the county boundary to make escape a realistic possibility. In 1663 George Fox made a dramatic escape from a meeting near Ringwood over the county boundary into Wiltshire, where the pursuing Hampshire authorities could not follow, but he was on horseback. Other Quakers at the same meeting were not so fortunate, and a number were arrested and imprisoned.<sup>39</sup> County boundaries were not necessarily a barrier to prosecution in any case. The Hampshire justices willingly co-operated with the Berkshire authorities in pursuing John Kilburne of Holybourne for payment of his fine incurred for attending a meeting in Reading in 1684.<sup>40</sup> Nor do dissenters appear to have been deterred by the possibility of arrest far from home. As Whiteman observed, dissent was not parochially organised, and people would travel long distances to get to a meeting of their sect.<sup>41</sup> There is confirmation of this in the Hampshire sources. In Burghclere, while there were only seven nonconformists in the parish in 1676, the Presbyterian conventicle in 1669 attracted forty to a thousand people, of whom only eighteen were from the parish itself.<sup>42</sup> Quakers from all over the county were reported to attend the monthly meetings at Baughurst and Swanmore.<sup>43</sup> The 1669 returns from Andover deanery included a comment that people would travel to nonconformist conventicles from all over Hampshire; it was claimed that there could be at one meeting more people attending than there were separatists actually resident in the entire deanery.<sup>44</sup> Surviving church records indicate that active members of a congregation could travel widely on church business. As noted in chapter four, the records of the Porton and Broughton Baptist church indicate that members sometimes travelled widely to provide support to other congregations in the region.<sup>45</sup> Some of the Quakers arrested at Andover in 1682 came from outside the town.<sup>46</sup> The quarterly meetings of the Hampshire Society of Friends were attended by representatives from throughout the county.<sup>47</sup>

Nevertheless, not all dissenters necessarily travelled long distances to get to their meetings. In 1669 the Presbyterian meeting at Kingsclere attracted forty persons, all said to be inhabitants of the parish, and the fifty to sixty Presbyterians meeting in Basingstoke were

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<sup>39</sup> HRO 24M54/14, fol. 17r; Fox, *Journal*, 440-2.

<sup>40</sup> HRO 24M54/14, fol. 29r.

<sup>41</sup> Whiteman, *Compton Census*, lxxviii.

<sup>42</sup> LPL MS 639, fol. 261r.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, fols 262r, 262v.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 261r.

<sup>45</sup> AL B1/1, 17-63, esp. 29, 32, 35.

<sup>46</sup> HRO 24M54/14, fol. 26v.

<sup>47</sup> HRO 24M54/1.

likewise all parishioners.<sup>48</sup> At Crondall, the Presbyterian meeting attracted a 'very numerous' congregation, mostly from the parish itself, with the rest from neighbouring settlements.<sup>49</sup> The Anabaptist meeting in the tithing of Hill in the parish of Droxford was attended by twenty to thirty persons, all 'from the places Adjacent'.<sup>50</sup>

### **Distribution of dissent: urban areas**

Urban areas are another possibly determinant of dissent. This is largely supported by the Hampshire statistics. Most of the Southampton and Winchester city parishes returned large proportions of dissenters. Although there were parochial variations, the proportion of dissenters in Southampton was 15.77 per cent, and in Winchester the figure was 6.19 per cent.<sup>51</sup> Other towns also hosted large numbers of dissenters; Romsey's figure of 42 per cent was exceptional, but Andover, Ringwood, Christchurch, Alton and Fareham all returned figures showing that over 5 per cent of their parishioners were dissenters. Urban parishes tended to have larger populations than rural areas; all Hampshire parishes with a population in excess of one thousand were market towns.<sup>52</sup>

In their study of early modern towns, Peter Clark and Paul Slack note that organised religion has a weaker hold and religious dissidence greater opportunity in the towns than in the countryside.<sup>53</sup> They note that in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries market towns were important centres of evangelical puritanism, where specially appointed preachers or lecturers gave sermons additional to those preached at the Sunday services.<sup>54</sup> Judith Hurwich's study of Warwickshire demonstrates that Protestant dissent was strongest in those parts of the county which included the major industrial and trading centres, and that nonconformity appeared to both its adherents and to its enemies as an urban movement. By the early eighteenth century there was a marked tendency for Warwickshire dissenters to concentrate in towns.<sup>55</sup> Stephen Timmons's research observed that in Devon and Cornwall, nonconformity was largely urban by 1692.<sup>56</sup> Michael Watts also supports the theory that dissent had a particular strength in urban areas. His research demonstrates that areas with a large population, and especially those where trade or manufacture (especially

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<sup>48</sup> LPL MS 639, fol. 261v.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 262r.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 262v.

<sup>51</sup> See tables 3e, 3h, 6, and 7.

<sup>52</sup> See table 5.

<sup>53</sup> Clark and Slack, *English Towns*, 15.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

<sup>55</sup> Hurwich, 'Dissent and Catholicism', 32-3, 43-4.

<sup>56</sup> Timmons, 'From persecution to toleration', 462.

of textiles) was prominent tended to have a heavy concentration of Presbyterians.<sup>57</sup> By 1715-18, of 1,238 known Presbyterian, Independent and Baptist congregations in England and Wales, over half met in cities, boroughs or market towns, and the evidence suggests that Quakers were similarly concentrated in urban areas.<sup>58</sup>

Henry Lancaster's study of dissent in Wiltshire notes how the 1676 census demonstrates that groups of dissenters concentrated in urban parishes with sizeable populations. In such an environment dissenters could organise themselves more efficiently, providing effective poor relief, schooling and support for those prosecuted and imprisoned for their beliefs, and thus enabling them to survive years of persecution.<sup>59</sup> As Watts observes, while dissenters in rural areas could find themselves isolated, and, lacking the presence of other co-religionists, drift back to the Church of England, urban dissenters were more likely to have a community of fellow-believers for support.<sup>60</sup>

There were a number of market towns in Hampshire, which, according to the above model, should appear in contemporary sources as centres of dissent. Everitt lists the Hampshire market towns from 1500 to 1640 as being at Alresford, Alton, Andover, Basingstoke, Christchurch, Fareham, Havant, Kingsclere, Lymington, Newport (Isle of Wight), Odiham, Petersfield, Portsmouth, Ringwood, Romsey, Sandown (Isle of Wight), Southampton, Stockbridge, Whitchurch, Winchester and Yarmouth (Isle of Wight).<sup>61</sup> Karen Winterson's study of urban development in Hampshire from 1625 to 1700 adds Bishop's Waltham, Fordingbridge, and Overton to the list, but excludes Sandown and Yarmouth.<sup>62</sup> It is Winterson's list of market towns that is used in this study.

Of these market towns, Alresford, Alton, Andover, Christchurch, Fareham, Fordingbridge, Lymington, Ringwood, Romsey, Southampton, Whitchurch and Winchester all had, according to the 1676 Compton Census, a Protestant dissenting population of over five per cent, as did Ecchinswell, a chapelry of Kingsclere. All these towns appear in the applications for licences in 1672-3.<sup>63</sup> The 1669 conventicle returns were not made for all

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<sup>57</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 271.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 285-6.

<sup>59</sup> Lancaster, 'Nonconformity and Anglican dissent', 235.

<sup>60</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 288.

<sup>61</sup> Alan Everitt, 'The market towns', in Peter Clark (ed.), *The Early Modern Town: a reader* (London, 1976), 175.

<sup>62</sup> Winterson, 'Aspects of urban development', 10.

<sup>63</sup> Turner (ed.), *Original Records*, vol. II, 1035-51. The evidence for a Christchurch application is uncertain.

deaneries in the county, but the known returns list conventicles in Alton, Andover, Basingstoke, Fordingbridge, Kingsclere, Southampton and Winchester.<sup>64</sup>

The evidence of the conventicle returns, licence applications and the Compton census for Hampshire would appear to support the theory that dissent was strongest in urban areas. However, it may be noted that the evidence of the ejections of clergy in 1660-2 is inconclusive. Of the twenty-two market towns in Hampshire and the Isle of Wight, only ten suffered the ejection of parish clergy.<sup>65</sup> These were Alresford, Christchurch, Fordingbridge, Odiham, Overton, Portsmouth, Romsey, Southampton, Winchester, and Newport on the Isle of Wight.<sup>66</sup>

The Compton census is not, by itself, an authoritative guide to the distribution of urban dissent in Hampshire, since several urban areas with populations greater than 1,000 appear to have a low level of dissent.<sup>67</sup> According to the 1676 census, the towns of Basingstoke, Newport on the Isle of Wight, Kingsclere, Portsmouth, and the parish of Alverstoke which included the town of Gosport, had less than five per cent of the population dissenting from the Established Church. There were apparently only ten nonconformists to 1,580 conformists in Basingstoke, a percentage of just 0.01 per cent. Portsmouth had sixty dissenters and 2,500 conformists, a percentage of 2.34 per cent. Newport on the Isle of Wight registered a dissenting population of 0.92 per cent. Kingsclere recorded no Protestant dissenters, although if its two chapels are included, it registered a small percentage of 0.67 per cent. The parish of Alverstoke was apparently entirely conformist, having no Protestant dissenters or Roman Catholics at all.<sup>68</sup> However, there is strong evidence of dissent in these towns from other sources, as discussed below, which does raise questions about the reliability of the 1676 census with regard to the proportion of nonconformists to conformists in these parishes. As stated earlier, Anne Whiteman, in her authoritative edition of the census, was of the opinion that those making returns from the parishes did attempt to provide accurate answers, and that the subsequent tabulation of responses was largely accurate.<sup>69</sup> However, she did note that differing interpretations of the question on nonconformity mean that the figures for the numbers of dissenters in a parish should be

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<sup>64</sup> LPL MS 639, fols 261r-264r.

<sup>65</sup> Including at Winchester the ejection of the chaplain of St Cross hospital, who had responsibility for the parishioners of St Faith. Market towns as identified in Winterson, 'Aspects of urban development', 10.

<sup>66</sup> Matthews, *Calamy Revised*.

<sup>67</sup> Table 5.

<sup>68</sup> Tables 3b, 5; Whiteman, *Compton Census*, 83-8.

<sup>69</sup> Whiteman, *Compton Census*, xli, xlv, lviii, lxxix.

treated with care.<sup>70</sup> It therefore seems likely that the figures for these five towns in 1676 should be regarded with caution.

A possible interpretation for these figures is that partially conformist Presbyterians and Independents were entered as wholly conformist on the returns, rather than as nonconformists. Furthermore, the presence of a conventicle in a parish did not necessarily mean that it was attended entirely by parishioners; the 1669 conventicle returns make it very clear that many of the county's dissenting meetings were attended by people from outside the parish.<sup>71</sup> But this does not apply to the Presbyterian conventicle in Basingstoke, which the return reported to be attended by fifty to sixty people, all of whom were of the parish.<sup>72</sup> There were two preachers, James Terry, ejected from Michelmersh, and John Marryot, ejected from Over Wallop.<sup>73</sup> The Presbyterian conventicle at Gosport was attended by 'some hundreds' of people, mostly Portsmouth seamen and workmen with their wives and families, but it is difficult to imagine that some Alverstoke parishioners were not among the congregation.<sup>74</sup> The conventicle had three preachers, including Benjamin Burgess, ejected minister of Portsmouth, Samuel Tutchin, ejected from the living of Odiham, and Mr Whitmarsh, formerly a Salisbury tailor.<sup>75</sup> Sometime after 1669 Walter Marshall, ejected from Hursley, became a nonconformist minister in Gosport.<sup>76</sup> As for Portsmouth, the evidence from Alverstoke shows that Portsmouth parishioners were attending the Gosport conventicle. There was no meeting of a comparable size in Portsmouth, but there were 'small meetings of Anabaptists & Quakers'.<sup>77</sup> The 1669 returns also provide evidence for the strength of dissent in Kingsclere, where there was a Presbyterian meeting of some forty people, and a Quaker meeting of an unknown number; there were in addition some sixty to eighty Quakers, some from outside the parish, meeting in Ecchinswell, then part of the parish of Kingsclere.<sup>78</sup> The 1669 conventicle returns do not include the Isle of Wight

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<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, lxxvi-lxxviii.

<sup>71</sup> LPL MS 639, fols 260r-264r.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 261v.

<sup>73</sup> Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 339, 480. Marryot's first name is given as James in the 1669 conventicle returns.

<sup>74</sup> LPL MS 639, fol. 262v.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*; Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 87, 499. 'Mr Whitmarsh' may have been George Whitmarsh, ejected from Rowner, and preaching in Salisbury in 1669. Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 527-8.

<sup>76</sup> Tomlyns, *The faith of the saints*, 5-6. Both Tomlyns and Marshall appear in the 1669 conventicle returns, preaching at the same Presbyterian conventicle in Winchester. Marshall was also preaching in Alton (LPL MS 639, fol. 263r). Marshall's ejection from Hursley is recorded in Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 341.

<sup>77</sup> LPL MS 639, fol. 262v.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, fols 261v-262r.

parishes, but in 1664 eleven persons from Newport were presented by the churchwardens as sectaries, and a further twenty persons for not coming to common prayer.<sup>79</sup>

Further evidence is supplied by applications for licences in 1672-3; licences were applied for from all five towns.<sup>80</sup> The 1669 and 1672-3 evidence is supplemented by other sources. When the Quaker evangelists Ambrose Rigge and Thomas Robertson were in Hampshire in 1655, they went to preach in Basingstoke, where they appear to have had contacts, suggesting an existing nonconformist presence in the town.<sup>81</sup> There was a Quaker school here in 1673.<sup>82</sup>

The 1664 abstract of churchwardens' presentments is evidence of the presence of sectaries in both Alverstoke and Portsmouth; there were three reputed sectaries in Alverstoke parish, and forty-one in Portsmouth.<sup>83</sup> In Portsmouth, Quakers were sufficiently numerous have been subjected to a sustained campaign of harassment in the early 1660s.<sup>84</sup> Prosecutions were brought at the Portsmouth borough sessions held at Michaelmas 1677 for offences related to Baptist and Presbyterian conventicles in the town.<sup>85</sup> The records also include evidence for dissent in Gosport, where in 1682 attempts were made to bring prosecutions relating to a conventicle, whose services were attended by between fifty and 200 persons.<sup>86</sup>

### **Distribution of dissent: port towns**

Although it has not received as much attention as the prevalence of dissent in cloth towns, discussed below, some studies have concluded that port towns were likely to be centres of nonconformity. Clark and Slack note that sects were active in Kentish dockyard towns in the 1640s.<sup>87</sup> In her study of dissent in Cambridgeshire, Margaret Spufford noted that the town of Swavesey, then a small port and market town on the edge of the fens, was 'the nursery of Quakerism in this part of the county'.<sup>88</sup> Mark Stoye, in his study of Devon in the Civil Wars, found support for Parliament along the Devon coast, and indeed in most English ports. He is in no doubt that county's ports were partly responsible for the

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<sup>79</sup> HRO 21M65/B1/37, fol. 10v.

<sup>80</sup> Turner (ed.), *Original Records*, vol. II, 1035-51.

<sup>81</sup> HRO 24M54/14, fols 3r-3v; Rigge, *Constancy in the Truth*, 10-11.

<sup>82</sup> HRO 202M85/3/64 Churchwardens' presentments: Basingstoke, 1673.

<sup>83</sup> HRO 21M65/B1/37, fols 16r-16v.

<sup>84</sup> HRO 24M54/14, fols 6v-9r, 12v-14v.

<sup>85</sup> Willis and Hoad (eds), *Portsmouth Borough Sessions Papers*, 65-7. See chapter four.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 97, 99.

<sup>87</sup> Clark and Slack, *English Towns*, 44.

<sup>88</sup> Margaret Spufford, 'The social status of some seventeenth-century rural dissenters', in G. J. Cuming and D. Baker (eds), *Popular Belief and Practice* (Studies in Church History 8), (Cambridge, 1972), 209.



transmission of radical ideas through Devon.<sup>89</sup> The evidence from Portsmouth of the strength of dissent in the town supports this theory, and the apparently low level of dissent recorded in the Compton census returns may reflect the fluidity of the population in port towns, which made ascertaining the numbers of dissenters difficult. This difficulty was acknowledged by the churchwardens of Portsmouth.<sup>90</sup> Nor was Portsmouth alone among Hampshire's port towns in its high proportion of dissenters; it will become clear throughout this chapter that Hampshire's other major port town, Southampton, also had a significant proportion of dissenters.

### **Distribution of dissent: the textile connection**

The correlation between dissent and the textile trade is accepted by a number of historians.<sup>91</sup> This was most noticeable in the manufacturing areas of northern England, but was by no means confined to them. Watts cites the example of Taunton, the major clothing town of Somerset, which had the largest dissenting congregation and meeting house in the county. In Somerset's second clothing town, Frome, the Presbyterians claimed a thousand hearers.<sup>92</sup> Betty's study of rural life in Wessex supports Watts's research, noting that Protestant nonconformity grew rapidly in the cloth-working areas of Somerset and Wiltshire during the late seventeenth century.<sup>93</sup> Lancaster comments that the link between textile trades and dissent is 'well established'.<sup>94</sup> He notes that employment as clothiers, tradesmen and craftsmen 'provided the added stimulus of greater economic freedom, an important consideration with regard to nonconformists' concern for personal control of the individual's own spiritual and material destiny'.<sup>95</sup> Capp's study of Fifth Monarchists showed that about one third of all Fifth Monarchists were involved in the clothing and textile trade.<sup>96</sup> Mark Stoye notes that during the Civil Wars, puritanism was strong in cloth districts; the radical centre of Barnstaple was an important centre of the shoemaking industry, and that in the western half of East Devon, the fact that puritanism was restricted

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<sup>89</sup> Mark Stoye, *Loyalty and Locality: popular allegiance in Devon during the English Civil War* (Exeter, 1994), 157, 200, 252.

<sup>90</sup> HRO 202M85/3/952.

<sup>91</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 271.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 278. The Taunton dissenting congregation and meeting house was Presbyterian.

<sup>93</sup> Betty, *Rural Life in Wessex*, 94.

<sup>94</sup> Lancaster, 'Nonconformity and Anglican dissent', 9.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 9-10.

<sup>96</sup> Capp, *Fifth Monarchy Men*, 85.

to a narrow coastal strip 'was a direct reflection of the local distribution of the clothing industry'.<sup>97</sup>

According to the *Victoria County History*, Hampshire had a strong textile industry in the medieval period, with a ready supply of wool from the downland sheep, and a domestic weaving industry. But the industry went into a decline, as former export markets abroad obtained wool from other sources, and began to produce their own cloth. In the reign of Elizabeth I, religious refugees from the Continent settled in Southampton, bringing weaving skills with them, but this was not enough to invigorate the Hampshire textile trade to the buoyancy of the Middle Ages. In 1614 the Merchant Adventurers noted the decay of the textile trade in Hampshire, although manufacture of cloth would continue to take place in Alton, Andover, Basingstoke and Romsey, as well as in Southampton and Winchester.<sup>98</sup> By the early eighteenth century, Daniel Defoe was writing that cloth was manufactured at Alton, Basingstoke and Andover, but otherwise Hampshire was not engaged in any considerable manufacture of woollen cloth.<sup>99</sup>

All these towns were centres of dissent, although a definite connection of the textile trade with dissent is not always possible to prove conclusively from the surviving historical record. The 1669 conventicle returns record that one of the prominent Basingstoke Presbyterians was the wife of a draper, but there is no evidence from this source to what extent other Presbyterians in the town were involved in the trade.<sup>100</sup> A court order for expenses concerning the fourteen Quaker men arrested at the meeting near Ringwood from which George Fox made his dramatic escape in 1663 shows that five were connected with the textile trade, as a tailor, clothier or weaver, but the occupation of another five men was given as husbandman, which indicates an equally strong connection with agriculture.<sup>101</sup>

Birth, marriage and death or burial registers may give evidence of occupation, but for Hampshire little survives before 1689 with the exception of the Quaker registers, and these do not, especially before 1689, necessarily give evidence of occupation. However, the evidence of the Quaker burial registers for the county does suggest a connection with agricultural occupations equal to the textile trade. Of the entries up to and including 1740, of the twenty-nine men who were both resident in Hampshire at the time of their death,

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<sup>97</sup> Stoye, *Loyalty and Locality*, 200, 202.

<sup>98</sup> C. H. Vellacott, 'Textiles', in Page (ed.), *Victoria History of Hampshire*, vol. 5 (1912), 485-7.

<sup>99</sup> Moira Grant, 'The small towns of North Hampshire 1660 – c. 1800. Part 1: Economy', *Hampshire Studies*, 62 (2007), 194.

<sup>100</sup> LPL MS 639, fol. 261v.

<sup>101</sup> TNA PRO ASSI 24/22, fols 104r-104v. The other occupations were: cordwainer (x2), tanner and glazier.

and for whom an occupation is given, seven men were involved with the textile trade, but another seven were farming.<sup>102</sup>

A connection between dissent and the textile trade in Hampshire is, however, strong in Alton. An examination of the occupations of male Alton Quakers marrying between 1693 and 1738 shows that, of the twenty-one men where an occupation was recorded, thirteen were involved in cloth and clothing trades.<sup>103</sup> Two prominent dissenters were involved with the textile trade. Moses Neave, the main host of the Quaker meeting, was a clothier, as was another leading Quaker, Nicholas Gates.<sup>104</sup> Alton was one of the towns noted by Defoe as being a centre for the manufacture of cloth, so it is perhaps unsurprising that dissenters should have been involved in the trade. However, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, a correlation between textile-related occupations and dissent begins to show in Ringwood and the nearby town of Fordingbridge, neither town noted for its cloth manufacture, where the evidence suggests that the comparable strength of agricultural and textile-related occupations among Quakers in the Ringwood area in 1663 does not continue into the period after the Act of Toleration. An examination of the Quaker marriage registers shows that, of the eight male Quakers from Ringwood and Fordingbridge who married between 1689 and 1703 and whose occupation was given, six were involved in some way in the textile trade.<sup>105</sup> A possible connection between the textile trade and dissent may have developed over the period covered by this study, as nonconformists sought employment compatible with their religious practices. Furthermore, it is possible that the Huguenot refugee weavers had an influence on dissent in Southampton, since Coleby notes that some Southampton dissenters resorted to the French church.<sup>106</sup>

In considering the relationship of dissent to the textile trade, it should be noted that Alan Everitt's research into seventeenth-century dissent in Kent questioned why the predominance of nonconformity had been attributed to the strength of the cloth industry in the Weald; he concluded that any connection between the two was probably fostered by

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<sup>102</sup> HRO 24M54/25/3. The first mention of an occupation is given in 1687, and the register was examined for occupations until 1740.

<sup>103</sup> HRO 24M54/25/2. The occupations were: wool comber/worsted comber/comber (x8), clothier (x2), weaver (x2) and tailor. The remaining occupations were: tanner (x3), butcher, bricklayer, pattern-wood cutter, basket-maker and sailor.

<sup>104</sup> LPL MS 639, fol. 263r; HRO 1698A/085 Will and inventory of Moses Neave, sen, of Bawpins, Alton, Hampshire, clothier, 1698; HRO 39M67/55 Award in dispute over fences between Nicholas Gates of Alton, clothier, and Robert Braman of Alton, apothecary, 1672.

<sup>105</sup> HRO 24M54/25/2. The occupations were: worsted comber (x2), hosier (x2), tailor and felt maker. The two remaining occupations were cooper and tanner.

<sup>106</sup> Coleby, *Central Government*, 202.

particular local characteristics.<sup>107</sup> Commenting on this, Margaret Spufford notes that there is contemporary evidence of weavers reading at their looms, or being read to and engaging in discussion as they worked, which could have fostered dissent.<sup>108</sup> However, she believes that the 'most profitable idea' for the distribution of dissent is the importance of transport links, noting that what most cloth areas had in common was a trade distribution network and transport links. 'The dissemination of ideas, both religious and political, go along with trade communications and marketing'.<sup>109</sup>

### **Distribution of dissent: trade routes**

Towns were invariably on trade routes, which facilitated the spread of dissent. The main road between London and Bristol passed through Berkshire and north Wiltshire, and did not cross Hampshire, but important highways still traversed the county. In particular, another major route from London to the West Country ran through Basingstoke, Whitchurch and Andover before going on through Salisbury and then on to Exeter, Plymouth and through Cornwall to Land's End.<sup>110</sup> In his *Tour* of 1724-6, Daniel Defoe described the great western road as going from Basingstoke though to Whitchurch and Andover. He wrote that Basingstoke had good market for corn and had established itself as a manufacturing centre for cloth.<sup>111</sup> In 1691 Celia Fiennes described Basingstoke as a large town, well-appointed for travellers, and having a good trade.<sup>112</sup> Basingstoke returned only ten Protestant dissenters in a total population of 1,591 in 1676, but this figure seems somewhat low, given the number of Presbyterians recorded in 1669, and the fact that Quakers were living in the town by 1673.<sup>113</sup> However Andover and Whitchurch both demonstrated a high (over 5 per cent) proportion of dissenters in 1676.<sup>114</sup>

The London to Exeter and Land's End road was one of the major post roads in the country, but there were other important routes running through the county, as John Ogilby's strip maps of 1675 illustrate. A road ran from London to Poole, via Alresford, Winchester, Romsey and Ringwood.<sup>115</sup> Another main route ran from London to Southampton via Alton and Alresford, and one from London to Portsmouth via

<sup>107</sup> Everitt, 'Nonconformity in country parishes', 189.

<sup>108</sup> Spufford, 'Importance of Religion', in Spufford (ed.), *World of Rural Dissenters*, 46.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, 47.

<sup>110</sup> HRO 120M94W/C2; John Ogilby, *Britannia* (London, 1675), 49-52. *Early English Books Online*, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>, accessed 31 May 2012.

<sup>111</sup> Daniel Defoe, *A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain* (London, 1986), 187.

<sup>112</sup> Grant, 'Small towns of North Hampshire', 195.

<sup>113</sup> LPL MS 639, fol. 261v; HRO 24M54/33, 21, 43, 45, 75; Whiteman, *Compton Census*, 81-5.

<sup>114</sup> See tables 3a, 3b, 10a, 10b.

<sup>115</sup> HRO 12M63/2 The Road from London to Pool in the Count. Dorset: by John Ogilby, [1675].

Petersfield.<sup>116</sup> As was the case with Whitchurch and Andover, and, despite the lack of evidence in 1676, probably Basingstoke as well, the towns of Alresford, Alton, Ringwood, Romsey and Winchester, as well as Portsmouth and Southampton, all had significant numbers of dissenters in 1676.<sup>117</sup> But, strong as the evidence is, there are still some anomalies concerning the importance of trade routes in facilitating the spread of dissent. Petersfield, despite being a market town, and on the road between London and Portsmouth, as well as being close to the county boundary, barely figures in the history of Hampshire dissent in the Restoration period. No licence applications appear to have been made in 1672-3, and the parish recorded just three Protestant dissenters and five Roman Catholics in a total population of 708 adults in 1676.<sup>118</sup> Not until after the Act of Toleration does any appreciable evidence of dissent appear, with a Presbyterian congregation recorded in 1715-18, and a meeting house erected in 1722.<sup>119</sup> Furthermore, if trade routes alone were the determining factor in the prevalence of dissent, it would be expected that villages, as well as towns, along the main roads would have returned a high proportion of nonconformists in the 1676 census, but the evidence is inconclusive.<sup>120</sup>

Nevertheless, trade routes were crucial for dissenters' communications networks. Copies of the Geneva Bible, preferred by dissenters to the King James Bible, are known to have made their way into Britain from the continent.<sup>121</sup> It is possible, though no evidence was found during this project, that some unauthorised literature found its way into Hampshire through the ports of Portsmouth and Southampton.

Literature was certainly sent from London into the provinces, as evidenced by the minutes of the Hampshire Quarterly Meeting of the Society of Friends, which records on several occasions the arrival of books from the capital.<sup>122</sup> Letters concerned with the spiritual and administrative matters of the Quaker meetings travelled backwards and forwards.<sup>123</sup> A number of letters from the latter half of the period covered by this study have survived from the Baptist church in Whitchurch, which demonstrate the importance of such networks in facilitating correspondence. These include letters from gatherings of church

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<sup>116</sup> HRO 120M94W/C2; Ogilby, *Britannia*, 59-60, 101-2.

<sup>117</sup> See tables 3a-j, 10a-l.

<sup>118</sup> See table 3d; Whiteman, *Compton Census*, 86-8; Turner (ed.), *Original Records*, vo. II, 1035-52.

<sup>119</sup> DWL MS 38.4, 103-5; Ward (ed.), *Parson and Parish*, 107. See chapter seven on the opening of the meeting house in 1722.

<sup>120</sup> See map 4.

<sup>121</sup> Lloyd E. Berry, 'Introduction', in *The Geneva Bible: a facsimile of the 1560 edition* (Peabody MA, 2007), 21-2.

<sup>122</sup> HRO 24M54/1, 7, 25-6, 66-8, 70-1, 74-5.

<sup>123</sup> HRO 24M54/1, *passim*; HRO 24M54/2 Hampshire Quarterly Meeting: men's meeting: minute book 1697-1697, *passim*.

representatives in Hampshire and letters from national assemblies in London, as well as correspondence between Whitchurch Baptists and their colleagues in London, Wiltshire, Somerset and elsewhere concerning the appointment of ministers.<sup>124</sup> The Presbyterian/Independent congregation at Basingstoke kept a letter book recording the regular charitable collections it made in response to official briefs concerning individuals, congregations and towns in need, both in Britain and abroad.<sup>125</sup>

Rivers in this period could be of equal importance with roads as trade routes. The distribution map of dissent in 1676 shows dissenting parishes along the valleys of two of Hampshire's main rivers, the Avon and the Test, though there is less evidence for dissent going inland along the valley of the third river, the Itchen. But whether the river was the determinant of dissent along either the Avon or the Test seems doubtful; neither of these rivers was a major trade route, and the evidence suggests that they were not easily navigable during this period.<sup>126</sup>

What both the Avon and Test valleys did have in common was the presence of market towns along their length. Southampton was at the mouth of the Test, and Romsey further upriver. Christchurch, Ringwood and Fordingbridge were all situated along the Avon. It seems likely, given the evidence for the strength of dissent in urban areas discussed above, that the presence of these towns was the determining factor in the strength of dissent along the river valleys.

### **Distribution of dissent: manorial control**

Manorial control, or lack of it, is seen as another important determinant for the strength of dissent, particularly in rural areas. Margaret Spufford observes that if a village had one lord, his influence could have a considerable effect, whereas a village with a non-resident lord might be in a very different position, as would a community with a number of manors, and a mixture of resident and non-resident landowners.<sup>127</sup> John Chandler's study of Wiltshire meeting house certificates has led him to a similar conclusion; those Wiltshire parishes where no meeting house is recorded as being registered were mostly very small

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<sup>124</sup> AL A1; HRO 46M71/B17.

<sup>125</sup> LSURC Letter book of briefs, 1709-1779.

<sup>126</sup> Grant, 'Small towns of North Hampshire', 198; Edwin Welch, *The Bankrupt Canal: Southampton and Salisbury 1795-1808* (Southampton Paper 5), (Southampton, 1966), 3; 'Christchurch (Christchurch Twyneham): Introduction, castle and manors', *A History of the County of Hampshire: Volume 5* (1912), 83-101, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=42055>, accessed 2 November 2010.

<sup>127</sup> Spufford, *Contrasting Communities*, 300, 313.

parishes, and fell into the classic 'closed village' mould, with the greater part of the land belonging to a single owner.<sup>128</sup>

However, even where manorial control was strong, it was not necessarily a barrier to dissent. Some landlords and their agents may have been concerned with the payment of rents rather than the religious convictions of their tenants. Stan Waight has studied the leases of Corpus Christi College Oxford, a major landowner in Hampshire, and concluded that provided rents and fines were paid in good time, renewal of leases was assured. In the parish of Eling, while some of the Corpus Christi tenants lived on their land, Waight comments that some sub-leasing went on by absentee tenants.<sup>129</sup> This would have further weakened social control. However, in another Hampshire parish, Mapledurwell, Alice Smith, a Quaker, was held to be an unsatisfactory tenant, according to the bailiff of Corpus Christi College, being 'fickle and impertinent', traits which he attributed partly to her sex, but chiefly to her religion.<sup>130</sup> While lords of the manor and their agents could be accommodating to dissenters, this was not necessarily to be relied upon. By 1701, the lord of the manor of Millbrook had begun an attempt to evict a widow on the grounds that her Quaker marriage ceremony was invalid.<sup>131</sup>

It was not unknown for dissenters to conform through fear; a dissenting meeting at Wallingford in Berkshire had not met for two years by the time of the 1669 conventicle returns as, 'punished by the Ld. Lovelace they never durst met since'.<sup>132</sup> But the Hampshire evidence suggests that there were occasions where, despite their most determined efforts, individuals or corporations in positions of authority failed to eliminate dissent in their parish or town. Colonel Legge of Portsmouth conducted a relentless campaign against Quakers in the town, but he died having failed in his attempts to crush the meeting.<sup>133</sup> William Woodward, minister of Baughurst, persisted for many years in his attempts to prosecute the Potter family for ecclesiastical offences, chiefly non-payment of tithes, but he failed to intimidate them.<sup>134</sup> Almost thirty-five years later Quakers were still meeting in Baughurst; as the rector George Prince noted, 'at a place built about the year 1697, and since left to 'em

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<sup>128</sup> Chandler (ed.), *Wiltshire Dissenters' Meeting House Certificates*, xxviii.

<sup>129</sup> Stan Waight, 'Some elements of the history of Shelley Farm in Eling, Hampshire', *Hampshire Studies*, 62 (2007), 174.

<sup>130</sup> John Hare, Jean Morrin and Stan Waight, *Mapledurwell* (The Victoria History of Hampshire), (London, 2012), 72.

<sup>131</sup> See chapter seven.

<sup>132</sup> LPL MS 639, fol. 239r.

<sup>133</sup> HRO 24M54/14, fols 6v-9r, 12v-14v.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, fols 4v, 5r, 15v-16v, 20r-21v, 23r, 26r-30v.

for that purpose by one James Potter of this parish'.<sup>135</sup> It was not just individuals who tried, and failed, to crush dissent; corporations attempted as well, and with the same lack of success. Coleby states that initiatives to enforce church attendance in Southampton in the early 1680s did make inroads into local nonconformity, but the evidence of the clergy responses to the bishop's visitation of 1725 show that there were still meetings of Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists and Quakers, as well as the French congregation.<sup>136</sup> The attempt in 1682 to quash the Quaker meeting in Andover was no more successful.<sup>137</sup> Friends continued to meet in the town, on occasion hosting the county Quarterly Meeting.<sup>138</sup>

It could also be observed that the absence of dissent in a parish does not necessarily mean that the influence of a resident lord or active incumbent ensured that everyone conformed to the Established Church, whatever the leanings of their conscience. It could equally indicate a naturally conformist population, an effective minister whose parishioners saw no reason to dissent, or even total indifference by the parishioners to matters of religion.

If some individuals in positions of authority sought to harass dissenters, there is also evidence from Hampshire that some were active in their support of nonconformists. Dorothy Cromwell of Hursley, wife of the one-time Lord Protector Richard Cromwell, appears in the 1669 conventicle returns as hosting a Presbyterian meeting in the parish. The parish minister, Walter Marshall, was ejected in 1662, but continued to live in Hursley, possibly under her protection, as she is known to have provided a house for the ejected minister of Droxford, Robert Webb, and his family.<sup>139</sup>

Walter Marshall later lived in Southwick, where he applied for a licence in 1672.<sup>140</sup> This may have been under the protection of Richard Norton, who had a large property in Southwick.<sup>141</sup> After he had been returned to Parliament for Hampshire in 1645, Norton is known to have favoured a Presbyterian settlement, although he was opposed to

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<sup>135</sup> HRO 21M65/B4/1/1 fol. 209, quoted in Ward (ed.), *Parson and Parish*, 16-17.

<sup>136</sup> Coleby, *Central Government*, 202; Ward (ed.), *Parson and Parish*, 120-4.

<sup>137</sup> HRO 24M54/14, fol. 27r.

<sup>138</sup> HRO 24M54/1, 105-7.

<sup>139</sup> LPL MS 639, fol. 263r ; Hughes and White (eds), *Hampshire Hearth Tax*, 148; Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 341, 516.

<sup>140</sup> Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 341, Turner (ed.), *Original Records*, vol. II, 1043. Marshall died at Gosport in 1680.

<sup>141</sup> Hughes and White (eds), *Hampshire Hearth Tax*, 10; Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 370; G. Brownen, 'Hampshire Congregationalism', *Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society*, vol. 1 (1901-04), 289.



separatism.<sup>142</sup> His Presbyterian sympathies were demonstrated when, shortly after the Restoration, he was in trouble with his Parliamentary colleagues for refusing to take communion kneeling.<sup>143</sup> He is known to have sheltered Urian Oakes, ejected vicar of Titchfield. Oakes and the ejected minister of the parish, Richard Symmonds, both ministered to a congregation in Southwick.<sup>144</sup>

The memory of Alice Lisle has become defined by her fate following her, possibly unwitting, role in sheltering two fugitives from Monmouth's rebellion in 1685, but this obscures her long-standing commitment to Presbyterian dissent. As a major property-owner, having been assessed at fourteen hearths in 1665, the largest assessment in the parish of Ellingham, she was in a position to provide practical support.<sup>145</sup> She is recorded as hosting a conventicle in 1669, and applied for a licence to hold meetings at her Moyles Court house under the Declaration of Indulgence.<sup>146</sup>

### **Family relationships and dissent in Hampshire 1660 to 1689**

A possible determinant for the strength and continuity of dissent in a parish is the existence of a prominent family of dissenters, able to support each other and a wider congregation. Dissent was frequently a family phenomenon, as Spufford has noted.<sup>147</sup>

There is some evidence for this in Hampshire. Married couples are frequently presented together in the churchwardens' presentments for failure to attend church. Some couples were guilty of additional offences, such as failure to bring a child or children for baptism, or the wife might be presented for not coming to be churched after childbirth. In 1673, two Kingsclere couples had had their children baptised in an unauthorised ceremony, and both wives remained unchurched, while in Whitsbury a couple had not brought their child for baptism, and as at Kingsclere the wife had not come to be churched.<sup>148</sup>

It was not only couples who witnessed to their faith together; some of the parishes with a significant proportion of dissenters contained whole families of nonconformists. In the parish of New Alresford, twenty-three persons were presented as sectaries in 1673,

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<sup>142</sup> BL Add MS 21922, fol. 245v; J. T. Peacey, 'Norton, Richard (1615–1691)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/66658>, accessed 4 November 2010.

<sup>143</sup> Coleby, *Central Government*, 146.

<sup>144</sup> Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 370; Brownen, 'Hampshire Congregationalism', 289.

<sup>145</sup> Hughes and White (eds), *Hampshire Hearth Tax*, 73.

<sup>146</sup> LPL MS 639, fol. 263r; Turner (ed.), *Original Records*, vol. II, 1041.

<sup>147</sup> Spufford, *Contrasting Communities*, 299; Spufford, 'Importance of religion', in Spufford (ed.), *World of Rural Dissenters*, 23–37, 40.

<sup>148</sup> HRO 21M65/B1/41, fols 1r, 12r.

including what appear to be a father and son and their respective wives.<sup>149</sup> In the 1660s, the churchwardens of Froyle twice presented a family of four as reputed Quakers.<sup>150</sup> In Baughurst the Quaker meeting appears to have been supported and maintained by the Potter family, notably James Potter, although it is his brother Richard who appears in the 1669 conventicle returns as holding the meeting on his property. This was a reasonably-sized gathering of ten to twelve persons from the parish, and as many again from elsewhere who attended the weekly meetings, while the monthly meetings were attended by 'a Considerable number'.<sup>151</sup> But commitment of an entire family to dissenting principles did not necessarily form an effective bulwark against persecution. The Potter family of Baughurst (James and Richard Potter, and their sister Anne), appear frequently in the sufferings book, usually for non-payment of tithes, but also for attendance at conventicles.<sup>152</sup>

However, Patrick Collinson was doubtful about whole-heartedly embracing Spufford's theory of dissenting dynasties. He pointed out that the eighteenth-century Anglican Dr Henry Sacheverell had Presbyterian blood.<sup>153</sup> Families were not necessarily united in their dissent, and there may have been disunity as well as agreement. In the Hampshire parishes with large numbers of dissenters, even married couples were not always united in their religious observances. The sixteen Lymington parishioners presented in 1664 as sectaries included five married couples, but also two married women presented where their husbands were not.<sup>154</sup> Over sixty presumed sectaries were presented at Ringwood, including five married women presented without their husbands.<sup>155</sup> In 1670 one Hampshire Quaker had two pigs impounded when he refused to pay his fine for attending a meeting but his wife, 'not being a Friend', borrowed money to pay the fine and release the pigs.<sup>156</sup> The number of couples where religious allegiance was divided is impossible to determine accurately from surviving sources, since the marital status of men was not stated in the churchwardens' presentments (only if a man was presented with his wife is it known that he was married). However, historians should be wary of reading into this evidence of domestic strife. The 1669 conventicle returns noted of the Presbyterian conventicle at Alton

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<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 7r.

<sup>150</sup> HRO 202M85/3/481 Churchwardens' presentments: Froyle, 1666; HRO 202M85/3/482 Churchwardens' presentments: Froyle, 1667.

<sup>151</sup> HRO 24M54/1, *passim*; LPL MS 639, fol. 262r.

<sup>152</sup> HRO 24M54/14, fols 4v, 5r, 15v-16v, 20r-21v, 23r, 26v-30v.

<sup>153</sup> Patrick Collinson, 'Critical conclusion', in Spufford (ed.), *World of Rural Dissenters*, 391; Watts, *Dissenters*, 263.

<sup>154</sup> HRO 21M65/B1/37, fol. 7v.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, fols 8r-8v.

<sup>156</sup> HRO 24M54/14, fol. 19r.

that 'some send their families but goe not themselves'. This may also have applied at the Presbyterian conventicle at Fordingbridge, which was reported to be attended chiefly by women and children; the same situation was reported in Southampton.<sup>157</sup> It may be that heads of households were reluctant to attend conventicles, even if their religious sympathies were inclined in that direction, for fear of indictment, but recognised that women were far less likely to be arrested. However, there is insufficient evidence to make authoritative statements about the different experience of men and women with regard to the Restoration persecutions.

### **Compton census anomalies: the Compton census and the 1669 conventicle returns**

A comparison of the Compton census returns of 1676 and the 1669 conventicle returns demonstrates some anomalies with regard to the Hampshire figures. The forty Presbyterian inhabitants of Kingsclere in 1669 do not appear in the 1676 census, which registers no nonconformists at all in the parish.<sup>158</sup> Kingsclere was a large parish of a thousand conformists in 1676, but even so, its two Catholics do appear in the 1676 returns, which raises the question of what had happened to the forty Presbyterians. In Basingstoke, the fifty to sixty Presbyterian inhabitants of 1669 reduce to ten nonconformists in 1676.<sup>159</sup> It is possible that by 1676 the meetings had been discontinued or moved elsewhere, but it also has to be considered that in Kingsclere, Basingstoke, and elsewhere, Presbyterians were adopting a policy of partial conformity and were in consequence not entered in the returns, contrary to Whiteman's assertion that incumbents were usually entering partial conformists.<sup>160</sup>

A further consideration when comparing the 1669 and 1676 figures for Hampshire is the incompleteness of the 1669 returns. An examination of the original returns in Lambeth Palace Library indicates that there appear to have been no returns from the deaneries of Alresford, Somborne or the Isle of Wight. The figures for other deaneries appear to be incomplete, since several parishes with a significant number of dissenters in 1676 do not appear.<sup>161</sup> It is possible that parishioners were travelling into another parish to attend

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<sup>157</sup> LPL MS 639, fols 263r-264r. The Southampton entry is ambiguous; it may refer solely to the Quaker meeting, but could refer to attendance at all the dissenting meetings in the city.

<sup>158</sup> There were eight nonconformists in the chapelry of Ecchinswell, which was listed separately in the returns. See table 3b.

<sup>159</sup> LPL MS 639, fol. 261v; Whiteman, *Compton Census*, 81-5.

<sup>160</sup> Turner (ed.), *Original Records*, vol. I, 137-8; Whiteman, *Compton Census*, lxxviii, 83-5.

<sup>161</sup> Parishes with forty or more nonconformists in 1676 which do not appear in the 1669 Conventicle Returns where the deanery did submit a return are: Whitchurch (50 nonconformists), Binsted (160), Headley (52), Kingsley (40), Fareham (100), Portchester (40), Titchfield (47), Millbrook (54),

dissenting meetings; there is a suggestion of this in the figures for Ringwood. This was recorded as having no conventicle in 1669, but eighty nonconformists in 1676. However, the Presbyterian meeting at nearby Ellingham was attended by some 200 persons, 'most of them from Ringwood and out of Dorsetshire'.<sup>162</sup> The lack of returns from Somborne deanery means that it is impossible to ascertain the number of conventicles in and around Romsey, a parish which is recorded as having the huge number of 777 nonconformists in 1676.<sup>163</sup> It seems unlikely that they could all have been dispersed into meetings elsewhere in the county, as Coleby notes the reputation of the town for the strength of its dissent in the period after the Restoration, and that in 1687 it was one of eight Hampshire towns sending an address of thanks to James II for his Declaration of Indulgence towards dissenters.<sup>164</sup>

### **Distribution of dissent after 1689**

In the first year of the Act of Toleration, 796 temporary and 143 permanent meeting houses throughout the country were licensed. By 1710 over 2,500 meeting places had been licensed, representing a significant challenge to the 9,500 Anglican parish churches.<sup>165</sup> This would suggest that, at least in the years immediately following the Act, many new meeting places were established, and, it might be inferred, the numbers of the dissenting meetings and congregations was increasing. This seems to have been the case in Wiltshire, where Chandler's analysis of Wiltshire meeting house registrations demonstrates that registrations peaked around 1700.<sup>166</sup> But Chandler goes on to note that registrations fell thereafter to almost nil in 1760.<sup>167</sup> This supports Watts's contention that after the relief experienced at the statutory end to persecution, the early eighteenth century saw a 'spiritual decline' in dissent.<sup>168</sup> This is not a later projection by modern historians; contemporary observers also believed they were witnessing a decline in nonconformity. In 1730 the controversial writer Strickland Gough published, anonymously, his *Enquiry into the Causes of the Decay of the Dissenting Interest* in which he stated that 'every one is sensible it gradually declines, yet no

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Christchurch (116), Lymington (44) and Ringwood (80). Whiteman, *Compton Census*, 81-94; Turner (ed.), *Original Records*, vol. I, 136-43; LPL MS 639, fols 260r-240r.

<sup>162</sup> LPL MS 639, fol. 263v.

<sup>163</sup> Whiteman, *Compton Census*, 95.

<sup>164</sup> Coleby, *Central Government*, 96, 225.

<sup>165</sup> Julian Hoppit, *A Land of Liberty? England 1689-1727* (Oxford, 2000), 33.

<sup>166</sup> Chandler, *Wiltshire Dissenters' Meeting House Certificates*, xxix.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>168</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 263.

one has endeavour'd to recover it'.<sup>169</sup> It provoked a response; at least nine works are known to have been printed in response in the following three years.<sup>170</sup>

Whatever the numerical state of dissent, it seems to be the case that dissent, in the years after the Toleration Act, became increasingly urbanised. It has already been noted that even prior to the Act market towns were frequently centres of dissent, in Hampshire as elsewhere. But, as Watts notes from his research into the Evans List of 1715-18 and other sources, dissenters increasingly came to live in towns, as smaller village meetings declined in numbers or lost a regular meeting place.<sup>171</sup>

For Hampshire, the evidence for the geographic distribution and the numerical strength of dissent in the years following 1689 until 1740 comes from four main sources: the certificates granted to meeting places or the evidence for these certificates in the court records; the Evans List of dissenting congregations drawn up principally in 1715-18; the replies made in 1725 to the visitation of the Bishop of Winchester; and the surviving records of the dissenting meetings themselves.

Dissenters could make application for a certificate either to the bishop's court, or to the quarter sessions. The certificates granted to these meeting places can be used to plot the distribution of dissent in a county, but their usefulness depends on the survival rate. Hampshire certificates from the bishop's court only survive from 1706, with the exception of one stray survival from 1702.<sup>172</sup> These were indexed in summary form by Willis in 1965.<sup>173</sup> For this project, all the original bishop's court licences to 1740 were consulted, and a full table, rather than a summary, compiled.<sup>174</sup>

No published tabulation is known to have been made of applications to the quarter sessions, and this was a major reason for compiling a similar table for these applications, though the surviving records are limited.<sup>175</sup> Certificates are known to have been filed with the Hampshire quarter sessions records, if application was made there, but no individual certificates now survive in the quarter sessions records for the period covered by this

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<sup>169</sup> Strickland Gough, *An Enquiry into the Causes of the Decay of the Dissenting Interest* (London, 1730), 3. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, <http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/>, accessed 11 March 2012.

<sup>170</sup> Alexander Gordon, 'Gough, Strickland (d. 1752)', rev. Marilyn L. Brooks, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11142>, accessed 11 March 2012.

<sup>171</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 285-9.

<sup>172</sup> HRO 21M65/F2/1/1-143 Diocese of Winchester: Dissenters' meeting house certificates, 1702-1761. One surviving pre-1741 certificate in the collection was addressed to the Hampshire quarter sessions. HRO 21M65/F2/1/75 Fordingbridge, 14 July 1728.

<sup>173</sup> Willis, *Dissenters' Meeting House Certificates*.

<sup>174</sup> See table 16b.

<sup>175</sup> See table 16a.

study.<sup>176</sup> However, evidence of licences does survive in entries made by the clerk to the sessions in the minute books and in the order books. These entries are not consistent; four applications are recorded in both the minute book and the order book for the relevant session, two applications are recorded only in the order books, and eight only in the minute books. It is known that applications were made where there is no record in any of the court books, but the evidence survives in the records of dissenting churches.<sup>177</sup> Nevertheless, of the total of fourteen known applications made to the Hampshire quarter sessions for a certificate, eight pre-date any of the certificates surviving in the records of the bishop's court.<sup>178</sup> Two very early registrations are also known from the Southampton quarter sessions, and one from the Newport sessions on the Isle of Wight.<sup>179</sup>

The information on the certificate, or in the records of quarter sessions, usually gives the names of those making the application, the name of the pastor (if applicable), and the parish where the meeting was to be held. The denomination is not usually given on the certificate, though where it is not given, identification may be made through the names of those who signed on behalf of a congregation.

The late survival of the Hampshire records from the bishop's court, and the limited evidence from the county quarter sessions, means that caution must be taken in making assumptions about the geographic spread of dissent in the county from known meeting house registrations. There is no meeting place recorded as being registered in Basingstoke before two undated certificates apparently dating between 1720 and 1725.<sup>180</sup> But it is believed that an Independent congregation may have existed since 1663, one was certainly in existence in 1669, and a regular meeting place is believed to have been established in 1695.<sup>181</sup> There was also a Quaker meeting in the town.<sup>182</sup> There are only two recorded registrations for meeting houses in Alton up to 1740, both Presbyterian.<sup>183</sup> However, the Quaker meeting house in Alton had been established in 1672, and was licensed with the

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<sup>176</sup> See, for example, Q1/7 Hampshire Quarter Sessions: Order book, 1691-1698, 72 and Q1/12 Hampshire Quarter Sessions: Order book, 1731-1739, fol. 201v, where it is recorded that a certificate was entered and filed among the records of the court.

<sup>177</sup> For example, the block registration by Quakers of their meeting places at the Hampshire quarter sessions in 1689. HRO 24M54/1, 103-7.

<sup>178</sup> These are at Winchester (1692), Odiham (1692), Crondall (1693 and 1697), Romsey (1696), Longparish (1696), St Mary Bourne (1696) and Hamble (1696). HRO Q1/7, 51-2, 72, 198; HRO Q3/3 Hampshire Quarter Sessions: Minute book, 1679-1716, 59, 80, 132, 140, 156.

<sup>179</sup> SAS SC9/3/14 Southampton Quarter Sessions Book of Examinations and Recognizances, 1669-1679, 1680-1698, fol. 84v; IWRO NBC/45/59, fol. 119r.

<sup>180</sup> HRO 21M65/F2/1/49 Basingstoke, n.d.; HRO 21M65/F2/1/50 Basingstoke, n.d.

<sup>181</sup> LPL MS 639, fol. 261v; Anon, *London Street Congregational Church* (Basingstoke, 1963), 4.

<sup>182</sup> HRO 24M54/1, *passim*.

<sup>183</sup> HRO 21M65/F2/1/2 Alton 16 March 1705/6; HRO Q1/12, fol. 201v; HRO Q3/6 Hampshire Quarter Sessions: Minute book, 1732-1754, 104; Willis, *Dissenters' Meeting House Certificates*, 115-17.

other Quaker meeting places in 1689.<sup>184</sup> There is no indication in the surviving court evidence of the meeting house at Portsmouth on which Quakers began work in 1710.<sup>185</sup> Nor is there any appearance of the newly-erected Presbyterian meeting house in Petersfield, opened in 1722, and mentioned in the replies to the bishop's visitation of 1725.<sup>186</sup> There is no surviving record from the bishop's court or quarter sessions records for the Friends' meeting place in Crondall, although the 1736 will of Joseph Cranstone set up a trust to ensure its continuation; the evidence of this will is that it was already in use.<sup>187</sup> He had offered the use of his house as a meeting place some years earlier, in 1698, and it appears that the offer was accepted, although it is not known if this was the same house as that mentioned in his will.<sup>188</sup>

The survey of dissenting congregations which has become known as the Evans List was set up by a committee of London dissenting ministers in 1715. Correspondents throughout England and Wales were asked for the location of each dissenting meeting, the names of the ministers, the number and condition of each congregation's 'hearers', and the number of voters in each congregation.<sup>189</sup> The data was largely collected by 1718, although further information was added up to 1729. The most complete record of the survey was that compiled by the Presbyterian dissenting minister Dr John Evans, secretary of the Committee of the Three Denominations, and this survey has been preserved at Dr Williams's Library.<sup>190</sup>

The Evans List attempts to list all Presbyterian, Independent and Baptist congregations in England and Wales, although there are some gaps in the Baptist listings.<sup>191</sup> Hampshire is one county where the Baptist record is incomplete; the Whitchurch congregation does not appear to have been recorded, nor that at Christchurch.<sup>192</sup> However, the Hampshire returns do, unusually, include details of Quaker meetings. While the list of these meetings is also incomplete, and of those that are recorded, the details are sparse, for those meetings that are recorded, an estimate of the 'hearers' is given. This is data that

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<sup>184</sup> HRO 24M54/1, 1-3, 105; HRO 24M54/34, 64.

<sup>185</sup> HRO 24M54/2, fols 67v-67r.

<sup>186</sup> Ward (ed.), *Parson and Parish*, 107-8. See chapter seven on the 1722 disturbances.

<sup>187</sup> HRO 1736A/033 Will of Joseph Cranstone of Crondall, Hampshire, blacksmith, 1736.

<sup>188</sup> HRO 24M54/2, fols 7v-8v.

<sup>189</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 267-8.

<sup>190</sup> DWL MS 38.4, 103-5; Watts, *Dissenters*, 267-8.

<sup>191</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 267-8.

<sup>192</sup> Both Christchurch and Whitchurch had congregations in 1689, and the bishop's visitation of 1725 recorded Baptist congregations in each town. Anon, *A Narrative of the Proceedings of the General Assembly of divers Pastors, Messengers and Ministering Brethren of the Baptized Churches* (London, 1689), 21. *Early English Books Online*, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>, accessed 29 June 2012; Ward (ed.), *Parson and Parish*, 38, 141.

cannot be found in the Quakers' own meeting minutes. Table 14a summarises the meeting places, denominations, and numbers of hearers recorded in the Evans List for Hampshire.

In 1725 the new Bishop of Winchester, Richard Willis, conducted a primary visitation of his see. His clergy were asked 'the inevitable questions about the obvious rivals to the church, the Papists and the Dissenters', but the results, according to Ward in his introduction to his edition of the eighteenth-century Hampshire replies to the bishops' visitations, 'are not very informative'.<sup>193</sup> However, the 1725 returns are evidence for the continued existence of meetings mentioned in the Evans List, and for the existence of meetings not mentioned in that list. The returns also, crucially, provide information on parishes where there were resident dissenters but no regular meeting. Despite the increasing urbanisation of dissenting meetings, dissenters themselves continued to be more widely spread around the county than the evidence of the meeting places alone would suggest.<sup>194</sup> Nevertheless, their numbers in rural areas may have been declining, as discussed later in this chapter.

After the 1689 Act, it would seem likely that dissenting congregations would have begun to keep records of church business, and details of their membership. Some were already doing so; a number of Quaker records for Hampshire survive from the 1670s, as do some Baptist records.<sup>195</sup> With these exceptions, however, the records kept by dissenting congregations in Hampshire survive principally from the early years of the eighteenth century, and where they do survive for this period, the records are not always consistent. For example, no minutes survive from this period for the Quaker monthly meeting centred on Ringwood and Fordingbridge, though the evidence of the minutes of Hampshire Quarterly Meeting minutes is that Friends were thriving in the two towns, and it seems likely, given Friends' attitude to record keeping, that meeting minutes would have been made.<sup>196</sup> The surviving book of the Independent church at Fareham contains a list of church members maintained throughout the period 1701-5, but no entries thereafter until the book was used again in 1816, although regular church accounts kept from 1720 onwards survive in a separate volume.<sup>197</sup>

### **Geographic spread of dissent after 1689**

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<sup>193</sup> Ward (ed.), *Parson and Parish*, xxv.

<sup>194</sup> See table 15.

<sup>195</sup> See entries for the Angus Library and Hampshire Record Office in Bibliography.

<sup>196</sup> HRO 24M54/1; HRO 24M54/2.

<sup>197</sup> HRO 1M93/1 Fareham Meeting church book, 1701-1824; HRO 1M93/30 Account book of Fareham Independent Church, 1715-1788, which includes a copy of the 1715 licence.



If dissent was strong in towns prior to the Act of Toleration, the evidence suggests that this increased after the passing of the Act. Watts states that '[t]he tendency for Dissenters to live in urban rather than rural England intensified as the religious enthusiasm of the Interregnum and the exhilaration of the challenge of persecution gave place to the ordered devotional life of the age of toleration'.<sup>198</sup> Chandler notes that, in Wiltshire, the pre-1750 meeting house certificates were concentrated in areas where nonconformity had been strong prior to the Act, that is, in and around the west Wiltshire manufacturing towns, as well as in and to the west of Salisbury.<sup>199</sup> This tendency to urbanisation was noted by Ward in his commentary on the 1725 visitation returns; he observed that by 1725 Hampshire nonconformity was almost exclusively based in the towns, though it also survived in small communities fringing the New Forest.<sup>200</sup>

The evidence of the surviving meeting house registrations tends to support the urbanisation of dissent in Hampshire. Of the eleven new-built meeting houses known from the registrations up to 1740, only one, at Tadley in 1718, was not in a market town.<sup>201</sup> The Evans List further supports the evidence towards the tendency of dissent to congregate in towns.<sup>202</sup> Table 14a lists the places where the Evans List records one or more dissenting congregations, and of these, eighteen are in market towns, as against only five congregations in villages. Two further congregations, though not based in market towns as such, were close to one.<sup>203</sup> Two meetings were recorded as being simply on the Isle of Wight, without any indication of where they were meeting, which might have been in the island's only market town of Newport, or elsewhere.<sup>204</sup>

However, although the evidence would indicate that nonconformity was undoubtedly strong in the towns, it would be inaccurate to assume that rural areas were

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<sup>198</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 287.

<sup>199</sup> Chandler, *Wiltshire Dissenters' Meeting House Certificates*, xxx.

<sup>200</sup> Ward (ed.), *Parson and Parish*, xxv.

<sup>201</sup> The new builds recorded in the bishop's court were at Kingsclere (1706), two in Whitchurch (1708 and 1726), Fareham (1715), Tadley (1718), two in Romsey (both n.d.), Southampton (1727), Ringwood (1728) and Havant (1729). HRO 21M65/F2/1/3, 6, 30, 37, 55, 60, 63, 69, 73, 83. One record of a newly-built meeting house survives in the quarter sessions records, but appears to be a duplicate of the 1718 Tadley registration. HRO Q1/9 Hampshire Quarter Sessions: Order book 1717-1721, 161-2. The Tadley meeting house was an Independent or a Presbyterian congregation; see DWL MS 38.4, 103-5; Ward (ed.), *Parson and Parish*, 104. There is also a record in the Southampton quarter sessions for a newly-built meeting house in Southampton, registered by the Independent minister Nathaniel Robinson in 1689. SAS SC9/3/14, fol. 84v.

<sup>202</sup> DWL MS 38.4, 103-5.

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.* Gosport, which recorded Baptist, Independent and Quaker meetings, and Nately near Basingstoke, which had a Baptist meeting.

<sup>204</sup> *Ibid.* The two meetings were Baptist and Quaker. The Evans List also recorded a Presbyterian meeting and an Independent meeting on the island. DWL MS 38.4, 103-5.

almost entirely conformist. Chandler noted that Wiltshire dissent, as measured by meeting house certificates, was strongest in and around towns, but he also observed that, while not every parish necessarily registered a place of nonconformist worship, '[d]issent touched every part of Wiltshire, and no area was devoid of certified meeting houses'.<sup>205</sup> This included rural areas. The same can be observed from the surviving evidence in Hampshire. Even as late as the 1730s, the balance between rural and urban meeting house registrations was not exclusively in favour of the urban areas.<sup>206</sup> Where dissenting meetings survived in rural areas, it often seems to have been through the provision of a settled meeting place, and the long-standing commitment of an individual to that meeting. Thus Quakers met at Crondall and Baughurst for many years, through the support of Joseph Cranstone and James Potter respectively.<sup>207</sup> In the rural parishes of Broughton and the Wallops, the Baptist meetings flourished under the ministry of Henry Steele.<sup>208</sup> However, Ward notes that dissent in rural areas declined during the eighteenth century, and the evidence of that decline is already evident in the 1725 visitation returns. He observes that for some meetings there was 'a possible intermediate stage between organisational collapse and final extinction, the house meeting'; he instances the small meetings at Chalton and Whippingham (Isle of Wight) as evidence of this.<sup>209</sup> Similar house meetings can be seen at Hambledon, where about fourteen Baptists met fortnightly in a rented room, and at Fawley, where another small group of Baptists had a meeting.<sup>210</sup>

It can also be noted that if, with some exceptions, dissenting meetings were moving into the towns after 1689, the same was not necessarily true of the dissenters themselves. The replies to the 1725 visitation demonstrate that there were many rural parishes where there was no meeting, but where a small number of dissenters were living.<sup>211</sup> For example, at Beaulieu the minister reported that there was no meeting, but about five Presbyterians and six Anabaptists lived in the parish. At Brockenhurst there were a few Independents and Anabaptists, and two families of dissenters were reported at Monxton.<sup>212</sup> At Farnborough, then a village, the rector believed that there were about seventeen dissenters, while at

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<sup>205</sup> Chandler, *Wiltshire Dissenters' Meeting House Certificates*, xxviii.

<sup>206</sup> See tables 16a-b, and the meeting house registrations made at the bishop's court from 1730 to 1740 at HRO 21M65/F2/1/84-101. Of these registrations, 11 were for market towns, and eight for rural parishes. One registration, at Carisbrooke on the Isle of Wight, was for two separate houses, but has been included here as a single registration. See HRO 21M65/F2/85.

<sup>207</sup> HRO 1736A/033; HRO 24M54/2, fols 7v-8v; Smallbone, *James Potter, Quaker*.

<sup>208</sup> AL B1/2 Porton and Broughton Baptist Church book, 1699-1730; Compton, *History of the Baptist Church, Broughton*.

<sup>209</sup> Ward (ed.), *Parson and Parish*, xxvi.

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*, 58, 65.

<sup>211</sup> See table 15.

<sup>212</sup> Ward (ed.), *Parson and Parish*, 17, 22, 92-3.

Hayling the vicar reported four professed dissenters, and at Wootton St Lawrence the incumbent admitted to one family of Presbyterians.<sup>213</sup> But it may be that dissenters were increasingly moving into the towns, such as Stephen Terry of rural Headley who in January 1699 acquainted Alton Friends of his desire to move to Southampton.<sup>214</sup>

What is noticeable from the maps of dissent in Hampshire in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, is the extent to which it was concentrated in the market towns. The map of the main Quaker meetings in 1690 shows them to be largely based in market towns, and two of the exceptions, those of North Warnborough and Wallop, were close to the market towns of Odiham and Stockbridge respectively. The monthly meeting on the Isle of Wight is known, from the evidence of the meeting minutes, to have had a meeting in the market town of Newport.<sup>215</sup> The same strength of dissent in market towns is shown by the maps of Baptist, and of Presbyterian and Independent dissent, as recorded in the Evans List.<sup>216</sup>

While some registrations were for dedicated premises, other certificates, especially those for private dwellings, may have been for occasional or temporary use. This is not always stated in the record, but it is known, for example, that the manor house of Edward Hooker in Easton was licensed for occasional worship in 1713, and a certificate was granted in September 1732 in order that a funeral sermon could be preached at a private home in Middle Wallop.<sup>217</sup>

Despite the incomplete nature of the evidence prior to 1740, certain cautious observations can be made from what does survive. Four of the twenty-eight registrations to the bishop's court, up to the end of 1714, came from the Isle of Wight, which may indicate a vibrant dissenting culture on the island. The area in the south-west of Hampshire continued to be, as it had been prior to the Act, a centre for dissent; thirteen of the twenty-eight registrations made to the bishop's court to the end of 1714 came from this area. Of these, three registrations came from Ringwood parish, and one each from the town of Fordingbridge and the villages of North Charford and Sopley. Two registrations (one identified as Presbyterian) came from Christchurch. Still in the south-west, but further east towards Southampton, were three registrations from Eling, and two from Fawley parish.<sup>218</sup>

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<sup>213</sup> *Ibid.*, 56, 68-9, 153-5.

<sup>214</sup> HRO 24M54/34, 106.

<sup>215</sup> HRO 24M54/1, 116-7.

<sup>216</sup> See maps 5-7.

<sup>217</sup> HRO 21M65/F2/1/21 Easton, 26 September 1713; HRO 21M65/F2/1/86 Middle Wallop, 15 September 1732.

<sup>218</sup> Willis, *Dissenters' Meeting House Certificates*, 115-17.

Although few of the certificates explicitly identify the denomination, an examination of the signatories can enable further identifications to be made. Henry Steele, Baptist minister at Broughton, signed a certificate for a meeting place in a private house in Houghton in 1727.<sup>219</sup> Isaac Watts signed for certificates for Independent meeting places in Southampton in 1710 and 1727, and other meeting places for Independents in the town can be identified from the remaining signatories to these documents.<sup>220</sup>

However, dissent was not a characteristic of every market town, even if it was strong in the majority of them. In 1676 Petersfield had admitted to only three dissenters, in a parish of 708 inhabitants, although by 1725 it had a Presbyterian meeting house and a preacher resident in the parish.<sup>221</sup> The 1725 returns give the number of Presbyterian families in the parish as 'about 7 or 8 families', but the existence of the meeting house would suggest the support of Presbyterians outside the parish.<sup>222</sup> However, two other market towns, Overton and Stockbridge, had no recorded meeting. Stockbridge was close to Broughton and to the Wallop villages, an area with well-established Baptist congregations, but, by 1725, no Presbyterian/Independent congregation, though one had previously existed.<sup>223</sup> The dearth of dissent in Overton is less easy to understand; but it is possible that Overton dissenters were attending meetings in Whitchurch, some four or five miles away, where by 1725 dissenting meetings of Independents, Baptists and Quakers were established, and numbered some four hundred.<sup>224</sup>

### **Numbers of dissenters after 1689**

Given the incomplete nature of the evidence for Hampshire meeting house registrations, it is difficult to state authoritatively if the effect of toleration was an upsurge in the numbers of people attending dissenting meetings, of whatever denomination. However, it is possible that the months immediately after the passing of the Act saw bulk registrations of meeting places. Despite the limited evidence for early registrations in court documents, it is known from their meeting minutes that the Quakers immediately

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<sup>219</sup> HRO 21M65/F2/1/66 Howgton [Houghton], 2 March 1726/7.

<sup>220</sup> HRO 21M65/F2/1/11 Southampton, 10 November 1710; HRO 21M65/F2/1/69 Southampton, 21 July 1727; see also HRO 21M65/F2/1/38 Southampton, 13 November 1718; HRO 21M65/F2/1/52 Southampton, [n.d.], but probably between 1720 and 1725.

<sup>221</sup> Whiteman, *Compton Census*, 86-8; Ward (ed.), *Parson and Parish*, 107.

<sup>222</sup> Ward (ed.), *Parson and Parish*, 107.

<sup>223</sup> *Ibid.*, 28, 94-5, 104-5. In 1725 there were Baptist meetings in Broughton and Over Wallop, and though it had no meeting of its own, six Baptist families were resident in Nether Wallop. A Presbyterian conventicle had been recorded in Nether Wallop in 1669, and in 1672-3 a licence application was made for a Congregational meeting place. LPL MS 639, fol. 261r; Turner, *Original Records*, vol. II, 1039, 1046.

<sup>224</sup> Ward (ed.), *Parson and Parish*, 141.

registered their meeting places, and thus it seems likely that other dissenters did so as well.<sup>225</sup> The minutes do not record exactly how many meeting places were registered, or where they were, but there were sixteen separate meetings listed in the minutes of the Quarterly Meeting that ordered the registrations. Some of these may have registered more than one meeting place.<sup>226</sup> Further registrations were made two years later for eight meeting places, including five on the Isle of Wight.<sup>227</sup> It is not known if these places had earlier failed to register, or if they came into use after the registrations were made in 1689. If the latter, it suggests an increase in the number of Quakers in the county.

It might be anticipated that, with the statutory removal of penalties for dissenting worship, the number of dissenters would increase following the 1689 Act. As suggested above, the evidence from the records of Hampshire Quakers is that it may indeed have done so. Furthermore, by 1690 Friends at Alton found it necessary to construct two galleries in the meeting house, possibly to accommodate growing numbers. Whereas sixty-seven people are recorded as contributing to the initial purchase of the Alton meeting house and burial ground in 1672, ninety-five people contributed to the appeal for the galleries eighteen years later.<sup>228</sup> Not all would have necessarily have been resident within the compass of Alton Monthly Meeting, indeed, one of the contributions to the 1690 appeal came from London, but the increase in the numbers of people contributing does suggest an increase in the number of people willing to identify themselves as Quakers in the aftermath of the 1689 Act.

Numbers of Baptists may also have increased immediately after the Act. In 1690 Baptists residing in and near Salisbury in Wiltshire agreed to what appears to have been an amicable separation between the congregation based at Salisbury and that based at Porton and Broughton on the Wiltshire/Hampshire border. The Porton meeting closed in 1710, possibly losing members to the ministry of Broughton's dynamic pastor, Henry Steele.<sup>229</sup> The Evans List recorded '100 & upward' hearers for the Broughton church (at that time a joint

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<sup>225</sup> HRO 24M54/1, 103-7.

<sup>226</sup> *Ibid.*, 103-7, 109-10. Those meetings listed at the Quarterly Meeting, held at Southampton on 24 September 1689, were: Southampton, Alton, Ringwood, Baughurst, North Warnborough, Romsey, Portchester, Fordingbridge, Portsmouth, Andover, Basingstoke, Bramshot, Alresford, Whitchurch, Winchester and the Isle of Wight. By the time of the Quarterly Meeting at Ringwood on 1 July 1690, Lymington and Wallop were also listed as meetings.

<sup>227</sup> *Ibid.*, 116-7.

<sup>228</sup> HRO 24M54/60, fols 2r-4r, 13r-15r.

<sup>229</sup> Compton, *History of the Baptist Church, Broughton*, 14; G. A. Moore and R. J. Huckle, *Salisbury Baptist Church 1655-2000* (Salisbury, 2000), 4.

meeting with Wallop), while the 1725 visitation returns recorded a meeting of about 120 persons.<sup>230</sup>

Elsewhere in the region, there is evidence for the continuity and expansion of the Baptist congregations. An early nineteenth-century history of Lymington Baptist Church states that a list of Baptist chapels made in 1689 included one at Christchurch and, while there was no congregation listed at Lymington, it is suggested that one may have been established at about this time, for in 1693 a Mr Barnsey was ordained pastor of Lymington by the Reverend Benjamin Keach of London.<sup>231</sup> At the Association meeting in Ringwood of September 1698 the Lymington church was able to send two representatives to meet and pray with fellow-Baptists from Christchurch, Ringwood and Whitchurch.<sup>232</sup> In or around 1705 Richard Chalk was ordained pastor of the Lymington church, and remained there until his death in 1745.<sup>233</sup> A letter from an Association meeting held at Southampton in 1690 shows that the meeting's deliberations included the decision to write to the Association at Frome, in Somerset, to request that the churches at Portsea and Ledghill join the Association; it must have seemed more sensible for those churches to be allied to an Association consisting largely of congregations in Hampshire, rather than one based in Somerset.<sup>234</sup> It is unclear if Portsea and Ledghill joined the Hampshire Association; if they did, they sent no representatives to the meetings.

But the existence of a meeting place is not by itself an indication of the size of a meeting. If the Act removed the legal penalties of nonconformity, it did not remove the social and economic penalties of attending dissenting meetings in defiance of family or employer, and there is no way of knowing how many remained conformist for this reason.<sup>235</sup>

Ward states that 'organised religious deviance in Hampshire was always so weak as to encourage a contemptuous rather than an observant attitude' by the clergy of the Established Church.<sup>236</sup> However, this opinion is belied by the activity of dissenters in the county. It is also not wholly supported by the statistical evidence. From the 1676 Compton Census data, it appears that 4.93 per cent of Hampshire adults were Protestant

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<sup>230</sup> DWL MS 38.4, 103-5; Ward (ed.), *Parson and Parish*, 28.

<sup>231</sup> HRO 56M84/1, fol. 1r.

<sup>232</sup> HRO 46M71/B17, vol. 1, 26-8.

<sup>233</sup> HRO 56M84/1, fol. 1r.

<sup>234</sup> HRO 46M71/B17, vol. 1, 15-8. 'Ledghill' is unidentified.

<sup>235</sup> Oral testimonies suggest that social control remained an issue for some nonconformists well into the early twentieth century. Stephen Ings, *Shot for a White-faced Deer: life at the New Forest Edge 1837-1914* (Salisbury, 2010), 17-20, 25-6, 156.

<sup>236</sup> Ward (ed.), *Parson and Parish*, xxiii.

nonconformists, a percentage only fractionally short of one dissenter in every twenty adults.<sup>237</sup>

Nor are the proportions of dissenters any the less forty years later. By using various sources, principally the Evans list of 1715-18, Watts was able to estimate numbers of dissenters in English and Welsh counties for all the major denominations in the early eighteenth century. He estimates that in the period 1715 to 1718 there were a total of 1,845 dissenting congregations in England. These comprised 637 Presbyterian congregations, 203 Independent, 206 Particular (Calvinist) Baptist, 122 General Baptist, five Seventh-day Baptist and 672 Quaker meetings or congregations. Out of an estimated total population in England of 5,441,670, there were a possible 338,120 dissenters. This represents 6.21 per cent of the population.<sup>238</sup> The total percentage of all dissenters in Hampshire, using Watts's estimates, was 7.13 per cent. This is somewhat above the average figure of 6.21 per cent for the country as a whole.<sup>239</sup> Bearing in mind the possibly unreliability of the sources, the figure of 7.13 per cent of adults in Hampshire as being nonconformist is a noticeable increase on the 4.93 per cent in 1676. Furthermore, not only was this figure of 7.13 per cent slightly above the national average, it compared favourably with the figures for the surrounding counties. While Hampshire's figure of 7.13 per cent was lower than four of the five surrounding counties – Berkshire, Dorset, Surrey and Wiltshire – it was not substantially lower, and it was still higher than the Sussex percentage of 4.78 per cent.<sup>240</sup>

These figures can be broken down by denomination. Watts estimates that Presbyterians numbered around 3.53 per cent of the population of Hampshire, making them numerically the strongest of all the Protestant dissenting sects in the county.<sup>241</sup> They had particularly strong representation at Portsmouth, with an estimated 800 hearers.<sup>242</sup> Independents are estimated to have numbered 2.01 per cent of the population of Hampshire.<sup>243</sup> Hampshire had a particularly active Independent congregation at the Above Bar church in Southampton. But the Evans list also recorded Independent congregations at Whitchurch, Christchurch, Fareham, Odiham, Basingstoke, Tadley and Gosport, as well as on the Isle of Wight.<sup>244</sup> It is possible that some Independents and Presbyterians were worshipping together; by 1725 the Presbyterian and Independent congregations at Odiham

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<sup>237</sup> See table 3k.

<sup>238</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 269-70. Watts's figures for England include Monmouthshire.

<sup>239</sup> *Ibid.*, 509.

<sup>240</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>241</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>242</sup> DWL MS 38.4, 103-5.

<sup>243</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 509.

<sup>244</sup> DWL MS 38.4, 103-5.

that had been listed separately in the Evans list were noted to be a single meeting, the vicar doubting 'if they were ever really divided'.<sup>245</sup> There may also be some confusion in the historical record as to whether a congregation was Presbyterian or Independent. The Basingstoke congregation is given as Independent in the Evans list, but the 1725 visitation returns describe a Presbyterian meeting house.<sup>246</sup> The earliest surviving records of the church itself are ambiguous, although there is a reference from around 1709 to the church describing itself as Presbyterian.<sup>247</sup> However, certainly for the period up to 1740, the church appears in the minutes of the Congregational Fund Board as receiving payments, rather than the Presbyterian Fund Board, and so, on balance, may be considered as an Independent or Congregational church.<sup>248</sup>

The status of the French church at Southampton is also confused in the various sources. The vicar of Southampton Holy Rood included it in his 1725 return as being a dissenting meeting, but it was not included in the Evans List.<sup>249</sup> Daniel Defoe described it in 1724-6 as having 'no inconsiderable congregation' but beyond describing it as a 'French church' does not indicate whether it was conformist or nonconformist.<sup>250</sup> Edwin Welch's study of the church's minute book from 1702 to 1939 shows that when the book begins in 1702, the congregation inclined towards conformity. But it was not until 1712 that a decision needed to be taken, in the knowledge that the Occasional Conformity Act granted no concessions to foreign churches. The Southampton congregation decided to conform, but it was not a unanimous decision, and a minority broke away to remain nonconformist.<sup>251</sup>

Particular Baptists were not numerous in Hampshire; an estimated 0.87 per cent of the population being adherents by the early eighteenth century.<sup>252</sup> But in the autumn of 1689 there had been at least four Particular Baptist churches in Hampshire. The record of the general assembly held in London in September of that year lists representatives from Christchurch, Ringwood, Southampton and Whitchurch.<sup>253</sup> These churches would have represented other, smaller, congregations, and so the geographical spread of Particular Baptists around the county would have been more extensive than this list would appear to indicate. The congregation at Broughton is not listed in this source, but it is likely that it was

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<sup>245</sup> Ward (ed.), *Parson and Parish*, 99.

<sup>246</sup> DWL MS 38.4, 103-5, Ward (ed.), *Parson and Parish*, 16.

<sup>247</sup> LSURC Letter book of briefs 1709-1779, fols 2v-3r.

<sup>248</sup> DWL MIC 79 Congregational Fund Board Minutes, 1695-1705, 1737-1807; DWL MIC 82 Presbyterian Fund Board Minutes, 1690-1751.

<sup>249</sup> DWL MS 38.4, 103-5; Ward (ed.), *Parson and Parish*, 121.

<sup>250</sup> Defoe, *Tour*, 154.

<sup>251</sup> Welch (ed.), *Minute Book of the French Church*, 6-7.

<sup>252</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 509.

<sup>253</sup> Anon, *Narrative of the Proceedings*, 21.



represented by the Porton, Wiltshire, church, to which it was still affiliated.<sup>254</sup> As mentioned earlier, Christchurch appears to have represented a church at Lymington, which was to get its own pastor in 1693.<sup>255</sup> The Particular Baptist church at Gosport was sufficiently well-established by 1699 to be involved in a major disputation with Portsmouth Presbyterians.<sup>256</sup> There were almost certainly other Particular Baptist groups. The Evans list does not distinguish between Particular and General Baptists, and as noted above its record of Baptist congregations is incomplete, but it does list Baptists as meeting at Blackwater (in the far north of the county), at Broughton and Wallop, and at Fareham, Gosport, Lymington, Nately, Portsmouth, Ringwood, Romsey, Southampton, as well as on the Isle of Wight.<sup>257</sup>

Some of these congregations may have been General Baptists, although these were far less numerous than the Particulars. They never seem to have numbered more than two per cent of any county, and only attracted small numbers in the west of England. Watts estimates that they comprised 0.29 per cent of the population of Hampshire.<sup>258</sup> In Hampshire, the main General Baptist group was in Portsmouth.<sup>259</sup> The vicar of Portsmouth estimated that this group of 'Arminian Baptists' consisted of about 150 persons, of whom not more than 100 were of the parish. They thus, in Portsmouth, appeared to outnumber the 'Calvinistical Baptists', of whom about twenty families lived in the town.<sup>260</sup> In the south Wiltshire village of Downton, just over the county boundary, another General Baptist group could be found, and it is possible that some Hampshire General Baptists were attending the Downton meeting.<sup>261</sup>

Quakers were also numerically small in Hampshire, representing an estimated 0.43 per cent in Hampshire, somewhat below the national average of 0.73 per cent.<sup>262</sup> But the statistics belie the activities of the sect as recorded in the surviving meeting minutes. Couples were cleared for marriage, poor Friends assisted and their children placed in suitable apprenticeships, while parcels of books were received from London to be lent to

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<sup>254</sup> *Ibid.*, 25; AL B1/1; AL B1/2.

<sup>255</sup> HRO 56M84/1, fols 4r, 78v.

<sup>256</sup> See chapter seven.

<sup>257</sup> DWL MS 38.4, 103-5.

<sup>258</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 509.

<sup>259</sup> Sparkes, 'Portsmouth Disputation', 59-75; F. Ridoutt, *The Early Baptist History of Portsmouth: and the formation of churches in the town* (Landport, 1888), 16-23.

<sup>260</sup> Ward (ed.), *Parson and Parish*, 109-10.

<sup>261</sup> D. A. Crowley, 'Downton Hundred', in D. A. Crowley (ed.), *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: a history of Wiltshire*, vol. XI (Oxford, 1980), 50.

<sup>262</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 509.

local Friends, and correspondence from London Yearly Meeting acted upon. Representatives travelled to London annually for Yearly Meeting.<sup>263</sup>

The eighteenth century is said to have seen a decline in dissent.<sup>264</sup> The decline in numbers was, however, also experienced by the Established Church, for although the Act of Toleration required that all attend a place of worship on a Sunday, this was normally impossible to enforce, as dissenting meeting houses provided a cover to escape any accusations of non-attendance. As early as 1692, one cleric was certain that the Act would turn half the nation into atheists.<sup>265</sup> A pamphlet of 1731 noted the 'prevailing Notion of our Decay' and claimed that it was this very notion that had driven some away from their former dissenting congregation, 'being ashamed to continue of, as they thought it, a sinking Cause' <sup>266</sup> Nevertheless, the anonymous author felt that the extent of the decline was exaggerated; some young ministers had found better opportunities in the Established Church, but there had been no great exodus from among the laity.<sup>267</sup>

Jonathan Clark has assembled evidence of the 'massive prevalence of Anglican allegiance' at grass-roots level, as witnessed by diaries and by replies to bishops' visitations.<sup>268</sup> The returns of the clergy to the articles of 1725 demonstrated that around half the parishes in the county admitted to the presence of Protestant dissenters, if not an actual meeting. But the 1725 returns made no provision for the recording of the church attendance, which might indicate the real state of Anglican allegiance in the county.<sup>269</sup>

The evidence for the decline in dissent in early eighteenth-century Hampshire appears to be qualitative, rather than quantitative. There is no census along the model of the 1676 Compton Census to enable comparisons, and while the Evans List is an invaluable source for the distribution and numerical strength of dissent, it is not, as already observed, a complete list of dissenting meetings in the county. Also, it records the meetings, and the number of people attending them, not the number of dissenters living in a locality, as the Compton Census records. The 1725 visitation returns are another source for the strength of dissent in Hampshire, but the nature of the questions asked by the bishop mean that it has

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<sup>263</sup> HRO 24M54/1; 24M54/2; 24M54/33; 24M54/34.

<sup>264</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 382-93.

<sup>265</sup> Hoppit, *Land of Liberty?*, 225.

<sup>266</sup> Anon, *Some Observations Upon the Present State of the Dissenting Interest* (London, 1731), 20. Eighteenth Century Collections Online, <http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/>, accessed 11 July 2012.

<sup>267</sup> *Ibid.*, 18-19.

<sup>268</sup> J. C. D. Clark, 'England's ancien regime as a confessional state', *Albion*, vol. 21, no. 3 (Autumn 1989), 458, 454-60.

<sup>269</sup> Ward (ed.), *Parson and Parish*, 3-4.

its drawbacks for ascertaining the numbers of dissenters in the county.<sup>270</sup> In particular, many clergy answered the question on dissenters with information about whether or not there were any dissenting meetings in the parish, and did not supply any information about the numbers of dissenters actually resident.

However, a limited amount of quantitative data for the decline, or otherwise, of Hampshire dissent in the period can be obtained from an examination of surviving membership and subscription lists created by individual congregations, and comparing the lists created by each group over time.<sup>271</sup> Some care should be taken with these figures. The subscription lists, in particular, are unlikely to include the poorest members of the congregation, however committed their attendance. Contributions to a one-off appeal might be more likely to attract donations from outside the congregation than a requirement for a regular contribution. But nevertheless, it may be cautiously noted that the evidence neither wholly supports, nor wholly disputes, a decline in the numbers of dissenters. The number of subscribers to the 1672 and 1690 appeals made by Alton Quakers increases by almost a third, in spite of the existence of a breakaway meeting by 1690.<sup>272</sup> It is possible that the 1690 figure was due to the excitement of liberation in the wake of the Act of Toleration. By 1696 the numbers contributing had dropped to less than the 1672 figure, although perhaps the cause, the building of a wood shed, was less exciting than either the initial purchase of the meeting house in 1672 or the addition of new galleries, perhaps to accommodate growing numbers, in 1690. The number of subscribers to an appeal in 1730 rises again, only to fall ten years later. The evidence would suggest that, after the initial excitement at the Act of Toleration there was an increase in attendance, but that after that numbers did indeed decline. But that decline, though noticeable, was not so dramatic as to render the meeting unviable.

There do not appear to be any other meetings whose records enable a comparison to be made of likely membership figures both before and immediately after the Act of Toleration, together with figures for the early eighteenth century. However, from the statistics of the four other churches in table 12, it would appear that numbers in those congregations may have declined in the first part of the eighteenth century, but the evidence is not conclusive. At Whitchurch, the Baptist church did see an overall decline in membership between 1721 and 1735, though numbers did rise slightly between 1732 and 1735. The Independent church at Fareham also saw a decline in its membership between

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<sup>270</sup> *Ibid.*, xxv.

<sup>271</sup> See table 12.

<sup>272</sup> HRO 24M54/34, 57, 67.

1701-5 and 1743, though the decrease was relatively small. It may be accounted for by the fact that the 1743 figure represents those making a regular quarterly subscription towards the minister's stipend, rather than actual membership. The figures for the Baptists at Broughton and Wallop might also be similarly affected; the c. 1684 figure is for church members, but the 1728 figure represents those making regular contributions towards the cost of visiting preachers. Not all dissenting congregations necessarily declined in this period; the Independent congregation at Basingstoke actually registered an increase in its membership between 1711 and 1727-9. It is possible that some urban meetings increased in size as they absorbed members from rural congregations that had become too small to be viable. Nevertheless, while the Hampshire evidence tends to indicate a decline in the number of nonconformists, it may not have been as dramatic as contemporary observers, or later historians, have claimed.

## Conclusion

The picture of the distribution and numerical strength of dissent in Hampshire during the period 1660 to 1740 does not necessarily concur with other studies, nor does it necessarily contradict it. Hampshire, like all counties, was unique, and not a clone of any other region. It can be seen that, while there may be some correlation between agricultural land use and the prevalence of dissent, given the mixed nature of agriculture at this time, it seems that other factors may have had weight in influencing the likelihood of dissent in any given area, including the strength of manorial control, and family relationships. Where a strong connection can be found is with the theory that dissent was likely to be strongest in towns. There were rural areas where dissent was strong, but almost all market towns, and the two major port towns in the county, showed a high proportion of dissenters, even if the connection with the textile trade in towns is open to further research.

The connection of urban centres with dissent is demonstrated even more strongly in the years after 1689 as smaller rural congregations declined, and dissenting meetings increasingly, though not exclusively, became concentrated in the towns. Some individual dissenters and families continued to be found in rural areas, but meetings were, by the end of the period of this study, largely found in urban areas. In this respect, Hampshire does conform to the pattern of the distribution of dissent discussed in previous studies.<sup>273</sup>

What the figures show is that nonconformity in Hampshire was, by the time of the Toleration Act was, well-established in the county, even if its adherents were in a minority.

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<sup>273</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 267-89.

The decline of small rural meetings may have contributed to a possible decline in the overall numbers of dissenters in the years after Toleration, and it is also possible that numbers increased immediately after Toleration as the threat of persecution was removed, only to decrease as that initial enthusiasm waned. But the evidence from Hampshire that the numerical strength of dissent declined in the fifty years after 1689 is not conclusive. It seems that there may have been a slight decline, but there does not appear, from the available sources, to have been a dramatic one. Earlier studies of the numerical strength of dissent in the early years of the eighteenth century have suggested that there was both a perceived and an actual loss of numbers among the dissenters of England and Wales.<sup>274</sup> This may be so, but the Hampshire evidence suggests that a detailed analysis of individual counties might reveal a far more complex picture, and consequently a greater understanding of the true state of dissent in these years.

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<sup>274</sup> *Ibid.*, 382-93.

## CHAPTER SIX: THE SOCIAL STATUS OF DISSENTERS, 1660 TO 1740

The previous chapter considered the distribution of dissent, and in its consideration of the prevalence of Protestant nonconformity within different regions, and among different occupations, touched on the question of the social status of dissenters. This chapter considers the social and economic status of Hampshire dissenters in more detail.

The major rationale for this chapter is that, as with the work in the previous chapter on the distribution and numerical strength of dissent, no comprehensive study is known to have previously been undertaken for Hampshire in the period 1660 to 1740. Michael Watts includes in his study of dissent a table of occupations of male dissenters, but none of the dissenting registers used in his study relate to Hampshire.<sup>1</sup> However, for the Restoration period, a number of studies have been made of other localities. Many of these studies employed hearth tax returns, a source which, when used in conjunction with an abstract of churchwardens' presentments, was particularly suitable for Hampshire. This Hampshire data is compared with these earlier studies to ascertain the how far the social and economic status of Hampshire dissenters corresponds, so far as it is possible to tell, with existing research. Given the acknowledged limitations of the hearth tax returns as a source, the evidence of the economic and social status of dissenters from other sources, particularly their wills and inventories, is considered in addition.

After the Toleration Act of 1689, studies of the social and economic status of dissenters are less numerous than those for the Restoration period, and this period, from 1689 to 1740, is therefore considered separately. There is a need for such studies, and particularly from the provinces, bearing in mind Hoppit's comment that 'some historians have been over influenced by the prominence of large Dissenting congregations in and around London'.<sup>2</sup> This section therefore attempts to redress the balance, and to consider if the social and economic status of dissenters changed in any way between 1660 and 1740. Such an endeavour suffers from the poor availability of sources for a quantitative study, but those sources that do exist have been used to make observations and comparisons.

### **Social status of dissenters 1660 to 1689: previous research**

According to Bill Stevenson, '[p]ost-Restoration churchmen and present-day historians have presented very different accounts of the social and economic status of first

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<sup>1</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 350.

<sup>2</sup> Hoppit, *Land of Liberty?*, 220.

generation protestant sectarian dissenters'.<sup>3</sup> Alan Cole and Richard T. Vann's studies of early Quakers and Barry Reay's study of Muggletonians all suggested that these groups were rather more bourgeois, with few members from the labouring and servant classes.<sup>4</sup> Keith Wrightson and David Levine's study of post-Restoration nonconformity in Essex similarly concluded that it was 'the middling sort' of villagers who were most likely to be dissenters.<sup>5</sup> However, Margaret Spufford's study of the social distribution of dissent in two Cambridgeshire villages produced two different sets of results. In the upland village of Orwell, dissenters were distributed throughout every layer of village society, with slightly more poor men among the dissenters than among the conformists. But in pastoral Willingham dissenters were fairly prosperous, the overwhelming majority having houses of two or three hearths.<sup>6</sup>

Bill Stevenson's research in Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire suggested that rural dissenters from all dissenting groups were drawn from a wide spectrum of society, excepting only the nobility and the vagrant poor.<sup>7</sup> Using the hearth tax returns, he found that almost half of the dissenting households had two to three hearths. At four or more hearths, 'personal wealth measured in terms of moveable goods begins to escalate', but the majority of Stevenson's dissenters lived in households of less than four hearths.<sup>8</sup> He concluded that all the major sects attracted members from the lower (if not the lowest) socio-economic groups, but that alongside them sat a substantial proportion of 'the middling sort' of master craftsmen and retailers, along with yeoman farmers, merchants and some professional men and 'gentlefolk'.<sup>9</sup>

There has not been complete agreement among historians as to how many hearths denoted prosperity, or how few indicated poverty. Hughes and White's study of Hampshire suggested that less than three hearths denoted poverty, whereas more than ten indicated considerable affluence.<sup>10</sup> However, John Patten noted that wills and inventories can indicate that people with only two or three hearths could be 'quite wealthy'.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Stevenson, 'Social and economic status', in Spufford (ed.), *World of Rural Dissenters*, 332-3.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* Vann's conclusions have been questioned, see Judith Jones Hurwich, 'Debate: the social origins of the early Quakers', *Past and Present* no. 48 (1970), 156-62; Richard T. Vann, 'Rejoinder', *Past and Present* no. 48 (1970), 162-4.

<sup>5</sup> Keith Wrightson and David Levine, *Poverty and Piety in an English Village: Terling, 1525-1700* (Oxford, 1995), 166-7, 208-9.

<sup>6</sup> Spufford, 'Social status', 203-11; Spufford, *Contrasting Communities*, 300-4.

<sup>7</sup> Spufford, *Contrasting Communities*, 333.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 334-5.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 357.

<sup>10</sup> Hughes and White (eds), *Hampshire Hearth Tax*, xv.

<sup>11</sup> John Patten, 'The hearth taxes, 1662-1689', *Local Population Studies*, 7 (1971), 22.

## Social status of dissenters 1660 to 1689: the Hampshire evidence

The position regarding the social status of dissenters is thus not wholly clear from previous research. If the Established Church contemporaries of the sectarians are to be believed, those in Hampshire, and elsewhere, were drawn largely from the 'vulgar sort' of people; poor and ill-educated. Thus in 1669 the conventicle returns for Winchester diocese, while acknowledging that some dissenters were persons of 'good estates & Quality', claimed that the majority were 'meane & ordinary persons', 'very Inconsiderable & meane', 'of noe Account or Quality'.<sup>12</sup> But, while acknowledging the usefulness of the 1669 conventicle returns to historians, its descriptions of nonconformists are subjective. Some way was required to identify what conclusions regarding the social status of dissenters could be reached for Hampshire; whether they were the socially insignificant persons of the conventicle returns, the 'middling sort' claimed by many (if not all) modern historians, or if the truth was somewhat more complex. To this end, a comparison was made between named sectaries in the abstract of churchwardens' presentments from 1664, and the hearth tax returns for Southampton for 1662 and those for the rest of mainland Hampshire from 1665.

The abstract of the 1664 churchwardens' presentments was chosen as providing a county-wide list of named 'sectaries' drawn up only the year before the 1665 hearth tax returns for the county were completed, and just two years after the 1662 Southampton returns.<sup>13</sup> It represents the best surviving source of named dissenters that can be compared with the hearth tax returns for Hampshire. There are some disadvantages to the presentments as a source. They only list those dissenters whom the churchwardens chose to present. Those presented were likely to have been the most prominent dissenters. It is possible that churchwardens were reluctant to present the breadwinner of a poor family, where a fine or imprisonment might result in the family being forced to seek parish relief. Some churchwardens were highly conscientious (or vindictive) in their presentments; a massive sixty-six sectarians were presented at Ringwood.<sup>14</sup> Others appear to have been more negligent (or neighbourly) in their presentments; there were no Protestant dissenters presented at either Basingstoke or Fordingbridge in 1664. That neither town had any active sectarians seems highly unlikely when the evidence of the 1669 conventicle returns is considered, as both towns had conventicles.<sup>15</sup> A further problem is that not all the

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<sup>12</sup> LPL MS 639, fols 260r-264r.

<sup>13</sup> HRO 21M65/B1/37.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, fols 8r-8v.

<sup>15</sup> LPL MS 639, fols 261v, 263v.



dissenters presented in 1664 can be identified in the hearth tax returns, either as the head of a household, or as the wife of a head of household. They may have been family members, or lodgers or servants.

In using the 1664 abstract of presentments, only those identified as 'sectaries' have been compared with the hearth tax returns, as well as those identified as of specific sects, and an ejected minister presented for holding conventicles. It is likely that some of those presented for other offences, notably for not attending church, were sectarians, but the possibility exists that their offences had a secular cause, and they have therefore been omitted from this study.<sup>16</sup> 'Recusants' have likewise been omitted, as this term was used by the churchwardens to indicate Roman Catholic dissent.

The 1665 hearth tax assessment for Hampshire is the most complete of all surviving hearth tax returns for the county. The exception to this are Southampton returns, which were invariably made separately and do not survive for 1665, although they do exist for the town from 1662 and 1670.<sup>17</sup> The hearth tax returns represent a list of named householders in a given community, with the number of hearths on which they were assessed for the tax. From 1663, all householders, including those exempt from paying the tax, were required by law to be listed. However, Hughes and White comment on the Hampshire hearth tax returns that it is possible that the very poorest were omitted, and the degree of evasion is unknown. Accuracy may have varied from area to area.<sup>18</sup>

A total of 203 dissenting households were identified throughout Hampshire in both the 1664 presentments and the 1665 (1662 for Southampton) hearth tax returns. A comparison was also made between the Hampshire figures and those of Stevenson's study.<sup>19</sup> These results show that for Hampshire as a county, as in Stevenson's counties, the majority of dissenters, around four households in five, were concentrated in modest households of fewer than four hearths. In both studies, around two households in five were assessed at one hearth or as being exempt from the tax. This might appear to suggest that dissent was concentrated among the poorer sections of society. But the figures can be looked at in another way. They also show that approximately one dissenting household in five was assessed at four or more hearths, indicating some measure of prosperity among a

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<sup>16</sup> For example, in 1663 the consistory court heard from Mary Hooker of Owlesbury that she had been unable to attend church because she had many small children. HRO 21M65/C1/37 Diocese of Winchester: Consistory Court: Office act book, 1663-1664, fol. 23.

<sup>17</sup> Hughes and White (eds), *Hampshire Hearth Tax*, v. Further Hampshire assessments survive in addition to those indexed by Hughes and White, a list of surviving hearth tax documents is in *ibid.*, 305-7.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, xiv-xv.

<sup>19</sup> See tables 2a-d.

significant minority. Furthermore, around three households in five were of two or more hearths, and thus the majority of dissenters were not among the poorest of the householders.

However, these statistics are only useful if compared with the hearth tax returns for the population as a whole. If the distribution of dissenters among the different hearth tax brackets reflects the distribution of the population as a whole; then the social distribution of dissenters is no different from the social distribution of the rest of the population. Stevenson does not include this data in his tables, but Spufford considered the issue in her study of Cambridgeshire dissenters.

To examine the prosperity of Hampshire dissenters relative to the rest of the population, nine parishes were examined, representing all the parishes where it was possible to identify seven or more dissenting households in the hearth tax returns. The number of these households was sufficient to allow for percentage calculations to be made. Some of these households included more than one dissenter, usually a married couple.

These nine parishes were found to represent two rural parishes, two port towns and five market towns, and are compared in the relevant tables.<sup>20</sup> What is noticeable is that in all nine parishes dissenters were in all but one case less likely to be among the poorest households (one hearth or exempt) than the population as a whole, and, again in all but one case, less likely to be among the most wealthy households (eight or more hearths) than in the population as a whole. In all nine parishes, the number of dissenters assessed at two to three hearths was greater than the average for that parish. In other words, Hampshire dissenters were not usually found among the most prosperous members of society, nor among the most poor. They were indeed of 'the middling sort'.

However, as Arkell and Alcock commented in their study of the Warwickshire hearth tax returns, analyses of the returns cannot fully illustrate the complexities of social status, and they note Keith Wrightson's observation that tables of results, with their rigid categories, obscure often fluid boundaries.<sup>21</sup> Consequently, the Hampshire evidence was examined further with regard to the prosperity of some of those dissenters named in both the presentments and the hearth tax returns. Not all the dissenters listed in both sources can be identified elsewhere in the historical record, either in court records, or through wills and inventories. The Quaker sufferings book, though comprehensive with regard to Friends,

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<sup>20</sup> See tables 2a-d.

<sup>21</sup> Tom Arkell and Nat Alcock (eds), *Warwickshire Hearth Tax Returns: Michaelmas 1670 with Coventry Lady Day 1666* (Dugdale Society, vol. XLIII), (British Record Society Hearth Tax Series, vol. VII), (London, 2010), 83.

is of course not relevant to the other sects. However, enough other records exist for Southampton and Portsmouth dissenters in the 1660s, and shortly thereafter, to enable some comments to be made. Nathaniel Robinson, the former minister of All Saints' parish, and from 1662 an Independent minister, was assessed at five hearths in 1662, and at four hearths in 1670, possibly indicating a slight decline in his financial situation, but still placing him among the most prosperous two-thirds of the town's citizens.<sup>22</sup> William Mason, a chandler, was assessed at six hearths in 1662. The inventory of his goods in 1668 had a total value of over £174, and by his will he left his wife and children property in both Southampton and Eling.<sup>23</sup>

Some of the Quakers in Southampton were men of substance. The merchant Daniel Hersent was assessed at nine hearths in 1662, and at fourteen hearths in 1670. His house was used for Quaker meetings.<sup>24</sup> Daniel Hersent had been born into a family of French refugees settled in Southampton, and prior to his convincement as a Friend had been a member of the French church.<sup>25</sup> By October 1653 he had been of sufficient standing in the town to have been appointed to a committee to manage the supply of minsters and to arrange for persons to preach at a weekly lecture.<sup>26</sup> Hersent's fellow-townsmen and Quaker, the soap-boiler and sometime excise officer George Embree, assessed at seven hearths in 1662, was active for many years with Hampshire Friends.<sup>27</sup> He suffered several periods of imprisonment in the 1660s for being at Quaker meetings in the town.<sup>28</sup> The 1669 conventicle returns record meetings being held at his home.<sup>29</sup> None of this activity appears to have seriously affected his economic status, for he was assessed again at seven hearths in 1670, and in his will, proved in 1679, he left his wife Cordelia a second house in Southampton, in addition to the family home.<sup>30</sup> These men were not, as the 1669

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<sup>22</sup> Hughes and White (eds), *Hampshire Hearth Tax*, 290, 296.

<sup>23</sup> HRO 1668A/057 Will, inventory and accounts of William Mason of Southampton, Hampshire, chandler, 1668; Hughes and White (eds), *Hampshire Hearth Tax*, 288.

<sup>24</sup> HRO 24M54/14, fols 10v-11v; Hughes and White (eds), *Hampshire Hearth Tax*, 288, 300. For evidence of Hersent's status as a merchant, see Thomson (ed.), *Book of Examinations and Depositions*, 137.

<sup>25</sup> Spicer, *French-Speaking Reformed Community and their Church*, 66, 88.

<sup>26</sup> 'Volume 41: October 1653', *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Interregnum, 1653-4* (1879), 179-228, <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=53495>, accessed 12 April 2011.

<sup>27</sup> HRO 24M54/1, 1-25; Coleby, *Central Government*, 27.

<sup>28</sup> HRO 24M54/14, fols 10v-19v.

<sup>29</sup> LPL MS 639, fol. 264r.

<sup>30</sup> HRO 1679B/15 Will and inventory of George Embrey (Embree) of Southampton, Hampshire, soap boiler, 1679; Hughes and White (eds), *Hampshire Hearth Tax*, 291, 295.

conventicle returns for Southampton claimed, 'Inconsiderable & meane', but prosperous citizens.<sup>31</sup>

Portsmouth dissenters, according to the 1669 conventicle returns, were Baptists and Quakers of 'meane' social status, or, if among those attending the Presbyterian conventicle over the water in Gosport, not men of quality, but tradesmen, seamen and workers in Portsmouth dockyard, attending with their families.<sup>32</sup> Again, the evidence does not wholly bear this out. None of the identified Portsmouth dissenters were in the lowest category of householder, although about one in five of the total households in the town were in this category.<sup>33</sup> Humphrey Jones, among those tried for unlawful religious assembly at the Easter sessions of the borough in 1661, was assessed at three hearths in 1665. One of his co-defendants, William Lunn, was assessed at four hearths, and appears to have had a second property in the borough, also valued at four hearths. Even if this second entry was a duplicate in error, he would still have been in the most prosperous half of the town's householders.<sup>34</sup> William Cozens (also Cosens or Cosins) was assessed at seven hearths in 1665; at the Michaelmas sessions in 1677, the court heard of a dissenters' conventicle held at the house of one William Cozens senior. The preacher, Richard Drinkwater of Portsmouth was described to the court as a 'yeoman'.<sup>35</sup> This was a Baptist conventicle, and the size of Cozens's house, and Drinkwater's occupation, shows that the Baptists in the town had the support of some of its more prosperous citizens.<sup>36</sup>

Portsmouth dissenters could be men of more substance than their apparently modest occupations would imply. The 1671 probate inventory of Thomas Chase, house carpenter, was valued at over £154, including over £84 of debts, possibly money owing for work undertaken. Henry Pressey, baker, left goods valued at just over £63 in 1672.<sup>37</sup> Walter Thurman, tobacconist, assessed at six hearths, left goods in his shop valued at over £152 on his death in 1680.<sup>38</sup> Portsmouth dissenters, as measured by the hearth tax returns, were not as prosperous as those in Southampton, but they were still some way from being classed as among the poor.

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<sup>31</sup> LPL MS 639, fol. 264r.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 262v.

<sup>33</sup> See table 4.

<sup>34</sup> Willis and Hoad (eds), *Portsmouth Borough Sessions Papers*, 21.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 65. Drinkwater was not among the dissenters listed in the 1664 presentments.

<sup>36</sup> Ridoutt, *Early Baptist History of Portsmouth*, 10-13.

<sup>37</sup> HRO 1671A/025 Will and inventory of Thomas Chase of Portsmouth, Hampshire, house carpenter, 1671; HRO 1672A/072 Will and inventory of Henry Pressey of Portsmouth, Hampshire, baker, 1672.

<sup>38</sup> HRO 1680A/123 Will and inventory of Walter Thurman of Portsmouth, Hampshire, tobacconist, 1680.

Thus the Hampshire evidence shows that dissenters were somewhat less likely than their fellow parishioners to be among the poorest householders, and were in fact more likely to be among the more prosperous citizens, if not the most wealthy. It is likely that these were men whose occupation allowed them and their families a certain freedom when it came to their religious practice, not being beholden to any employer. But the social mix of the benches of dissenting meeting places in Hampshire, if composed of more of the 'middling sort' than the population as a whole, was still not hugely dissimilar in its social mix to the pews of the parish church.

### **Social status of dissenters 1689 to 1740**

Following the Act of Toleration in 1689, Protestant dissenters still experienced some disadvantages, even if most of them were now able to worship without penalty. They were still disadvantaged in their abilities to participate in public life, or to gain degrees from Oxford or Cambridge.<sup>39</sup> But, unless they were anti-Trinitarian, they were no longer subject to prosecution for the practice of their faith. It is reasonable to ask if this had an effect on the social status of dissenters in the years following the Act.

Watts comments that 'the evidence concerning the occupations and economic wealth of Dissenters in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century is ... sparse and fragmentary'.<sup>40</sup> Consequently, any attempt to quantify the economic status of dissenters is open to doubt. Furthermore, a major source used by Watts in his research into the social status of dissenters, that of occupations recorded in the registers of dissenting congregations, are of limited use in a study of Hampshire dissent, where occupations were rarely recorded in the surviving registers in this period, with the exception of the Quakers. Even then, the occupation was not recorded in a sufficient number of entries for a county-wide survey to be made.<sup>41</sup>

In ascertaining the social status of dissenters in the 1660s, it was possible to use the 1664 summary of churchwardens' presentments to identify known dissenters in the hearth tax returns.<sup>42</sup> After 1689 churchwardens' presentments in Hampshire no longer recorded the names of sectaries who absented themselves from church, and there is in any case a gap in the surviving presentments between 1705 and 1725.<sup>43</sup> After 1689 the dissenting churches

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<sup>39</sup> Some nonconformists circumvented the restrictions by the practice of occasional conformity. This practice was forbidden by the Occasional Conformity Act of 1711, but the Act was repealed in 1719.

<sup>40</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 353.

<sup>41</sup> HRO 24M54/25/1; HRO 24M54/25/2; HRO 24M54/25/3; Watts, *Dissenters*, 350.

<sup>42</sup> HRO 21M65/B1/37.

<sup>43</sup> HRO 202M85/3/1-1593; HRO 21M65/B2/1-1071.

themselves increasingly began to record the names of their members, but up to 1740, the end date of this study, the existence of such records is still limited. But where they exist, such lists record those people who were prepared to identify themselves as dissenters from the Established Church, rather than those who were identified as such by others, and they are thus potentially more reliable than the churchwardens' presentments. In particular, they include the names of women, as well as men, who were members. However, the challenge still remains of identifying their social and economic status, as the lists do not include occupations.

As cited earlier in this chapter, a number of studies concerned with the social status of dissenters have examined hearth tax returns. But the hearth tax was abolished in 1689. It was replaced from 1696 with the window tax, but no county-wide assessments for the window tax survive for Hampshire as they do for the hearth tax.<sup>44</sup>

Historians have made use of wills in the course of research on social status, but much of the work has concentrated on probate inventories, and the numbers of these inventories decline dramatically after 1685, as Amy Erickson has demonstrated.<sup>45</sup> Andrew Thomson's study of the wills made by Diocese of Winchester clergy between 1615 and 1698 also notes a decline in the number of inventories in the later part of that period.<sup>46</sup>

James McInnes observes that there has been 'a great deal of discussion' about how religious beliefs can be determined by reference to wills.<sup>47</sup> Research has been undertaken by historians into the religious preamble of wills, which can be used to ascertain the testator's religious sympathies, but this evidence relates largely to the period prior to the Restoration.<sup>48</sup> Furthermore, M. L. Zell noted that '[w]e have no practicable way of determining whether or not the testaments were actually written by the testators, wholly or

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<sup>44</sup> Search of Hampshire Archives and Local Studies catalogue, <http://www3.hants.gov.uk/archives/catalog.htm>, accessed 20 January 2012. Jane Philpot, HRO, *pers. comm.* 8 February 2012, confirmed that there are no window tax assessments in the HRO and that the only two window tax assessments for Hampshire known to exist are those of Holy Rood Southampton in 1732 held by Southampton Archives Services, and for Newport, Isle of Wight, in 1733, held at the Isle of Wight Record Office.

<sup>45</sup> Amy Erickson, 'Using Probate Accounts', in T. Arkell, N. Evans and N. Goose (eds), *When Death Do Us Part: understanding and interpreting the probate records of early modern England* (Oxford, 2004), 103-119.

<sup>46</sup> Andrew Thomson *The Clergy of Winchester, England, 1615-1698: a diocesan ministry in crisis* (Seventeenth-Century Studies, vol. 2), (Lampeter, 2011), 103-12.

<sup>47</sup> McInnes, 'Continuity and change', 99.

<sup>48</sup> For example, the study of Cornish gentry wills from 1600 to 1660 in Anne Duffin, *Faction and Faith: politics and religion of the Cornish gentry before the Civil War* (Exeter, 1996), 43-8. Duffin cautions that the results of her survey 'should be taken as impressionistic'. *Ibid.*, 43.

in part'.<sup>49</sup> Margaret Spufford's work on Cambridgeshire wills, published in *Contrasting Communities*, concluded that it was the religious conviction of the scribe, rather than the testator, which was evident in the will; a view endorsed by McInnes in his study of Portchester wills, and by Jeremy Goring's study of the Sussex town of Lewes.<sup>50</sup> But Spufford has drawn a different conclusion elsewhere, also arguing that within a village there would be several potential scribes, so the testator would usually be able to choose one sympathetic to his or her own religious persuasions.<sup>51</sup> However, the situation is further complicated by the possibility that the scribe's own wording of choice might vary over time, as McInnes discovered in Portchester.<sup>52</sup> Furthermore, wills are not a wholly reliable indicator of wealth at death. Many wills left a number of specific bequests, and then the remainder of the estate was left to a residuary legatee, with no indication as to the value of the residue. Additionally, the value of bequests may obscure the fact that settlement had already been made during the life of the testator.<sup>53</sup>

However, despite the shortcomings of some potential sources for the period after 1689, some indication of the social status of dissenters can be gleaned from the record of dissenting meetings compiled by Dr John Evans between 1715 and 1718.<sup>54</sup> The level of information submitted by Evans's correspondents varied in detail, and it is not clear if the 'hearers' in the list refer to regular attenders (if not actual members), or to occasional attenders as well, but it would appear that dissenting congregations attracted a wide cross-section of society. Thus the Presbyterian meeting at Alton had thirty-nine hearers who were described as 'substantial', twenty-two classed as 'middling' and twenty-one 'mean'. At Ringwood, two-fifths of the Presbyterians were classed as substantial, two-fifths middling and one-fifth described as mean. At Andover, there were four Presbyterians worth above £500 per annum, thirty persons of middling rank, and twenty poor people.<sup>55</sup>

The proportion of those ranked 'substantial', 'middling' and 'mean', where such data has been given in the Evans List in such a way as comparisons can be made, is analysed

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<sup>49</sup> M. L. Zell, 'The use of religious preambles as a measure of religious belief in the sixteenth century', *Historical Research: the bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, vol. 50, issue 122 (November 1977), 246.

<sup>50</sup> Spufford, *Contrasting Communities*, 325; McInnes, 'Continuity and change', 106; Goring, *Burn Holy Fire*, 31.

<sup>51</sup> Margaret Spufford, 'Religious Preambles and the Scribes of Villagers' Wills in Cambridgeshire, 1570-1700', in Arkell, Evans and Goose (eds), *When Death Do Us Part*, 144-57.

<sup>52</sup> McInnes, 'Continuity and change', 101-2.

<sup>53</sup> This might be made explicit. The nonconformist Isaac Watts senior explained that he had left only a small legacy to his son Richard since he had already provided financially for him to set up in business. TNA PRO PROB 11/682 Will of Isaac Watts of Southampton, Hampshire, 22 March 1737.

<sup>54</sup> DWL MS 38.4; Watts, *Dissenters*, 491.

<sup>55</sup> DWL MS 38.4, 103-5.

in table 13. From this can be seen, in the four congregations where such a comparison can be made, the proportion of those ranked 'substantial' varied from almost half among the Alton Presbyterians to just over a fifth among the Odiham Presbyterians. Those ranked 'middling' varied from over half the Odiham Presbyterians to just over a quarter among the Alton Presbyterians. Those of 'mean' status counted for about a quarter of three of the four congregations – the Alton Presbyterians, Alton Quakers and the Odiham Presbyterians – but just over a third of the Odiham Independents. The categories of 'substantial' 'middle' and 'mean' are subjective, and four congregations is not a large sample, but a comparison with the figures for the 1660s suggest that dissenters were no longer overwhelmingly of the 'middling sort', but moving upwards in terms of social status.<sup>56</sup> Whether this was due to upward mobility among second- and third-generation dissenters, or whether dissent had become, after 1689, newly attractive to those whose sympathies always inclined that way, but who feared the impact of penalties on their wealth and livelihood, is unknown. It is possible to infer from the data that dissent was broadening its appeal down the social scale as well as up, but the figures are not directly comparable. The data for the 1660s is drawn from householders, whereas those classed as 'mean' in the Evans List may or may not have been householders.

The ministers of some Presbyterian and Congregational (or Independent) congregations were partly supported by contributions from national funds. The Common Fund had been established in 1690 as a joint effort by both denominations to assist ministers whose congregations were unable to fully supply their needs, but interdenominational strife saw the Congregationalists leave to establish their own fund in 1695, and thereafter the two denominations administered separate funds.<sup>57</sup> How much maintenance was required by a minister varied across the country. In 1690 the minimum annual amount a minister could subsist on in Derbyshire was given as £28, but in Norfolk the minimum was given as £50 per annum.<sup>58</sup> No minimum figure was given for Hampshire ministers, though £20 at Newport on the Isle of Wight was described as a 'low allowance' and as '[s]mall' at Alton, but £30 at Fareham was 'a competent maintenance'.<sup>59</sup> How well a minister could live on what his congregation could provide also depended to a significant degree on his personal circumstances. Humphrey Weaver of Crondall, still ministering to his congregation almost thirty years after his ejection in 1662, had sufficient resources of his

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<sup>56</sup> See tables 2a-d.

<sup>57</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 289, 296.

<sup>58</sup> Gordon (ed.), *Freedom After Ejection*, 177.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 100.



own to enable him to refuse any recompense from his flock.<sup>60</sup> Many other ministers in the county had some private income, though, unlike Weaver, it was not necessarily sufficient to maintain them and their families, and they required some maintenance from their congregations. Having a family could also affect how well a minister could cope financially; at Alton, Fareham and Fordingbridge, the ministers had large families and were struggling; the 'competent maintenance' of £30 at Fareham being clearly insufficient in these circumstances.<sup>61</sup>

Where assistance from one or other Fund is recorded in the Evans List of 1715-18, it does not necessarily appear to be an indication of a meeting where many of the members were poor. The Independent pastor at Christchurch was receiving support, but the congregation was described as being worth at least £8,000. At Fareham, assistance was provided to a minister with a congregation where three persons were described as being worth several thousands each and twelve were worth between £500 and £1,000.<sup>62</sup> It is not therefore clear why financial support was necessary in these cases, unless the congregation had other calls on its finances (such as the maintenance of a meeting house), the wealth of the congregation was not matched by its generosity to the minister, or Evans's correspondents were exaggerating the social status of the congregation.

Nevertheless, some congregations were supported by more generous benefactors. Of the twenty Hampshire towns and villages given in the Evans List as having one or more Presbyterian or Independent congregations, eleven were listed as receiving support from the Congregational or Presbyterian Funds, but that still left nine places where no support additional to that provided by the congregation (or the minister's own resources) was necessary. The Portsmouth Presbyterian congregation appears to have attracted some particularly generous benefactions. Although in 1690 it could only provide its minister with 'noe great maintenance' of £20 per annum, by the time the Evans List was compiled in 1715-18 it had become a substantial congregation of some 800 hearers in no need of assistance from the Presbyterian Fund.<sup>63</sup> In 1718 an inventory taken by the church showed that it possessed two fine silver cups, both the gifts of benefactors, and a further,

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<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 100-1.

<sup>62</sup> DWL MS 38.4, 103-5.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*; Gordon (ed.), *Freedom After Ejection*, 101.

anonymous, benefactor had provided a large folio bible for the meeting house. The congregation had themselves purchased two large pewter plates.<sup>64</sup>

The Baptist congregations may have been somewhat less prosperous, but the Hampshire evidence is not conclusive, since the economic status of the congregation is only given for two of the Baptist congregations recorded by the Evans List. Of the Baptists meeting at Ringwood, a quarter were substantial, a quarter middling and the remaining half mean, while at Romsey, one Baptist was described as a gentleman, and twenty as tradesmen, of a congregation of forty-eight, but the status of the rest was not given. It is possible that the status was given only for men of the Romsey congregation, but the total figure included women, many of whom would have been attending with their husbands. Of the twelve Hampshire Baptist congregations listed in the Evans List, five included hearers who were qualified to vote in the county elections, but given that there are gaps in some of the responses, the actual number may have been higher.<sup>65</sup>

The figures given in the Evans List for the numbers qualified to vote deserve some consideration. As noted above, there are gaps in the returns, not only for the Baptist congregations, but also for the Presbyterian, Independent and Quaker meetings it records. Some of the figures raise questions. At Newport on the Isle of Wight, it was claimed that twenty-two men were qualified to vote in the county elections, of 300 hearers at the Presbyterian meeting, but the number of qualified electors at Newport was only twenty-four. At Christchurch, the Independent church numbered 400 hearers, of whom forty-five were apparently qualified to vote in the county elections. But the number of qualified electors in Christchurch was only twenty-five.<sup>66</sup> Possibly some of the Newport and Christchurch congregations came from outside these respective boroughs, but the Christchurch figure especially seems rather high. The figures are more plausible at Winchester and Southampton. In Winchester, of an electorate of eighty-eight in 1714, the Presbyterians claimed twenty-four county voters in a congregation of 330. At Southampton, the Independent congregation claimed 73 county voters in its congregation of 430 hearers,

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<sup>64</sup> PHC CHU 82/9/1 John Pounds Memorial Church, High Street, Unitarian: Ledger of miscellaneous church receipts and expenditure, 1697-1736, 188; Stell, *Nonconformist Communion Plate*, 22-3, plate 17.

<sup>65</sup> DWL MS 38.4, 103-5.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*; D. Hayton, D. Cruikshanks and S. Handley (eds), *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1690-1715* (Woodbridge, 2002), Newport IoW 1690-1715, <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/constituencies/newport-iow>; Christchurch 1690-1715, <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/constituencies/christchurch>, both accessed 5 June 2012.

which may be a realistic figure, since in 1702 at least 260 of the total eligible electorate in the town were recorded as having voted.<sup>67</sup>

With the caveat that the Evans List figures for voters may not be entirely reliable, they can be used to cautiously estimate the proportion of those eligible to vote from among the dissenting congregations. The total number of county voters, as given in the Evans List for Hampshire, comes to at least 498.<sup>68</sup> The number of those voting for the county in 1710 was at least 4,745.<sup>69</sup> Thus, at least 10.5 per cent of the electorate may have been attending dissenting meetings, even if they were not formal members. But the percentage of dissenters among the total population was 7.13 per cent.<sup>70</sup> In other words, dissenters appear to have been represented more strongly among the electorate than they were among the population as a whole. As the qualification for voting rights was usually the possession of a freehold property valued at forty shillings per annum, or more, dissenters were consequently somewhat over-represented among the wealthier section of society than they were among society as a whole.

The total population of Hampshire in the early eighteenth century, according to Watts's figures, was 124, 670.<sup>71</sup> The number of those voting in 1710 thus represented 3.81 per cent of the population, or put another way, slightly under one person in twenty-five qualified as a forty-shilling freeholder. But the percentage figure among dissenters, using Watts's calculations for nonconformist denominations, is 5.61 per cent, or somewhat over one person in twenty.<sup>72</sup> Thus a dissenting congregation was likely to have included a greater proportion of the electorate among its numbers than would be found among the population as a whole.

The relative prosperity of dissenters as evidence by the Evans List does not appear to have been wholly endorsed by the returns made by parish clergy to the bishop in 1725. From their comments upon the social status of Protestant dissenters in the parishes, it appears that the view of the Established Church regarding the social status of dissenters had

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<sup>67</sup> DWL MS 38.4, 103-5; Hayton, Cruikshanks and Handley (eds), *House of Commons 1690-1715*, Winchester 1690-1715, at <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/constituencies/winchester>; Southampton 1690-1715, at <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/constituencies/southampton>, both accessed 5 June 2012.

<sup>68</sup> DWL MS 38.4, 103-5. The entry for the number of voters among Basingstoke Independents is indistinct.

<sup>69</sup> Hayton, Cruikshanks and Handley (eds), *House of Commons 1690-1715*, Hampshire 1690-1715, <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/constituencies/hampshire>, accessed 14 June 2012.

<sup>70</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 270, 509.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*

not altered appreciably since the conventicle returns were made in 1669. At Milford, the congregation of Freewillers in 1669 had been of 'the meanest people', and by 1725 the Anabaptist meetings were dismissed as being 'edified by Simon the thatcher and John the cooper'.<sup>73</sup> In 1669 people from Alresford and other places had come to the Quaker meeting at Swanmore, all those attending being described as 'meane & ordinary persons'.<sup>74</sup> The opinion of the clergy had not altered much by 1725; the three Quaker families at New Alresford being 'of small consideration'.<sup>75</sup> The responses from clergy elsewhere in the county were similarly dismissive. At Catherington there was one Anabaptist, 'an old woman'.<sup>76</sup> At Wickham, the lone dissenter was 'a shop keeper'.<sup>77</sup> At Sherfield on Loddon, the rector contemptuously noted that the dissenters in his parish comprised six Quakers, one of whom was a man 'but one degree above an idiot', and the remaining five were an old day-labourer and his wife, and a thatcher, his wife and son.<sup>78</sup>

Ward comments that 'organised religious deviance in Hampshire was always so weak as to encourage a contemptuous rather than an observant attitude' on the part of the clergy.<sup>79</sup> From the 1725 visitation returns it is clear that in those parishes where there were dissenters, but no meeting, the numbers of dissenters were likely to be small. Thus there was one family of Presbyterians at Wootton St Lawrence, at Monxton two families of unspecified dissenters, and at Chalton, a lone Baptist, who had formerly held meetings at his home for half a dozen co-religionists from outside the parish, but these now rarely took place.<sup>80</sup> But what is noticeable about the 1725 returns is that, when a minister admitted to the presence of dissenters, he often did not make reference to their social status. In none of the examples cited from Wootton St Lawrence, Monxton and Chalton, did he do so. It can be inferred from the returns that they were not gentry, since respondents were asked to include the names of gentry and persons of note in their replies, but their social status could have been any degree below that. Furthermore, a qualification has to be made regarding Ward's statement that organised religious deviance was weak in the county. There were areas where it was poorly represented, but in some areas, and notably in many of the market towns, Protestant dissent had a definite presence by the early eighteenth century, as discussed in the previous chapter.

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<sup>73</sup> LPL MS 639, fol. 263v; Ward (ed.), *Parson and Parish*, 90.

<sup>74</sup> LPL MS 639, fol. 262v.

<sup>75</sup> Ward (ed.), *Parson and Parish*, 103.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 142.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 118.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, xxiii.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 34-5, 92-3, 153-4.

There is other qualitative data for the social status of post-1689 dissenters in Hampshire. The list of church members compiled by Basingstoke Independents in 1727-9 was compared with the records for those years in the overseers' account book for Basingstoke parish of St Michael. None of the members of the Independent church were in receipt of charity from the parish, nor were any listed as defaulting on their payment of the poor rate.<sup>81</sup> The overseers' account book does not record the names of those who did pay their rates as required, and furthermore, some of the Basingstoke dissenters may have been resident in other parishes. But the evidence provides some indication that Basingstoke dissenters were not among the poorest inhabitants of the town.

Further evidence for the social status of dissenters can be inferred from their wills, albeit with the caveats discussed earlier in this chapter. The wills of Alton Quakers can be identified if they made a request to be buried in the burial ground of Friends in the town. As with the earlier seventeenth-century wills from Portsmouth and Southampton discussed previously, the evidence is that some Alton Quakers were reasonably prosperous. In 1692 Henry Eggar, yeoman of Up Nately, left at least sixty-four acres of land to his wife and sons, and his inventory came to almost £200, including over £49 worth of corn growing in his fields.<sup>82</sup> In 1694 Edward Bayly, though his trade was the relatively humble one of a butcher, left £50 to each of his four daughters. The total of his inventory after his death was almost £356.<sup>83</sup> The sums of money given to beneficiaries in the will of the widow Elizabeth Gates came to £66, not including the ten shillings to be given to each of the unspecified number of her great-grandchildren who should be living at the time of her decease.<sup>84</sup> If Elizabeth Gates was comfortably off, she was not the only Alton Quaker widow to be so. Joan Sly left at least £127 to various beneficiaries, in addition to gifts of silver spoons and other valued household goods, and she left her daughter the remainder of the term of the lease on the Crown Inn at Alton.<sup>85</sup>

Not all Quakers were as well-off. The total value of the goods of Charity Nightingale, spinster, came to slightly under £5.<sup>86</sup> The ten shillings she had given to the meeting house

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<sup>81</sup> HRO 46M74/PO2 Basingstoke St Michael: Overseers' account book, 1701-1735, 513-24; TNA PRO RG 4/2106 Basingstoke, London Street (Independent): Births and baptisms, 1739-1832, fols 4r-5v.

<sup>82</sup> HRO 1692A/026 Will and inventory of Henry Eggar, sen, of Up Nately, Hampshire, yeoman, 1692.

<sup>83</sup> HRO 1694A/005 Will, inventory and bond of Edward Bayly of Alton, Hampshire, butcher, 1694.

<sup>84</sup> HRO 1720A/039 Will of Elizabeth Gates of Alton, Hampshire, widow, 1720.

<sup>85</sup> HRO 1716A/086 Will of Joan Sly (Sley) of Alton, Hampshire, widow, 1716. Joan Sly had been a Quaker since at least 1670, see HRO 24M54/14, fols 18v, 24r.

<sup>86</sup> HRO 1692A/064 Will and inventory of Charity Nightingale (Nitingale) of Alton, Hampshire, spinster, 1692.

appeal in 1690 may have represented a significant contribution for her.<sup>87</sup> The fact that better-off Friends left money in their wills for the relief of their less fortunate fellows indicates, as do the Quaker meeting minutes, that there was some poverty within the membership of the sect. Among the numerous bequests made by Elizabeth Gates was a sum of twenty shillings to be distributed to poor Friends by the women's meeting at Alton, while Joseph Cranstone left £10 for poor Quakers in Crondall.<sup>88</sup> But there was poverty among conforming parishioners too, a fact recognised by Henry Eggar who, despite being a Quaker, left twenty shillings for the benefit of all the poor inhabitants of Up Nately.<sup>89</sup>

If dissenters were not necessarily of 'mean' social status, there is some evidence to suggest that not all of them were necessarily well-behaved and law-abiding citizens either. The surviving Quaker records indicate that not all Friends necessarily behaved in a morally acceptable fashion. In 1682 John Spier of Odiham had called his mother 'jade and witch'. Almost ten years later he came to a meeting of Friends to acknowledge his former drunkenness and abusive carriage towards his mother, but the meeting was not convinced of his repentance.<sup>90</sup> In 1679 Thomas Bond of Alton had been accused of drunkenness, and in 1698 was again in trouble with Friends for having entertained a 'harlot' and of allowing her illegitimate child to be born in his house. He refused to repent of his actions, and a testimony was issued against him.<sup>91</sup>

In Titchfield, the Presbyterian Roy family were not wholly conformable to the law. Around 1730 one of the family had been poaching game within the manor, which led to the gamekeeper, Edward Markes, confiscating the poacher Roy's gun. But Roy later succeeded in regaining possession of his firearm, and refused to surrender it to Markes, allegedly saying that if Markes attempted to take it, he would stab him with the prong he was holding in his hand. The conflict later escalated to the point where Markes shot Roy's dog. Roy, to be revenged, shot Markes's dog, apparently not realising that the animal was not the gamekeeper's own dog, but one in his care belonging to the Duke of Beaufort. This confrontation resulted in Roy, according to Markes, being fined about twenty-five pounds. Sometime after the court case, Markes got drunk, and 'being in liquor I indiscreetly said

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<sup>87</sup> HRO 24M54/60, fol. 13r.

<sup>88</sup> HRO 1720A/039; HRO 1736A/033.

<sup>89</sup> HRO 1692A/026.

<sup>90</sup> HRO 24M54/34, 37, 41, 73.

<sup>91</sup> HRO 24M54/34, 17, 104-6. It was not explicitly suggested that the child was his, and an alternative reading of this case could be that, as an act of charity, he was supporting a destitute and abandoned young woman.

damn Roy, and damn the presbyterians'.<sup>92</sup> Markes's account mentioned that the poacher Roy had a father; possibly either the father or the son was the Richard Roy who registered his house as a Presbyterian meeting place in 1738.<sup>93</sup>

## Conclusion

The clergy opinion of the social status of dissenters in 1669 had been low, but the examination of the social status of dissenters in the 1660s demonstrated that dissenters were, if somewhat less likely to among the wealthiest inhabitants of a parish, they were also less likely to be among the poorest. Overall the social mix of dissenters was not radically different from the social mix of conformist parishioners in the parish church.

In 1725 the clergy opinion had not, when it was expressed, changed in over fifty-five years, but again it appears from the evidence that in fact Protestant dissent was drawn from a wide range of social and economic backgrounds. It may be that, after 1689, dissent broadened its appeal, both up and down the social scale. There is some evidence for this in the responses to the Evans List where in many congregations the middle-ranking hearers do not command an overall majority as they appear to have done in the 1660s; what is noticeable is the greater proportion of hearers ranked substantial or mean. However, this may be due to the nature of the sources available for the study made of the 1660s. Watts has commented, following his own research, that it is difficult to attempt to generalise about the social and economic status of dissenters.<sup>94</sup> Nevertheless, it still seems that the congregations of dissenters in early eighteenth century Hampshire was, as it had been half a century earlier, not appreciably different from the congregation sitting in the parish church pews.

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<sup>92</sup> HRO 5M53/1101/2 Wriothesley of Titchfield: Manorial administration and miscellaneous: Estate papers and letters to John Lucas, 1733: Letter headed: 'Titchfield 12 February 1733'.

<sup>93</sup> HRO 21M65/F2/1/92 Titchfield, 1738.

<sup>94</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 346.

## CHAPTER SEVEN: CHALLENGES TO DISSENT, 1689 TO 1740

The freedom of worship allowed to dissenters under the Toleration Act consequently gave them freedom to debate openly with their co-religionists and members of other denominations. This debate was not always harmonious. The Caffyn dispute that divided the Baptists, the Wilkinson-Story schism that threatened the unity of Quakers, and the debates surrounding the Trinity that were a source of continued concern for Presbyterians and Independents have all been discussed in the secondary literature.<sup>1</sup> How these disputes affected Hampshire dissenters specifically is something that has been given rather less attention, and is a major justification for the research discussed in this chapter. There is evidence that all these disputes had at least some effect in Hampshire, being discussed within dissenting congregations, and occasionally resulting in actual schism. Furthermore, Hampshire was the setting for the Portsmouth Disputation between Baptists and Presbyterians, an event which attracted considerable publicity at the time, but which has been the subject of less attention by modern historians. The study of these disputes therefore represents an important contribution to the existing literature on provincial dissent in the period immediately following the Toleration Act.

In addition to considering the debates within and between the dissenting denominations, this chapter also considers the impact of the Established Church upon Hampshire's nonconformists. The Toleration Act had not been all that dissenters had hoped for. Though, as discussed below, the influence of successive Bishops of Winchester may have been limited, dissenters were still obliged to support the Established Church through the payment of church rates and tithes. Presbyterian hopes of comprehension within the Church of England had been disappointed, and dissenters still faced disadvantages in civil life. The Act did not remove the requirements of the Test and Corporation Acts, and dissenters faced further attacks on their role in public life with repeated attempts to pass legislation outlawing occasional conformity.<sup>2</sup> They also faced the threat of violence towards their meeting houses, particularly after the trial of the firebrand Anglican Henry Sacheverell in 1710, and during riots around the time of the general election and the Jacobite rebellion in 1715. This project has attempted to determine how far these events affected the majority of Hampshire dissenters, and it appears, despite the attention paid to these events in the secondary literature, that the majority of Hampshire dissenters were relatively unaffected, and those most active in their meetings were not likely to have sought involvement in local

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<sup>1</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 297-303, 371-82.

<sup>2</sup> W. A. Speck, *Reluctant Revolutionaries: Englishmen and the Revolution of 1688* (Oxford, 1989), 187.



politics prior to legislation regulating occasional conformity. Nevertheless, it was not the case that nonconformists in the county remained untouched by any incursions on their civil liberties. Hampshire Quakers felt obliged to instigate a case concerning the legality of Friends' marriages which was to be of national importance to the movement. If the threat of riot earlier in the century passed Hampshire by, there was an isolated case of disturbance outside a newly-built meeting house in 1722.

In the half century following 1689 there is a noticeable increase in the surviving manuscript records of the dissenting churches in Hampshire, particularly from Independent and Presbyterian churches. However, many of these early records are primarily either accounts of church income and expenditure, or lists of church members with births and deaths. The existence of meeting minutes, which might provide more evidence for difficulties facing congregations, are still largely a feature of the Quaker records, rather than other denominations, until later in the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, after the passing of the Toleration Act, the printing presses began to roll, issuing sermons, tracts and papers on spiritual subjects, many of these works from Baptists, Independents and Presbyterians who had hitherto made less use of the printed word than the Quakers. With the expiration of the Licensing Act in 1695, the tide of dissenting literature became a flood, a deluge which the Blasphemy Act of 1697 proved powerless to stop.<sup>3</sup> It is thanks to the survival of these printed materials that modern historians are able to reconstruct such controversies as the Portsmouth Disputation, where manuscript material is lacking.

### **Bishops of Winchester and the strength of the Anglican church**

Though some of the events discussed in this chapter were played out within the dissenting denominations themselves, other events, both those of national importance such as the Sacheverell trial, and those of purely local concern, such as the Petersfield disturbance of 1722, were played out against a background of Anglican interests and influence. But how far successive Bishops of Winchester had a strong influence on the prevalence of dissent in Hampshire is open to debate, whether the bishop was Tory or Whig. For the first part of the period discussed in this chapter, the see of Winchester was occupied by Tory bishops. This could have had an effect on dissent in the diocese, but if a bishop was inactive, any such effect is likely to be limited. The Tory Peter Mews, appointed bishop of Winchester in 1684, continued to hold the see after the Revolution of 1688, but from then on until his death in 1706, 'his effectiveness as a bishop was much reduced' as he became

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<sup>3</sup> G. V. Bennett, 'Conflict in the Church', in Geoffrey Holmes (ed.), *Britain After the Glorious Revolution 1689-1714* (London, 1969), 163-4.

increasingly aged.<sup>4</sup> His successor, Sir Jonathan Trelawny, another Tory, has become famous as one of the 'Seven Bishops' who refused to read James II's Declaration of Indulgence in his diocese. Then Bishop of Bristol, he was later given the bishopric of Exeter in 1689, and in 1706 the bishopric of Winchester, which he held until his death in 1721.<sup>5</sup> M. G. Smith, in his biography of Trelawny, comments that the few records that have survived in the diocesan archives, and the very limited survival of his personal papers, give only occasional glimpses into his work in the diocese.<sup>6</sup> It is known that he endeavoured, successfully, to limit the influence of Calvinist teachings among Anglican clergy on the Channel Islands, a remote corner of the diocese, by a careful choice of deans for the islands. Furthermore, in his visitation charge, he had warned all the clergy in the diocese not to change the liturgy in order to accommodate dissenters.<sup>7</sup> But, as Smith notes, no bishop of the early eighteenth century could change the dissenting influence by personal intervention alone.<sup>8</sup> Trelawny was alarmed by nonconformist efforts to repeal the Acts of Occasional Conformity and Schism, and by campaigns against the Test and Corporation Acts, believing that a Parliament with a majority of dissenters would seek to abolish the Church of England. But he seldom attended Parliament after the Acts of Occasional Conformity and Schism were repealed. He did encourage a bill introduced in 1720 for the suppression of blasphemy and profanity, but that was defeated.<sup>9</sup>

The repeal of the Occasional Conformity and Schism Acts, and the defeat of the bill to suppress blasphemy and profanity, were indicative of the change since Trelawny had been appointed Bishop of Winchester in 1706. Following Anne's death in 1714, under the Hanoverian kings it was the Whig party which were ascendant, both in the Established Church and in Parliament. Trelawny's successor, Charles Trimnell, was a Whig, though his influence on the diocese was limited, since he served for only two years.<sup>10</sup> His replacement, Richard Willis, a Whig who served from 1723 to 1734, might have been supposed to have

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<sup>4</sup> Andrew M. Coleby, 'Mews, Peter (1619–1706)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, January 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18633>, accessed 13 December 2012.

<sup>5</sup> Andrew M. Coleby, 'Trelawny, Sir Jonathan, third baronet (1650–1721)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27689>, accessed 13 December 2012.

<sup>6</sup> M. G. Smith, *Fighting Joshua: a study of the career of Sir Jonathan Trelawny, bart, 1650-1721 Bishop of Bristol, Exeter and Winchester* (Redruth, 1985), [iii], 141.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 141.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 149-50.

<sup>10</sup> W. M. Jacob, 'Trimnell, Charles (bap. 1663, d. 1723)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27742>, accessed 13 December 2012.

more accommodating towards Protestant dissenters than Trelawny. Willis had opposed the Schism Act in 1714, and he was known to have favoured abolishing the sacramental test which excluded dissenters from municipal corporations. But he spent much time pursuing a political career, and may not have been a particularly effective bishop of Winchester, particularly as his later years were dogged by ill-health.<sup>11</sup> He did conduct the episcopal visitation of 1725, as discussed in chapters five and six.<sup>12</sup> However, his administrative aptitude left much to be desired, as did that of his predecessors, and his immediate successor, Benjamin Hoadly. Ward comments that a contemporary note inserted into Hoadly's 'disorderly' act book of the 1740s makes the observation that no proper records had been kept since the death of Bishop Morley in 1684.<sup>13</sup> Hoadly was a well-known Low Churchman, who had been the target of Tory mobs during the Sacheverell trial of 1710, and he had argued in favour of comprehension of moderate dissenters within the Anglican church.<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, his support for nonconformists was not unqualified: he opposed actual schism from the church, arguing that it was better to reform an imperfect church from within, than separate from it.<sup>15</sup> However, much of Hoadly's tenure as bishop – he served the diocese from 1734 until 1761 – falls outside the period covered by this study.

### **Hampshire Quakers and the Wilkinson-Story Schism**

Watts states that the Quakers were unique among seventeenth-century dissenting denominations in their national organisational structure, initiated by George Fox in the 1660s as a response to earlier disruptions within the movement, and given impetus by the continued threat of persecution.<sup>16</sup> But, as Watts says, '[t]he excessive individualism of which the early Quakers were accused by their opponents led, by way of reaction, in the 1670s to what many Friends regarded as excessive authoritarianism'.<sup>17</sup> Two early Quaker missionaries, John Story and John Wilkinson, objected particularly strongly to this attempt at central control. They had other grievances, among which were the condemnatory attitudes adopted towards Friends who sought to avoid persecution, and, most famously, they were

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<sup>11</sup> W. R. Ward, 'Willis, Richard (bap. 1664, d. 1734)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29583>, accessed 13 December 2012.

<sup>12</sup> Ward (ed.), *Parson and Parish*, xxiii-xxviii.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, x.

<sup>14</sup> Geoffrey Holmes, 'The Sacheverell Riots: the crowd and the church in early eighteenth-century London', in Paul Slack (ed.), *Rebellion, Popular Protest and the Social Order in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1984), 242; Geoffrey Holmes, *The Trial of Doctor Sacheverell* (London, 1973), 156-78.

<sup>15</sup> Stephen Taylor, 'Hoadly, Benjamin (1676-1761)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, January 200, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13375>, accessed 13 December 2012.

<sup>16</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 301-2.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

against Fox's decision to set up business meetings for women. Story and Wilkinson established a meeting in Westmoreland in 1675 that was separate from the main body of Friends, but which attracted strong support from Friends in Bristol, Buckinghamshire, Reading (in Berkshire) and Wiltshire. After Story died in 1681, and Wilkinson in 1683, they were succeeded by a new spokesperson for the separatist movement, the Bristol merchant William Rogers.<sup>18</sup> But his attacks on Fox were, according to Watts, of such vitrol that he alienated his fellow-separatists, and the movement gradually disintegrated.<sup>19</sup>

Clare Martin, in her thesis on controversies in post-Restoration Quakerism, discusses the impact of the Wilkinson-Story schism with reference to some local Quaker meeting minutes, but the choice seems to be influenced by the areas identified as affected by the schism in secondary sources, particularly Braithwaite's *Second Period of Quakerism*.<sup>20</sup> Martin notes that separatist meetings were established in Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Westmorland and Wiltshire.<sup>21</sup> However, the shared border between Wiltshire and Hampshire, and the proximity of Reading, the major centre for the dispute in Berkshire, to the settlements of north Hampshire, meant that Hampshire Quakers can hardly have been unaware of the dispute. It was a schism that would affect Hampshire Quakers directly when Alton Monthly Meeting split over the issue. This split, documented both in the meeting minutes and in a printed pamphlet issued by the malcontent Nicholas Ede, is not known to have been discussed in any published secondary source, and its inclusion in this thesis therefore adds to the existing corpus of material on the controversy, contributing towards a more balanced picture of the extent of the schism and its effect in the counties.

News of the schism undoubtedly concerned Hampshire Quakers, for a minute was recorded at the county Quarterly Meeting as early as June 1676 that the meeting had 'weighed and answered' whether or not the practice of holding both men's and women's monthly meetings was 'agreeable to truth'. The Quarterly Meeting concluded that it was

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<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*; Caroline L. Leachman, 'Story, John (d. 1681)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/69125>, accessed 27 July 2012; Caroline L. Leachman, 'Wilkinson, John (fl. 1652–1683)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/69144>, accessed 27 July 2012.

<sup>19</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 302; Catie Gill, 'Rogers, William (d. 1711?)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/69121>, accessed 27 July 2012.

<sup>20</sup> Clare J. L. Martin, 'Controversy and division in post-Restoration Quakerism: The Hat, Wilkinson-Story and Keithian controversies and comparisons with the internal divisions of other seventeenth-century nonconformist groups' unpublished Ph.D. thesis (Open University, 2003), 84-5.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

acceptable, a number of Friends testifying with examples of the benefits of the meetings, and it was urged that such meetings be encouraged.<sup>22</sup>

Despite this agreement, the extent to which separate monthly meetings for men and women were actually established in Hampshire in the seventeenth century is unclear; not all the monthly meeting minutes survive, and the more limited compass of the women's meetings might have contributed to a lower survival rate of meeting minutes than the men's meeting minutes.<sup>23</sup> It is not clear from the Hampshire Quarterly Meeting minutes when a separate women's meeting for the whole county was established, although minutes survive for a women's meeting from 1726.<sup>24</sup> The Quarterly Meeting minutes do record that Portchester Friends set up a separate women's meeting for business in 1681, although no minutes of this meeting have survived.<sup>25</sup> The minutes of the Romsey and Southampton Monthly Meeting record an agreement to set up a women's monthly meeting in 1702, although since the meeting minutes from 1673 to 1690 refer explicitly to the 'men's' meeting, it is possible that a women's meeting had been in existence earlier.<sup>26</sup> However, the minutes of both the men's and women's monthly meetings at Alton survive from 1672 onwards, and provide an insight into how Alton Quakers dealt with what became a long-running controversy concerning separatist meetings.

The controversy centred around Nicholas Ede of Froyle, a longstanding member of Alton Monthly Meeting, and one who had earlier suffered for his faith. In January 1661 he had been arrested at a meeting in Alton, and in 1669 and 1675 he had been imprisoned for refusing to pay tithes.<sup>27</sup> During his imprisonments Froyle Quakers may have met in his house, and, when not in gaol, Ede was an active member of Alton Monthly Meeting.<sup>28</sup> But in 1681 there was a hint of the trouble to come with the disturbing news that a copy of William Rogers's schismatical book was being circulated among members of the Monthly Meeting. Though those Friends who admitted to having read it were united in their

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<sup>22</sup> HRO 24M54/1, 8-9.

<sup>23</sup> The evidence of the minutes of the women's meeting of Alton Monthly Meeting is that they cleared couples for marriage, disbursed some charity to poor Friends and dealt with the occasional disciplinary case, although all these functions were also carried out by the men's meeting. HRO 24M54/48; HRO 24M54/49; HRO 24M54/50 Alton Monthly Meeting: Women's meeting: Minute book, 1716-1773.

<sup>24</sup> HRO 24M54/1; HRO 24M54/2; HRO 24M54/3 Hampshire Quarterly Meeting: Men's meeting: Minute book, 1734-1763; HRO 24M54/11 Hampshire Quarterly Meeting: Women's meeting: Minute book, 1726-1804.

<sup>25</sup> HRO 24M54/1, 53-4.

<sup>26</sup> TNA PRO RG 6/1273, 170.

<sup>27</sup> HRO 24M54/14, fols 9v, 18v, 21v.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 18v; HRO 24M54/33, *passim*.

condemnation of it, and testimonies were also given against it in the county Quarterly Meeting, it is possible that its opinions had some influence among Alton Quakers.<sup>29</sup>

Nevertheless, it was not until the end of 1685 that the trouble really became evident, when Nicholas Ede dramatically recounted to Alton Monthly Meeting a dream he had had involving other Friends prominent in the meeting. According to Ede, the Spirit had told him that these Friends were 'murderers' and 'adders', and the majority of other Friends, 'slow-worms'.<sup>30</sup> After this declaration he continued to attend the Monthly Meetings, but his repeated refusal to recant led to a decision to disown him in March 1686, and it was ordered that Friends should no longer meet at his house, a decision endorsed by Quarterly Meeting.<sup>31</sup> In July 1687 he returned to Monthly Meeting and read a paper to Friends, but the contents of this paper do not appear to have been conciliatory.<sup>32</sup>

Ede's convictions may have in some way been related to the acrimonious dispute in which the large meeting at Reading had become embroiled. Wilkinson and Story had counted a number of leading Reading Friends among their supporters, and the dispute between those who supported that faction, and those who supported George Fox, led to the door to Reading meeting house being locked up in 1685. Not until 1716, after the death of their most prominent member, Thomas Curtis, did the Wilkinson-Story faction unite with the rest of Reading Friends.<sup>33</sup> Alton Monthly Meeting had links with the town. John Kilburne had been arrested at a meeting in Reading in 1684.<sup>34</sup> James Potter, whose Baughurst meeting was, like Froyle meeting, one of the constituent meetings of Alton Monthly Meeting, attached his name to an appendix issued with a paper by William Lamboll, a leading member of Reading meeting and supporter of Fox, published in 1686.<sup>35</sup> It seems highly probable that members of Alton Monthly Meeting would have discussed the issues surrounding the Reading dispute.

Nicholas Ede may have set up a rival meeting at his home in Froyle; certainly a separatist meeting was established within the Alton area. Though the numbers are unknown, the evidence is that Ede was not alone in his dissatisfaction. In September 1687 Richard Freeborn of Mapledurwell came to the Alton Monthly Meeting to announce his

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<sup>29</sup> HRO 24M54/34, 31-3; HRO 24M54/1, 55-6. The work was almost certainly William Rogers, *The Christian-Quaker* (London, 1680).

<sup>30</sup> HRO 24M54/34, 50.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 51-2; HRO 24M54/1, 82-3.

<sup>32</sup> HRO 24M54/34, 56.

<sup>33</sup> Braithwaite, *Second Period of Quakerism*, 471-2.

<sup>34</sup> HRO 24M54/14, fol. 29r.

<sup>35</sup> William Lamboll, *Something in answer to Thomas Curtis and B.C.'s reasons why the meeting-house doors were shut up at Reading* (London?, 1686).

intention of taking Margaret Browne of Headley in marriage, but she wished him to go to what was described as the 'separate meeting' for its consent and for their eventual wedding.<sup>36</sup> Marjory Marshall was condemned in 1691 for her attendance at the separate meeting, but no other disciplinary cases are recorded in connection with the separatist meeting.<sup>37</sup>

There seems to have been some attempt at a conciliatory gesture early in 1691, when an attempt was made to reclaim some benches made for the Froyle meeting when it had still been held officially at Ede's home. These benches were now required for the Alton meeting house, and it was agreed that Ede be paid the sum he said he had incurred for them, and for taking care of them in the meantime.<sup>38</sup> However, Ede refused to return the benches. Subsequently, in February 1693, he was recorded as having published a book against Friends.<sup>39</sup>

Ede's tract indicated his disapproval of the centralised control of the movement as established by George Fox, and of the setting up of separate men's and women's meetings.<sup>40</sup> He also wrote against the Quaker practice of using the informal 'thee' and 'thou' in addressing people, and of refusing to remove one's hat, since, for Ede, the use of the formal 'you' and the putting off of one's hat were basic courtesies.<sup>41</sup> But what may have been his main concern was the issue of the payment of tithes. Ede argued, contrary to established Quaker testimony, that the payment of tithes was permissible, both impropriated tithes which might be the only form of sustenance for widows and orphans, and tithes going directly to a minister, who might be as much a man of God as the Quakers.<sup>42</sup> It was Ede's refusal to pay tithes in 1669 and 1675 which had led to him being imprisoned, and his apparent attempt to avoid a similar situation was part of the case against him following his Monthly Meeting outburst.<sup>43</sup> The Quaker testimony against tithes was well-known, but not all Friends were faithful to it. At the Hampshire Quarterly Meeting in June 1676, Friends had had to be reminded of the necessity of the testimony against tithes, whether paid to priest or impropiator.<sup>44</sup> The issue would surface again in Alton Monthly Meeting in 1707-8, when several Friends were spoken to regarding their complicity

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<sup>36</sup> HRO 24M54/34, 57.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 67.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 67, 76; Nich. Eed, *One Blow at the Feet of the Imposing Formal Quaker's Image* (London, 1693).

<sup>40</sup> Eed, *One Blow at the Feet*, 5-6.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 1-4.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 5-8.

<sup>43</sup> HRO 24M54/14, fol. 18v; HRO 24M54/34, 50.

<sup>44</sup> HRO 24M54/1, 8-9.

in paying tithes, but not all were persuaded of the necessity to refrain from supporting the Established Church ministry.<sup>45</sup>

It is not known for how long the separate Quaker meeting continued, but, if it was being held at Ede's house, its support seems to have declined. At some point Ede gave the benches to his son Daniel, who in February 1695 agreed to return them to Friends, this time for the meeting being held in John Fly's house in Odiham.<sup>46</sup>

Ede's tract demonstrated that same individuality of thought that had characterised the early Quakers, of whom he had been one. This individuality was not a characteristic likely to find itself acquiescent to the centralised control that had become part of the structure of British Quakerism. Nevertheless, some disputes in the movement centred on differences of opinion and personality clashes at a local level that had nothing to do with broader issues of theology and church governance. In 1693 Southampton Quakers lost their main, possibly their only, meeting place in the town after a divisive meeting in which John Normanton, in whose house they gathered, disagreed with a decision to cease giving financial relief to a non-Quaker family. The monthly business meetings were held in Romsey until suitable alternative accommodation was found in Southampton a year later.<sup>47</sup>

### **The Portsmouth Disputation of 1699**

The Wilkinson-Story schism uniquely affected the Quakers, but other debates could cross denominational boundaries. The controversy over whether or not infant baptism was biblically sanctioned became a subject of a public debate between Baptists and Presbyterians in Portsmouth in 1699. Both sides would claim victory after the event, and embark on a vigorous pamphlet war to prove the truth of their arguments, which spread word of the debate far beyond Portsmouth. These published accounts are now the main sources of evidence for the event, since the survival of manuscript material is poor. Baptist material may have been lost in a disastrous fire shortly after Ridoutt's history of Portsmouth Baptists was published, or in the bombing of Portsmouth some fifty years later, which destroyed a number of chapels.<sup>48</sup> A manuscript ledger survives from the Presbyterian church, but some pages have been removed, and there is no evidence from the remainder

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<sup>45</sup> HRO 24M54/34, 143-54.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 84.

<sup>47</sup> TNA PRO RG 6/1273, 115-121.

<sup>48</sup> Ridoutt, *Early Baptist History of Portsmouth*; John Offord, *Churches, Chapels and Places of Worship on Portsea Island* (Southsea, 1989), 82-3, 95-8.



of the book of the debate taking place.<sup>49</sup> For an event so well-documented at the time, it has received less attention in the secondary literature, though it was dealt with at length by Ridoutt, and by Sparkes in his 1961 article in the *Baptist Quarterly*.<sup>50</sup>

Portsmouth and Gosport (on the opposite side of Portsmouth Harbour) both had a long history of dissent. The 1669 conventicle returns listed a large Presbyterian congregation at Gosport, and smaller congregations of Baptists and Quakers at Portsmouth.<sup>51</sup> Gosport's one-time minister, Walter Marshall, was the author of the posthumously-published *The Gospel-Mystery of Sanctification*, a work widely re-printed throughout the eighteenth century.<sup>52</sup> The Gosport church may have been Independent rather than Presbyterian; it would be listed as Independent in the Evans List of 1715-18.<sup>53</sup> Whatever its precise allegiance, it had cordial links with the Presbyterian church that had been established at Portsmouth, where the church ledger records payments for entertaining Mr Earle (or Earl), the Gosport minister.<sup>54</sup>

The Baptists were also in an established position in the area. By 1697 a Particular Baptist congregation under the pastorate of John Webber (or Webbar) had been established at Gosport.<sup>55</sup> In Portsmouth there was a General Baptist church, led by Thomas Bowes, which seems to have been in existence at least since 1677, when Bowes was reported to have been preaching to an illegal conventicle.<sup>56</sup> By the 1690s, his involvement in the movement extended to being an active representative at the annual assemblies held in London of the General Baptist movement. Bowes had been present at the General Assembly in London in 1692, and appears to have supported Matthew Caffyn in the debate at the General Assembly the following year.<sup>57</sup>

Matthew Caffyn, pastor of a General Baptist church at Horsham in Sussex, had been accused at Assembly meetings in the mid-1680s of denying the humanity and divinity of Christ, accusations repeated in the Assembly of 1693. The Assembly condemned such views,

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<sup>49</sup> PHC CHU 82/9/1. The entries are not strictly chronological, but pages 39 to 42, which the evidence of the manuscript suggests could have included entries for the period 1698 to 1700, have been removed at an unknown date.

<sup>50</sup> Ridoutt, *Early Baptist History of Portsmouth*; Sparkes, 'Portsmouth Disputation', 59-75.

<sup>51</sup> LPL MS 639, fol. 262v.

<sup>52</sup> An eleventh edition was printed at Aberdeen in 1788. Walter Marshall, *The Gospel-Mystery of Sanctification*, 11<sup>th</sup> edn (Aberdeen, 1788).

<sup>53</sup> DWL MS 38.4, 103-5.

<sup>54</sup> PHC CHU 82/9/1, 13, 35.

<sup>55</sup> Church of Christ (Gosport, Hampshire), *The Articles of the Faith of the Church of Christ or Congregation meeting at Gosport, near Portsmouth, John Webbar, Pastor* (London, 1697). *Early English Books Online*, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>, accessed 1 October 2012.

<sup>56</sup> Willis and Hoad (eds), *Portsmouth Borough Sessions Papers*, 67.

<sup>57</sup> Whitley (ed.), *Minutes of the General Assembly*, 33, 40, 43, 52.

but acquitted Caffyn of holding them, and when three years later it refused to re-open the question, a minority of churches left to form a rival General Association in 1697. The two groups were not re-united until 1731.<sup>58</sup>

Bowes remained with the Assembly. In 1698 a letter was sent to the General Association signed, on behalf of the General Assembly, by Bowes and another representative, John Amory. The letter informed the break-away Association that one of the Association, William Russel, had been found guilty of immorality, and advised that he should not be permitted to exercise the office of minister.<sup>59</sup> The Association appears to have taken no notice of it, and Russel's name continued to appear in the Association minutes. After the 1698 Assembly, Bowes's name disappears from the record of the Assembly, but it is not known if this was connected in any way with the Disputation.

The Portsmouth Disputation originated with a series of lectures given by Samuel Chandler, Presbyterian minister at Fareham. He had been invited to give a fortnightly lecture on Thursdays at the Portsmouth Presbyterian church, then under the pastorate of Francis Williams.<sup>60</sup> One of these lectures was attended by Thomas Bowes, who had heard that Chandler was to speak on the sacrament of baptism. Bowes wished to dispute the matter with Chandler, but it was agreed to hold a public disputation at a later date, rather than debate the matter there and then.<sup>61</sup>

According to an account printed by the Presbyterians after the disputation, Bowes sought the support of John Webber, the Particular Baptist pastor at Gosport. Webber was disinclined to get involved, but was pressed by William Leddell (or Leddel) and other members of Bowes's congregation. The General Baptists wished to have Matthew Caffyn as their disputant in the debate, but Webber could not accept a man whom he believed denied both the divinity and humanity of Christ.<sup>62</sup> This may have been an issue for some of the General Baptists too, since William Leddell later denied being a supporter of Caffyn.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 298.

<sup>59</sup> Whitley (ed.), *Minutes of the General Assembly*, 55-7.

<sup>60</sup> Samuel Chandler, dissenting minister at Fareham, was baptised 22 September 1661, son of Francis Chandler, ejected minister of Theydon Garnon in Essex. He was not the same Samuel Chandler who attended the Salters' Hall debate in 1719, nor his father. Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 108; John Stephens, 'Chandler, Samuel (1693–1766)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2009, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5109>, accessed 1 October 2012.

<sup>61</sup> Samuel Chandler, William Leigh and Benjamin Robinson, *An Impartial Account of the Portsmouth Disputation*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (London, 1699), [xiii].

<sup>62</sup> Chandler, Leigh and Robinson, *Impartial Account*, [xii], [xiii].

<sup>63</sup> John Sharp, *Truth Prevailing Against the Fiercest Opposition* (London, 1700), 56. *Early English Books Online*, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>, accessed 1 October 2012.

The Gosport Particular Baptists therefore wrote a letter inviting William Russel to be their disputant, though this may not have been sent with Webber's knowledge or approval.<sup>64</sup> It is not known what the Portsmouth General Baptists thought of this invitation, since Bowes had been a co-signatory of the General Association letter accusing Russel of immorality less than a year earlier. It is possible that the issue was resolved, since Russel's published account of the debate would include a dedication to both Thomas Bowes and John Webber, described as 'my much Esteemed and Beloved Brethren in the Lord'.<sup>65</sup> However, there may have been tension between the Baptist congregations, since there was a suggestion that Bowes resented the success Webber was having in Gosport.<sup>66</sup> It was maintained by the Presbyterians that Bowes had disowned a member of his congregation, Isaac Harman, for visiting Webber's church, but this was denied by members of Bowes's church, including Harman himself.<sup>67</sup>

At the time of the disputation, William Russel was a General Baptist minister in London, and a widely-known figure in the movement with a number of publications to his name, some of which concerned issues surrounding baptism.<sup>68</sup> From this point of view, he would have seemed a natural choice to act as disputant for the Baptists in the debate. However, accusations of immorality continued to be levelled against Russel; after the debate an anonymous publication accused him of several offences of drunkenness and sexual assault, though none had been committed during his brief stay in Portsmouth.<sup>69</sup>

The dispute was held on 22 February 1699 in the Portsmouth Presbyterian church. The disputants for the Presbyterians were Samuel Chandler of Fareham and William Leigh of Newport on the Isle of Wight, with Benjamin Robinson of Hungerford in Berkshire as the moderator. Disputants for the Baptists were William Russel with John Williams of East Knoyle in Wiltshire, and John Sharp of Frome in Somerset as the moderator. There were at least three note-takers; Mr Bissel, town clerk of Portsmouth, Samuel Ring, and Mr Smith, a Presbyterian.<sup>70</sup> The debate centred around two points, firstly the validity of infant baptism, and secondly the practice of immersion in water, rather than sprinkling with it, as the proper

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<sup>64</sup> William Russel, *A True Narrative of the Portsmouth Disputation*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn (London, 1699), 2-3. *Early English Books Online*, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>, accessed 1 October 2012; Chandler, Leigh and Robinson, *Impartial Account*, [xiii].

<sup>65</sup> Russel, *True Narrative*, [iii].

<sup>66</sup> Chandler, Leigh and Robinson, *Impartial Account*, [xiv].

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, [xiv], 99-101; Sharp, *Truth Prevailing*, 45-9, 181-4.

<sup>68</sup> Michael Davies, 'Russel, William (d. 1702)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24297>, accessed 1 October 2012.

<sup>69</sup> Uninterested Person, *An Examen, of the Pretences and Character of Mr. William Russel* (London, 1700). *Early English Books Online*, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>, accessed 1 October 2012.

<sup>70</sup> Russel, *True Narrative*, [iv], [xii]; Chandler, Leigh and Robinson, *Impartial Account*, [xii], 68, 72-3.

mode of baptism. The debate began between nine and ten in the morning, and continued until between six and seven in the evening. A large number attended, and the proceedings only ended when one of the disputants declared himself unwell.<sup>71</sup>

The debate went far beyond the day of the disputation itself, and far beyond the immediate environs of Portsmouth and Gosport. Shortly after the debate the lieutenant governor of Portsmouth, Colonel John Gibson, issued an advertisement in a London paper claiming victory for the Presbyterians.<sup>72</sup> Both sides later issued published accounts giving their versions of events, and later revised to answer claims made by the opposition. Samuel Chandler's account was later revised for a second edition, while William Russel's account of the dispute went into at least three editions.<sup>73</sup> The Baptist position on infant baptism and on total immersion was attacked in works including Chandler and Leigh's, *A Dialogue between a Paedo-Baptist and an Anti-Paedo-Baptist*, Thomas Hewerdine's *Some Plain Letters in the Defence of Infant Baptism*, and a pseudonymous work, *The Duckers Duck'd, and Duck'd, and Duck'd Again*.<sup>74</sup> According to Sparkes, Russel defended the Baptist position in 1700 with *Infant Baptism is Will-Worship*.<sup>75</sup> He also issued a response to Hewerdine's work, to which Hewerdine issued a counter-response in 1702, *A Just Vindication in Defence of Some Plain Letters in Defence of Infant-Baptism*.<sup>76</sup> John Williams preached a sermon on baptism to the Baptist congregation at Wallop, which was printed in a collection of writings connected with the dispute issued by John Sharp, moderator for the Baptists.<sup>77</sup> In 1700 an anonymous pamphlet could describe William Russel as 'The late *Portsmouth* Disputant' on the title page, in the expectation that its readers would be aware of the dispute to which it referred.<sup>78</sup>

Russel died in 1702, which may account for the reduction in the number of publications directly concerning the dispute after 1701. But the influence of the Portsmouth Disputation was not so short-lived. Sparkes observed that an account of the dispute was

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<sup>71</sup> Sparkes, 'Portsmouth Disputation', 62, 67.

<sup>72</sup> Reprinted in Russel, *True Narrative*, [xii]; for evidence of Gibson's involvement see Chandler, Leigh and Robinson, *Impartial Account*, 75.

<sup>73</sup> Chandler, Leigh and Robinson, *Impartial Account*; Russel, *True Narrative*.

<sup>74</sup> Samuel Chandler and William Leigh, *A Dialogue between a Paedo-Baptist and an Anti-Paedo-Baptist* (London, 1699); Thomas Hewerdine, *Some plain letters in the defence of infant baptism and of the mode of baptizing* (London, 1699); Trepidantium Malleus, *The Duckers Duck'd, and Duck'd, and Duck'd Again* (London, 1700). All *Early English Books Online*, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>, accessed 1 October 2012.

<sup>75</sup> Sparkes, 'Portsmouth Disputation', 74.

<sup>76</sup> Hewerdine, *Just Vindication*; Davies, 'Russel, William (d. 1702)', *ODNB*.

<sup>77</sup> Sharp, *Truth Prevailing*, 127-78.

<sup>78</sup> Uninterested Person, *Examen*.

published as far away as New York as late as 1713.<sup>79</sup> And the debate on the scriptural validity of infant baptism and immersion continued to be a subject of printed discourse in the years following the disputation.<sup>80</sup>

### **Debates on the Trinity and Salters' Hall**

The Christology of Matthew Caffyn, that had concerned Gosport and Portsmouth Baptists, does not seem to have been, at the time of the Portsmouth Disputation, a concern of the Presbyterian and Independent churches in the area, even if it troubled the Baptists. But debates on the Trinity were becoming a major issue for Presbyterian congregations nationally during the eighteenth century.

Two forms of anti-Trinitarianism were known in eighteenth-century England; Arianism and Socinianism. Both regarded Christ as subordinate to the Father, but whereas the Arians acknowledged the pre-existence of Christ, looked upon him as in some sense divine, and retained the concept of the atonement, the more radical Socinians denied his pre-existence and his divinity, and rejected the concept of the atonement. Arian views began to attract supporters in the early eighteenth century, but Socinian beliefs had claimed adherents in England somewhat earlier, during the Civil Wars and Interregnum.<sup>81</sup>

Anti-Trinitarian views were thus not a recent theological consideration, and the charge of denying the Trinity had occasionally been levelled against radical Protestants.<sup>82</sup> The Act of Toleration had specifically excluded non-Trinitarian worshippers. Accusations of Unitarianism were levelled at dissenters, as when Henry Sacheverell condemned anti-Trinitarian doctrines in his controversial sermon of November 1709. Even prominent Anglican churchmen were not immune from accusations; Gilbert Burnet, bishop of Salisbury, had to defend himself against such charges of heterodoxy.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> Sparkes, 'Portsmouth Disputation', 74. The work is given by Sparkes as J. Morgan, *The Portsmouth Disputation examined* (New York, 1713).

<sup>80</sup> For example, Marius D'Assigny, *An antidote against the pernicious errors of the Anabaptists* (London, 1707); Thomas Emlyn, *Mr. Wall's history of infant-baptism improv'd* (London, 1709). Both *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, <http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/>, accessed 1 October 2012.

<sup>81</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 371-2; Sarah Mortimer, *Reason and Religion in the English Revolution: the challenge of Socinianism* (Cambridge, 2010).

<sup>82</sup> Quakers Miles Halhead and Thomas Salthouse were charged at Plymouth in 1655 with denying the Trinity. Anon, *An Abstract of the Sufferings of the People call'd Quakers: volume I: from the year 1650 to the year 1660* (London, 1733), 57.

<sup>83</sup> Henry Sacheverell, *The Perils of False Brethren, both in Church and State* (London, 1709), 5, 9. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, <http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/>, accessed 5 November 2009; Martin Greig, 'Burnet, Gilbert (1643–1715)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, January 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4061>, accessed 5 Nov 2009.

Thomas Firmin, a wealthy Londoner, financed the publication of a number of anti-Trinitarian tracts in the 1680s and 1690s; his actions may have influenced the exclusion of non-Trinitarians from the 1689 Act. Under the Blasphemy Act of 1698, they became liable to three years' imprisonment for propagating their beliefs. But this failed to halt the growth of the heresy. Clergy with Unitarian views continued to publish.<sup>84</sup> A major debate was occasioned when anti-Trinitarian views were found to be rife among Exeter dissenting clergy, including members of a dissenting academy, in 1716. This led to a major debate in 1719 between three of the four major dissenting groups, Presbyterians, Independents and Baptists, at Salters' Hall in London. But they failed to agree on a joint subscription to Trinitarian doctrine.<sup>85</sup> The majority of Congregationalists and Particular Baptists did subscribe to a Trinitarian doctrine. However, the majority of Presbyterians and General Baptists involved with the debate would not subscribe to an orthodox Trinitarian creed, holding that it was up to each individual to make a decision based on Scriptural words only, and not human doctrines. Though many of these 'non-subscribers' did, in fact, hold Trinitarian beliefs, the debate has been seen as the beginnings of the movement towards Unitarianism.<sup>86</sup>

Thomas Bowes's General Baptist congregation at Portsmouth may have been influenced by Matthew Caffyn's Christology by the time of the Disputation in 1699, but how far other dissenting congregations in Hampshire denied the humanity and divinity of Christ, or otherwise subscribed to Unitarian views, is a matter of conjecture. At Andover, the existence of separate Presbyterian and Congregational meetings in the Evans List of 1715-18 may be evidence of such a difference, since Jacob Ball, Presbyterian minister of Andover, was later accused of holding anti-Trinitarian views.<sup>87</sup> When divisions over Unitarianism did occur, they seem to have happened much later. Fareham Congregationalists divided on the issue in 1810.<sup>88</sup> In 1819, the Presbyterian congregation at Portsmouth also split, with the majority becoming Unitarian.<sup>89</sup>

But, if the divisions were rare or unknown among Hampshire dissenters in the first half of the eighteenth century, it cannot be assumed that they were unaware of the debates taking place. The Salters' Hall debates were reported in the newspapers of the time, and

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<sup>84</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 373.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 371-82.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 375-6.

<sup>87</sup> DWL MS 38.4, 103-5; HRO 42M83/14 Andover United Reformed Church: Printed sermon preached at the funeral of Mrs Martha Bunny of Andover, 1727.

<sup>88</sup> Brand, *There am I in the Midst*, 27.

<sup>89</sup> Offord, *Churches, Chapels and Places of Worship on Portsea Island*, 95.

advertisements placed in the newspapers for publications resulting from the debate.<sup>90</sup>

Numerous pamphlets on the Trinitarian debate were issued by dissenting divines before and after the occasion; one contemporary publication listed sixty-eight pamphlets published between September 1718 and the end of 1719 (old style), plus two further works published as the list went to press. Over twenty of these publications concerned the Salters' Hall debate.<sup>91</sup> A modern estimate is that more than thirty pamphlets were published in the twelve months following the dispute, in addition to the newspaper articles.<sup>92</sup>

Although the debates taking place in Salters' Hall chiefly involved those exercising a ministry in London, a number of the ministers had Hampshire connections. Simon Browne, former Presbyterian minister at Portsmouth, was among the non-subscribers at Salters Hall, though he had left Portsmouth in 1716 to minister to the congregation at Old Jewry in London.<sup>93</sup> Jeremiah Smith, a subscriber, and co-pastor of Silver Street Presbyterian chapel in the capital since 1708, had previously served as pastor at Andover.<sup>94</sup> There was another Hampshire connection with the subscriber Joseph Hill, who had studied for a year at Andover under Samuel Sprint. A further subscriber, Benjamin Robinson of Hungerford in Berkshire, had been moderator for the Presbyterians at the Portsmouth Disputation in 1699.<sup>95</sup>

The debate, being widely reported, was unsurprisingly a subject for discussion in the provinces. Isaac Watts senior described the debate in his correspondence.<sup>96</sup> The interest aroused by the debate is also made clear in the diary of Thomas Story, a travelling Quaker

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<sup>90</sup> Thomas Herne, *An Account of all the Considerable Books and Pamphlets that have been wrote on either Side in the Controversy Concerning the Trinity* (London, 1720), 31. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, <http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/>, accessed 1 October 2012; *Weekly Journal or Saturday's Post*, Saturday, June 27, 1719 (London, 1719), 9. *British Library 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> Century Burney Collection Newspapers*, <http://find.galegroup.com/bncn/>, accessed 24 October 2012.

<sup>91</sup> Herne, *An Account of all the Considerable Books*, 25-36.

<sup>92</sup> David L. Wykes, 'Subscribers and non-subscribers at the Salters' Hall debate (act. 1719)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, May 2012, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/theme/95681>, accessed 1 Oct 2012.

<sup>93</sup> PHC CHU 82/9/1, 180; DWL MS 38.4, 103-5; William H. Trapnell, 'Browne, Simon (c.1680-1732)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3698>, accessed 30 May 2012.

<sup>94</sup> C. W. Sutton, 'Smith, Jeremiah (bap. 1653, d. 1723)', rev. Stephen Wright, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, January 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25829>, accessed 1 October 2012.

<sup>95</sup> David L. Wykes, 'Hill, Joseph (1667-1729)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, January 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13284>, accessed 1 October 2012; Alexander Gordon, 'Robinson, Benjamin (1666-1724)', rev. S. J. Skedd, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23830>, accessed 1 October 2012.

<sup>96</sup> Isaac Watts to Cotton Mather, 11 February 1720 (Benjamin Coleman papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, MS N-1013), quoted in Wykes, 'Subscribers and non-subscribers at the Salters' Hall debate (act. 1719)', *ODNB*.

minister. Having travelled from Fordingbridge into Wiltshire, on 30 January 1720 he recorded that his morning meeting in Salisbury had been attended by Fordingbridge Friends and some townspeople, while the afternoon meeting 'was crowded with all sorts', that is, it was not only attended by Quakers. He went on to comment that 'the controversy at that time being then warm about the Trinity' some people were hoping to hear him expound on it, but he chose to discourse on another matter.<sup>97</sup> What Story's experience demonstrates is that the debate on the Trinity, if it was not yet dividing congregations, was an issue of which people outside the capital were well aware, and which was a source of discussion and debate. As Sarah Mortimer states, 'it was a debate which captured the attention of laymen as well as theologians, and by the end of the seventeenth century it had moved beyond Socinianism and into the everyday discussion of coffee-house society'.<sup>98</sup>

### **Quaker marriages and the case of Cordelia Cowdry**

Cordelia Cowdry, a widow with a young child, had expected to remain on her Millbrook farm after her husband's death under the terms of a copyhold lease for three lives granting that right to widows. But instead she was threatened with eviction, it being claimed that her Quaker marriage was invalid and she thus had no rights regarding the lease. This placed Cordelia Cowdry in a serious position; her dowry appears to have been invested in buying the lease or in improvements to the farm in the expectation that her rights to it were assured, and she now faced losing that money as well as facing the threat of homelessness and the loss of any means of supporting herself and her child.<sup>99</sup>

Quaker marriages, not being contracted before an Established Church minister, were vulnerable to claims of invalidity. They posed a threat to the Established Church's authority, and claims that they were irregular can be seen to reflect concerns relating to the wider issue of clandestine marriages and the threat they represented to the control of inheritance.<sup>100</sup> Although John Punshon states that a case at Nottingham assizes as early as 1661 had recognised Quaker marriages as lawful, the precedent would continue to be challenged.<sup>101</sup> By January 1669 George Fox had taken steps to regulate the marriage procedure of Friends and to ensure that such marriages were properly recorded and

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<sup>97</sup> Thomas Story, *A Journal of the Life of Thomas Story* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1747), 630.

<sup>98</sup> Mortimer, *Reason and Religion*, 241.

<sup>99</sup> FHL MfS/M 15 Meeting for Sufferings minutes (vol. 15), 1700-1702, 5; FHL MfS/M 17 Meeting for Sufferings minutes (vol. 17), 1703-1705, 225, 262-3.

<sup>100</sup> Hoppit, *Land of Liberty?*, 62.

<sup>101</sup> Punshon, *Portrait in Grey*, 102.



witnessed.<sup>102</sup> Cordelia Cowdry's marriage appears to have been conducted according to this procedure; her marriage certificate was to be produced as evidence in her fight against eviction.<sup>103</sup> As this case demonstrates, over a decade after the Act of Toleration the validity of a Quaker marriage could still be called into question. But, given the number of marriages known to have been contracted between Friends, claims that such marriages were invalid are surprisingly uncommon.<sup>104</sup> Cordelia Cowdry's misfortune excepted, no case is known from Hampshire during the period covered by this study, although such cases did occur elsewhere.<sup>105</sup>

Cordelia Embree of Southampton had married Thomas Cowdry of Millbrook in October 1699.<sup>106</sup> Her father, the late Southampton Quaker George Embree, had left her £100 in his will, to be paid on her reaching the age of twenty-one years.<sup>107</sup> It was presumably this sum that had been spent on the copyhold property, though it may have been quite a small farm. Thomas Cowdry's will described him as a 'bucketmaker', and the evidence of the inventory is that most of the goods and chattels, other than household goods, were related to his trade, rather than farming. The marriage did not last long; Thomas Cowdry, 'ill & weak of Body', made his will on 17 December 1699, and was dead by the end of February 1700.<sup>108</sup> Not knowing if Cordelia was pregnant or not, he made provision for a child, should there be one, but his wife was the main beneficiary of his will, and residuary legatee; in view of what happened later it is worth noting that he left her his leases. He also nominated three executors; Cordelia, his brother John Cowdry, and his friend John Futchter, a Romsey clothier.<sup>109</sup>

In January 1701, Meeting for Sufferings in London received a letter from John Futchter concerning the threatened eviction of Cordelia Cowdry and her child.<sup>110</sup> Why Robert Knollys, lord of the manor of Millbrook, wished to evict a young widow with a baby is unclear.<sup>111</sup> But he was known to be ill-disposed towards Quakers. In March 1702 John Olding

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<sup>102</sup> Braithwaite, *Second Period of Quakerism*, 254, 257-8.

<sup>103</sup> FHL MfS/M 16 Meeting for Sufferings minutes (vol. 16), 1702-1703, 3.

<sup>104</sup> Estimated figures for Quaker marriages are: 1670-79, 2,820; 1680-89, 2,598; 1690-99, 2,193; 1700-09, 2,221; 1710-19, 1,930. Braithwaite, *Second Period of Quakerism*, 458.

<sup>105</sup> FHL MfS/M 17, 70.

<sup>106</sup> HRO 24M54/25/2.

<sup>107</sup> HRO 1679B/15.

<sup>108</sup> HRO 1700A/11 Will and inventory of Thomas Cowdry (Cowdrey) of Millbrook, Hampshire, bucketmaker. 1700.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>110</sup> FHL MfS/M 15, 5. The child was a daughter, see TNA PRO RG 6/1273, 206.

<sup>111</sup> The manor court records for Nursling and Millbrook do not survive for the dates relating to the Cowdry case, neither do any related papers in the Knollys family archive. HRO 1M44 Knollys and Banbury families; HRO 23M58 Barker Mill of Mottisfont, Nursling, etc.

testified to the Hampshire Quarterly Meeting that Knollys had stated in his hearing that the Quakers were all rogues and whores since they were not lawfully married; it was also reported that on another occasion Knollys reputedly said that he could hang the Quakers for four shillings the dozen.<sup>112</sup>

By the time John Olding made his report, Knollys was dead, killed in a freak accident when the breech pin of a gun flew into his head. A comment was made on this in the Quarterly Meeting minutes, 'his death being veary remarkable upon so wicked an envious rude person'.<sup>113</sup> The eviction proceedings had been halted upon his death, but this was only a brief respite. Knollys was dead by July 1701, but by November the same year, Meeting for Sufferings in London had been informed that a case against the widow had been drawn up.<sup>114</sup>

The case against her was not resolved locally, instead, it was referred to the Court of Common Pleas, sitting in London. Hampshire Quarterly Meeting, though concerned for the widow and her child, felt the costs should be underwritten by Meeting for Sufferings as the case was a matter of public concern.<sup>115</sup> The costs were expected to be high; Cordelia Cowdry wrote to Meeting for Sufferings in June 1701 that she was happy to refer the management of her case to Friends, but could not bear the costs, especially if she lost the land.<sup>116</sup> John Futchter, who was particularly active in the case, spent almost £37 of his own money before he was reimbursed by Meeting for Sufferings.<sup>117</sup>

Meeting for Sufferings was established by 1676 to collect details of the sufferings of Friends on account of their faith, and to make representations to the authorities on their behalf. Meeting in London, by the early eighteenth century it functioned as the central business meeting for Friends. It was taking an active part in the case as early as February 1701, when an attorney was employed to defend the ejection.<sup>118</sup> In January 1704, counsel acting for Cordelia Cowdry was hopeful of a positive outcome, telling representatives from Meeting for Sufferings that the Quakers were now a 'considerable people' and that their

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<sup>112</sup> HRO 24M54/2, fol. 29v. Knollys's first name is given as Robert in the minutes of Meeting for Sufferings. FHL MfS/M 15, 123. He is referred to as Knowles in the Quaker sources, but the *Victoria County History* gives his surname as Knollys. According to the *Victoria County History* the manor of Millbrook was by this time following the same line of descent as the neighbouring manor of Nursling. Robert Knollys inherited both manors on the death of his father Thomas in 1679. When he died in 1701 he was succeeded by his son Henry. A. A. Locke and F. Brough, 'Millbrook', in Page (ed.), *Victoria County History of Hampshire*, vol. 3 (1908), 428-9; Locke and Brough, 'Nursling', in *ibid.*, 434-5.

<sup>113</sup> HRO 24M54/2, fol. 29v.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 24v, FHL MfS/M 15, 234.

<sup>115</sup> HRO 24M54/2, fol. 39v.

<sup>116</sup> FHL MfS/M 15, 104.

<sup>117</sup> FHL MfS/M 17, 1.

<sup>118</sup> FHL MfS/M 15, 14.

marriages were regular. He hoped the judges would not be too hasty in giving judgement against her.<sup>119</sup>

But the case was, in reality, far from resolved. By April 1704, it was suggested that Cordelia Cowdry come up to London herself, with her child, for the start of the next law term. Two Quakers, Thomas Lower and Theodore Eccleston, were particularly concerned in the case, the two men frequently consulting with lawyers and attending court hearings, but a number of other Friends were involved as the case ground on. The investment in time and money was considerable; at one point Eccleston and Lower were paid £150 on account of the case. Cordelia Cowdry did, as suggested, come up to London with her child, and ended up staying for nine months. When some affidavits were required urgently, Meeting for Sufferings directed John Futch, then in London, to go and meet the coach to receive them. The documents did not arrive, and a special messenger had to be dispatched, at midnight, to collect them.<sup>120</sup>

The time and money invested by Friends in the case is clear testimony to how serious the implications of the case were for the legality of Quaker marriages. It was not only about securing a favourable outcome for one provincial widow and her child, but of creating a legal precedent establishing the validity of marriages conducted among all Friends throughout the country. The outcome was not, however, as decisive as Friends would have wished. Shortly before a third, and final, hearing before the Court of Common Pleas, an offer was made by the plaintiff's solicitor of a settlement which would involve putting the child's life on the copyhold lease. It still seems to have been uncertain how judgement would go in the case, and Friends were advised to accept the offer. Mindful of the need to make as good an end to the case as they could for Cordelia Cowdry and her child, Lower and Eccleston accepted on her behalf, and case against her in the Court of Common Pleas was formally discontinued in June 1705.<sup>121</sup>

Cordelia Cowdry retained the lease on her farm, through her daughter, but the legal position on Quaker marriages remained unclear. What might have appeared as a minor civil dispute in the provinces had become a major issue for Quakers nationally, and the lack of a decisive verdict favourable to Friends had a strong impact on Quaker policy regarding marriage, and on lobbying by Friends to establish Quaker marriages as valid in law. In February 1705, Meeting for Sufferings discussed a possible approach to Queen Anne by women Friends concerning marriage. In June 1705, the Meeting agreed to write to the

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<sup>119</sup> FHL MfS/M 16, 332.

<sup>120</sup> FHL MfS/M 17, 59, 63, 205, 255.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, 114, 117, 121, 124-5, 222-225, 259.

Queen, respectfully asking her, in her instructions to judges before they set out on their circuits, to express her dislike of any precedent being made against the validity of Quaker marriages, although it is not certain that the meeting actually did so. A paper concerning marriage was to be sent out to the Quarterly Meetings, and it was agreed that a collection of legal precedents concerning marriage should be published.<sup>122</sup> In the same year, Yearly Meeting, the annual gathering in London of representatives from London and the counties, advised Friends to make representations to Members of Parliament concerning Friends' marriages.<sup>123</sup> Two years later, in May 1707, Quakers were still concerned with the need to obtain formal recognition of the marriage of Friends in law.<sup>124</sup> But progress on the issue was slow. Lobbying was still taking place in 1753, when Meeting for Sufferings noted that a bill concerning marriage had been introduced into Parliament, and appointed some Friends to ensure that it would not prove prejudicial to Quakers. The bill, introduced by Lord Hardwicke largely to prevent clandestine marriages, passed into law later that year, and required marriages to be celebrated in the parish church, but Quakers, along with Jews, were exempt from the provisions of the new Marriage Act, and their marriage ceremonies thus implicitly recognised in law.<sup>125</sup>

### **Anglican attacks on dissenters**

The Toleration Act granted liberty of worship to Protestant Trinitarians, but it did not remove all the disadvantages faced by dissenters. As the Quakers found, the validity of their marriages could still be called into doubt. In 1688, Presbyterians had hoped for an accommodation of their beliefs within the Church of England, but the Comprehension Bill that would have made this possible was defeated, a failure which Watts says destroyed hopes of unity with the Church of England.<sup>126</sup> But hopes may have remained with some dissenters that such an arrangement might still be possible. Samuel Chandler, in a 1691 preface to two sermons preached in Hampshire, expressed his hopes that the unity achieved between the Presbyterians and Congregationalists would lead to a similar connection with the Anglican church.<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, 174, 239, 240.

<sup>123</sup> FHL Yearly Meeting minutes (vol. 3), 1702-1708, 206.

<sup>124</sup> FHL MfS/M 18 Meeting for Sufferings minutes (vol. 18), 1705-1707, 268.

<sup>125</sup> Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800*, rev. edn (Harmondsworth, 1979), 32; Edward H. Milligan, *Quaker Marriage* (Kendal, 1994), 16-17.

<sup>126</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 290.

<sup>127</sup> Samuel Chandler, *The Country's Concurrence* (London, 1691), sig. A2-A4. *Early English Books Online*, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>, accessed 1 October 2012.

The Toleration Act did not repeal the Test and Corporation Acts, and so did not remove the requirement to take the Anglican sacrament of holy communion annually in order to qualify for public office. Furthermore, after the accession of Queen Anne in 1702, Anglican High Church influence increased in national politics.<sup>128</sup> A key issue was the practice of occasional conformity, whereby dissenters took communion at their parish church once a year to qualify themselves for public office holding. The practice was not observed by all dissenters, in particular by Baptists, Quakers and many Independents, but most Presbyterians and some Independents were prepared to receive communion, and there were repeated attempts to legislate against it. Although High Church bishops and clergymen viewed the practice as hypocritical, those dissenters who practised occasional conformity did not necessarily see it as a calculated act, but as a genuine desire to share communion with fellow Christians. Nor did all Anglicans object to the practice; in 1704 Thomas Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury, spoke in favour of allowing it.<sup>129</sup>

The perceived challenge to High Church authority reached a climax with the Sacheverell affair. This began on 5 November 1709, when the High Church clergyman Henry Sacheverell preached an inflammatory sermon before the City of London Corporation in St Paul's Cathedral. According to Gilbert Burnet, he poured out scorn on dissenters, heavily criticised the religious settlement of the 'Glorious Revolution', and claimed the Established Church was in the gravest danger.<sup>130</sup> He did not hesitate to condemn those who he saw as responsible for tolerating or even actively promulgating beliefs which he believed were likely to lead to bloody revolution.<sup>131</sup>

Sacheverell had preached a similar sermon four years earlier, but the reason for the impact of this one was its publication; it quickly sold an estimated 100,000 copies. Sales were no doubt helped by the Whig government's decision to impeach Sacheverell. His trial, in February and March 1710, attracted huge crowds. He was found guilty, but his punishment was slight; he was banned from preaching for three years and copies of his sermons were to be burned. The case was hailed as a victory by the High Church faction, and Sacheverell's journey shortly afterwards to his new appointment to a lucrative living in

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<sup>128</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 265-6.

<sup>129</sup> Edward Carpenter, 'Toleration and Establishment 2: Studies in a Relationship', in Nuttall and Chadwick (eds), *From Uniformity to Unity*, 295.

<sup>130</sup> G. Burnet, *History of His Own Time* (London, 1724), quoted in W. Gibson (ed.), *Religion and Society in England and Wales, 1689-1800* (London, 1998), 71-5.

<sup>131</sup> Sacheverell, *Perils of False Brethren*, 9.

Shropshire became something of a victory procession, involving ten civic receptions en route.<sup>132</sup>

Sacheverell's trial was marked by a series of riots in cathedral cities and market towns throughout England, the most serious of these was being in London on the evening of 1 March 1710.<sup>133</sup> But disturbances continued throughout the country as news reached the provinces. In Sherborne in Dorset a mob threatened to burn down the dissenting meeting houses, and fired at the houses of several dissenters, including that of the Presbyterian minister John England. In Salisbury, there was a bonfire in the High Street round which Sacheverell's health was drunk. The elections that autumn saw Sacheverell rioters rampaging around hustings in many parts of the country.<sup>134</sup>

But there is no evidence that Sacheverell came into Hampshire during his triumphal procession.<sup>135</sup> How far the rioting affected Hampshire dissenters directly is unknown. A search of surviving meeting minutes found no mention of any damage to meeting houses, and the surviving court records were not found to contain any indictments for riot or damage to a meeting house. The event did not entirely pass by un-noticed in the county, however. A number of loyal addresses were sent to the Queen after the trial, including one from the grand jury and justices present at the Hampshire assizes of Easter 1710. This expressed the 'greatest Surprise' that the Church of England could be in danger under her administration, and assured her of their endeavours to promote peace and punish those who would foment divisions among the people. This seems to relate more to Jacobites and non-jurors than Protestant nonconformists as a group.<sup>136</sup>

In the wake of the trial, Simon Browne, dissenting minister at Portsmouth, published a refutation of a charge of schism levelled against dissenters by the Anglican clergyman John Norris.<sup>137</sup> Norris's charge of schism had first been published in 1691, with a second edition

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<sup>132</sup> Hoppit, *Land of Liberty?*, 234.

<sup>133</sup> Holmes, 'Sacheverell Riots', 242; Holmes, *Trial of Doctor Sacheverell*, 156-78.

<sup>134</sup> Holmes, *Trial of Doctor Sacheverell*, 232-5.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, 233-55.

<sup>136</sup> Anon, *A Collection of the Addresses Which have been Presented to the Queen, since the Impeachment of the Reverend Dr. Henry Sacheverell* (London, 1710), 12. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, <http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/>, accessed 1 October 2012.

<sup>137</sup> Simon Browne, *The Charge of Schism against Dissenters, discharg'd: in reply to a tract of the Reverend Mr. Norris on this subject* (London, 1710). *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, <http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/>, accessed 30 May 2012. Browne footnotes a reference to the trial on page 3. Norris was the rector of Bemerton, near Salisbury, from 1692 until his death in 1712. Richard Acworth, 'Norris, John (1657-1712)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2009, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20277>, accessed 30 May 2012.

published in 1703.<sup>138</sup> That Browne issued a response to this work almost twenty years after its first publication suggests that it was still popular. It seems likely, though Browne does not mention Portsmouth in his refutation, that in the aftermath of Sacheverell's trial, Norris's views were causing comment and debate in the town, as they were elsewhere. Indeed, Holmes notes a fashion for children being christened 'Sacheverell', and at least one example is known from Hampshire, when the infant son of John and Margaret Hammond was baptised as Richard Sacheverell at West Worldham on 26 November 1711.<sup>139</sup>

The October 1710 elections produced a resounding victory for the Tory party and their High Church supporters, who set about introducing legislation to curb the dissenting threat and the practice of occasional conformity. In 1711 legislation was passed regulating the practice of occasional conformity; communion now had to be taken not once, but at least three times a year. Furthermore, a penalty of £40 was to be imposed on any officeholder who was found to be attending a dissenting meeting.<sup>140</sup> In 1712 the General Naturalization Act of 1709 was repealed, closing England as a place of refuge for persecuted foreign Protestants. In 1714 the Schism Act was passed in an attempt to close dissenting academies. Nevertheless, despite these attacks on the civil rights of dissenters, the Toleration Act remained untouched, and on Anne's death in 1714, the High Church influence in politics began to decline. In 1719, both the Schism and Occasional Conformity Acts were repealed.<sup>141</sup>

Watts states that the 1711 Act for Preventing Occasional Conformity did not have the desired effect. Dissenters chose to abstain from a public profession of their nonconformist beliefs, such as Sir John Abney, one-time Lord Mayor of London, who, according to Watts, 'held on to both his offices and his convictions by holding private services in his own home, conducted by his friend Isaac Watts'.<sup>142</sup>

It was also the case that the Act would not have had much impact on the majority of dissenters. Women did not act as civic officials. Baptists and Quakers, and many Independents, who would not have taken communion, were already disqualified. Even among the Presbyterians, and those Independents who were prepared to take communion

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<sup>138</sup> John Norris, *The Charge of Schism Continued* (London, 1691). *Early English Books Online*, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>, accessed 17 July 2012; John Norris, *The Charge of Schism Continued*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (London, 1703). *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, <http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/>, accessed 17 July 2012.

<sup>139</sup> HRO 29M79/PR1, fol. 6r; Holmes, *Trial of Doctor Sacheverell*, 240-1, 246.

<sup>140</sup> Mark Knights, 'Occasional conformity and the representation of dissent: hypocrisy, sincerity, moderation and zeal', *Parliamentary History*, vol. 24, issue 1 (March 2005), 44; Hoppit, *Land of Liberty?*, 234-5.

<sup>141</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 265-6; Hoppit, *Land of Liberty?*, 234-5.

<sup>142</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 265-6.

in an Anglican church, there were those who were ineligible for office since they did not meet the required property or other qualification necessary, or who simply declined to take an active part in civic life.

However, it was also the case that those who attended dissenting meetings were not necessarily full members, but might be 'hearers', and as such less committed to their faith, and more likely to comply with the terms of the Act, if, that is, they had any inclination to undertake office. The Evans List of 1715-18 recorded that many congregations included those of 'substantial' means, and eligible to vote, but it is not clear if these were 'hearers' or full members, or if they took an active part in political life.<sup>143</sup> The distinction between hearers and full members is made explicit in a later list of deaths recorded by the Above Bar Independent church in Southampton; eighty deaths were recorded in the years 1726-40, but only thirty-seven of these were of members.<sup>144</sup> Similarly, the Evans List gives a figure of 270 hearers for the dissenting church at Basingstoke, but the church's covenant, drawn up in March 1711, contains the names of forty-six members.<sup>145</sup>

In some corporations elsewhere in the country, the Whig-dissenting influence on local politics had become strong, and counter attempts made by Anglican Tories to control it.<sup>146</sup> But, as Gibson notes, the boundaries of 'Whig' and 'Tory' groups were permeable; Thomas Jervoise, a Whig candidate for the county of Hampshire in 1698 'was reputed to be toasting confusion to the Dissenters to win over Anglican votes'.<sup>147</sup>

Hampshire dissenters may have been serving on corporations in the county, and that the Act could, potentially, have affected some of them, if only a very small proportion of the whole number of dissenters. The difficulty with ascertaining the effect of the 1711 Act on Hampshire dissenters is in identifying those who were nonconformists. In the Restoration, dissenters can be identified through appearances in the court records, but by 1711, many of those who could be so identified were dead. By 1711 any attempt to identify dissenters in Hampshire has to rely on two main sources; the membership lists, where they exist, of the dissenting churches, and the names of those who appear on the meeting house certificates for the county. These sources have the advantage of identifying those who were willing to be seen as members of a dissenting church, but do have the disadvantage that

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<sup>143</sup> DWL MS 38.4, 103-5.

<sup>144</sup> SAS D/ABC/1/2 Above Bar Church book, 1726-1798, fols 29v-32r.

<sup>145</sup> DWL MS 38.4, 103-5; LSURC Church meeting minutes, 1710-1890, fols 26r-26v.

<sup>146</sup> William Gibson, 'Dissenters, Anglicans and Elections after the Toleration Act', in Cornwall and Gibson (eds), *Religion, Politics and Dissent*, 133-5.

<sup>147</sup> Gibson, 'Dissenters, Anglicans and Elections', in Cornwall and Gibson (eds), *Religion, Politics and Dissent*, 141.



they only list active participants in the life of the congregation, and not those who were part of the congregation, but who were 'hearers' who otherwise took no active part in it.

Nevertheless, since it was possible that the Act could have affected Hampshire dissenters, to ascertain this a search was made of the sacrament certificates surviving in the county quarter sessions records, and an attempt made to match the names of those issued with such a certificate between 1700 and 1720 with the names of those church members listed on those meeting house certificates surviving for the same period.<sup>148</sup> But there was only one possible match. The house of Edward Hooker senior at Easton was licensed as a meeting place in 1713, and sacrament certificates survive for an Edward Hooker of Easton in 1717 and 1718, but it is not certain that this was the same man, since the signature on the 1713 licence application appears to be of someone very frail.<sup>149</sup>

It is possible that many active dissenters simply lacked the inclination, or the resources, to be involved in civic life. In Basingstoke, none of the names of those men who signed the church covenant in March 1711 appear in the town's list of officials and burgesses at that time. Two names on the list of those signing the covenant, John Spencer and Edward Cowderey, do appear in the list of burgesses sworn in 1715, but this does not appear to have been followed immediately afterwards by active involvement in civic life by either man.<sup>150</sup>

In any case, those who were active in their local dissenting meeting may have seen that as the focus of their service, rather than any involvement in more secular matters. At the county quarter sessions held at Epiphany 1693, Humphrey Weaver, the dissenting minister at Crondall, was indicted for failing to serve as a tithingman; he was ordered to do so, or provide a suitable substitute, within ten days, or face charges of contempt of court.<sup>151</sup> In Southampton Isaac Watts senior, who had refused office in the past, was chosen to be a constable in 1703, but excused on payment of five guineas.<sup>152</sup>

There was a further attack on dissent in 1714, when the Schism Act provided a penalty of three months in prison for anyone who practised as a teacher while also attending a dissenting meeting. According to Watts, the Act 'struck at the very heart of

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<sup>148</sup> Q25/2 Hampshire Quarter Sessions: Sacrament Certificates. See tables 16a-b.

<sup>149</sup> HRO 21M65/F2/1/21 Easton, 26 September 1713; HRO Q25/2/19/26 Hampshire Quarter Sessions: Sacrament certificates: Sacrament certificate for Edward Hooker, of Easton parish, 1717; HRO Q25/2/20/21 Hampshire Quarter Sessions: Sacrament certificates: Sacrament certificate for Edward Hooker of Easton, esq, of St Lawrence, Winchester parish, 1718.

<sup>150</sup> HRO 148M71/1/2/1/1 Basingstoke Borough: Administrative documents: Town officials: Elections and oaths of officials: Book recording elections of bailiffs, mayors, aldermen and burgesses, 1622-1720, fol. 19r; LSURC Church meeting minutes, 1710-1890, fols 26r-26v.

<sup>151</sup> HRO Q1/7, 87.

<sup>152</sup> Stainer, *History of the Above Bar Congregational Church*, 30.

Presbyterianism in particular by seeking to destroy its hopes of perpetuating an educated ministry'.<sup>153</sup> It would not only affect the elite dissenting academies; one commentator conjured up the image of a poor Presbyterian schoolmistress forced before an angry magistrate for the crime of teaching little children the alphabet.<sup>154</sup> But on the day the Act was due to come into force, Queen Anne died, and accession of George I saw the Whigs ascendant; the Schism Act was repealed in 1719.<sup>155</sup>

It remains conjecture how far the Schism Act had an effect on dissenting education. Certainly its effect seems to have been negligible in Hampshire; no prosecutions are recorded in the Hampshire quarter sessions.<sup>156</sup> This may be because the number of dissenting schools in Hampshire was not large. The Dissenting Academies Online project lists only one Hampshire-based educational establishment on its database for the period covered by this study, Samuel Tomlyns's private school at Andover, which is known from the record of a grant of £10 per annum given to a student from Alton, Joseph Standen, during 1691-3.<sup>157</sup> However, an examination of the Common Fund minutes does raise the question of whether or not Samuel Tomlyns had an actual school at Andover as the Dissenting Academies Online project suggests. Samuel Tomlyns and his son John, also a minister, seem to have sponsored Standen's application to the Fund in February 1691, but in the minutes of the following meeting in March 1691 one of the Fund deputies, Matthew Mead, was charged with finding Standen a tutor. Subsequent entries recorded payments of £5 every six months to the young man, so he was presumably undergoing education or training for the ministry, but where and with whom was not made explicit.<sup>158</sup>

Nevertheless, an examination of local sources not used by the Dissenting Academies Online project shows that schools were kept by dissenters in Hampshire even during the

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<sup>153</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 266.

<sup>154</sup> 'A Letter to a Member of Parliament, London, May 28. 1714', in Sir Richard Steele, *The Political Writings of Sir Richard Steele* (London, 1715), 198. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, <http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/>, accessed 30 May 2012.

<sup>155</sup> David L. Wykes, 'Religious Dissent, the Church, and the Repeal of the Occasional Conformity and Schism Acts, 1714-19', in Cornwall and Gibson (eds), *Religion, Politics and Dissent*, 165-83; Watts, *Dissenters*, 267. The Occasional Conformity Act was also repealed.

<sup>156</sup> HRO Q1/8 Hampshire Quarter Sessions: Order book, 1699-1716; HRO Q1/9; HRO Q3/3; HRO Q3/4 Hampshire Quarter Sessions: Minute book, 1716-1721.

<sup>157</sup> Dissenting Academies Online: Database and Encyclopedia: [http://dissacad.english.qmul.ac.uk/new\\_dissacad/phpfiles/](http://dissacad.english.qmul.ac.uk/new_dissacad/phpfiles/), accessed 12 September 2012; Gordon (ed.), *Freedom After Ejection*, 369. Samuel Tomlyns had been ejected from the Hampshire parish of Crawley in 1662; he died in 1700. Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 488-9. The renowned academy at Gosport would not be established until 1777, according to the Dissenting Academies Online project, although the Surman Index entry suggests it may have been 1780. See <http://surman.english.qmul.ac.uk/>, accessed 12 September 2012.

<sup>158</sup> DWL MIC 82, vol.1, 24, 30, 44, 114.

Restoration persecutions. These seem to have been on a small scale. The earliest known school discovered during research for this project was the Quaker school in Basingstoke recorded in 1673.<sup>159</sup> Samuel Sprint, ejected from Tidworth but by 1678 recorded as living in Goodworth Clatford (or Upper Clatford, the court records are not consistent), was cited in the consistory court that year for teaching. In his defence he stated that he taught a few boys for charity, but agreed to teach no more.<sup>160</sup> In Southampton Isaac Watts senior is known to have kept a school, for which offence he was prosecuted in 1683, as was the Quaker William Jennings.<sup>161</sup>

It therefore seems likely, given this activity prior to 1689, that other establishments existed after 1689, but they may have been small establishments, and their existence fleeting. In addition to Samuel Tomlyn's possible activities as a tutor in Andover, it is conceivable that other Presbyterian and Independent ministers were acting as schoolteachers in Hampshire, but none are mentioned as doing so in a review of dissenting ministers made between 1690 and 1692.<sup>162</sup>

It is known that the Quakers were keeping a school at Ringwood by 1701 and another establishment, possibly at Alton, at the same time. The pupils were taught reading, writing, and accounting.<sup>163</sup> Hampshire representatives to Yearly Meeting reported the existence of two schools in the county in 1710, though the locations were unspecified.<sup>164</sup> As neither school was mentioned in the report to Yearly Meeting in 1713, it is not known if they became victims of the Schism Act or not.<sup>165</sup> Whatever the impact of the Act, Quakers in the county were certainly educating their young people after the Act's repeal. In February 1720 William Daus's offer to teach school in Alton was accepted by Alton Friends, and in 1736 the occupation of Joseph Morris of Ringwood was given as 'schoolmaster'.<sup>166</sup> Nevertheless, while there was some provision for the children of Hampshire dissenters to be educated by those of their own faith, it seems probable that the majority who received an education outside the home were either educated in small schools that have gone unrecorded, or attended schools not run by dissenters.

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<sup>159</sup> HRO 202M85/3/64.

<sup>160</sup> He was also cited for holding a conventicle. HRO 21M65/C1/45 Diocese of Winchester: Consistory Court: Office act book 1678-1683, fols 28r, 41r, 63r; Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 456-7.

<sup>161</sup> SAS SC9/1/31; HRO 24M54/14, fol. 26r.

<sup>162</sup> Gordon (ed.), *Freedom After Ejection*, 100-2, 147.

<sup>163</sup> FHL Yearly Meeting minutes (vol. 2), 1694-1701, 327; FHL Yearly Meeting minutes (vol. 3), 1702-1708, 86.

<sup>164</sup> FHL Yearly Meeting minutes (vol. 4), 1709-1713, 113.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*, 343.

<sup>166</sup> HRO 24M54/34, 207, 371.

The years 1714-15 saw a number of civil disturbances, in the course of which a number of meeting houses were damaged, and damage inflicted on property owned by dissenters, by crowds supportive of the High Church and Tories. A record of the damages suffered in 1715 was made at the back of the Evans List manuscript. This recorded extensive damage to meeting houses, and to private homes and personal property, in Denbighshire, Lancashire, Montgomeryshire, Oxfordshire, Shropshire, Staffordshire and Worcestershire, but no other counties.<sup>167</sup> There were disturbances and acts of violence elsewhere, but Hampshire dissenters appear to have escaped unscathed.<sup>168</sup>

But almost seven years later there was to be an apparently isolated case of a disturbance outside a meeting house, at Petersfield in 1722. Though it was recorded by Joseph Hunter in his manuscript history of dissent, it appears to have been overlooked by modern historians.<sup>169</sup>

There had been a Presbyterian meeting in the town at least since 1690, when Mr Fowles of Southwick was allowed £6 annually from the Common Fund on condition that he continue preaching at Petersfield. In January 1691 the Fund agreed to allow £8 towards the propagation of the Gospel at Petersfield provided the congregation find a minister prepared to settle there. This the congregation seems to have done, since subsequent minutes record further payments.<sup>170</sup> The Evans List later recorded a meeting with William Henry as its pastor.<sup>171</sup> A new meeting house was opened in 1722, and John Norman, then the Presbyterian minister at Portsmouth, invited to preach the sermon at the opening celebrations on 13 February.

Norman was a noted minister; his work *Lay-Nonconformity Justified* would go into at least eight editions between 1716 and 1736.<sup>172</sup> But his celebrity status did not prevent the event being disturbed by 'a very great Mob', which, it was claimed by the *Daily Journal* newssheet, made such a noise 'that it was impossible for the People to receive any Edification'. Indeed, the mob apparently debated setting fire to the meeting house, a

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<sup>167</sup> DWL MS 38.4, 150.

<sup>168</sup> Miller, *Cities Divided*, 280-8; Jonathan Oates, *Seditious Words and Loyal Oaths: Hampshire and the Jacobite threat* (Hampshire Papers 28), ([Winchester], 2007), 2, 4.

<sup>169</sup> BL Add MS 24484 *Britannia Puritanica*, by Joseph Hunter, c. 1820, 651.

<sup>170</sup> DWL MIC 82, vol. 1, 14-15, 22, 44, 114.

<sup>171</sup> DWL MS 38.4, 103-5.

<sup>172</sup> John Norman, *Lay-Nonconformity Justified* (London, 1716); John Norman, *Lay-Nonconformity Justified*, 8<sup>th</sup> edn, (London, 1736). *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, <http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/>, accessed 24 October 2012.

suggestion which seems to have been put to a democratic vote, and only narrowly defeated.<sup>173</sup>

John Norman's own account of the event, published in the preface to the printed version of the sermon he had preached on that day, was rather more restrained than the account printed in the *Daily Journal*. He did not mention any incendiary designs on the part of the crowd, but it is clear there was a prolonged disturbance outside the meeting house, and that the ministers and members of the congregation were insulted as they left.<sup>174</sup> The problem, according to the *Daily Journal* report, was that the meeting house, 'was an Innovation too great for them to bear', there never having been a meeting house in the town before.<sup>175</sup> That the meeting house was newly-established was not in doubt, but, as the Common Fund minutes indicated, there had been a dissenting congregation with its own minister in the town for at least thirty years.<sup>176</sup> Perhaps it was not 'innovation' the Anglicans feared but the growth of the dissenting churches so physically demonstrated by the presence of the meeting house.

Norman had preached that, despite differences in forms of worship and church governance, if men and women were sincere Christians, they were all members of Christ's church.<sup>177</sup> His publication of these views, and the distribution of them, did not go down well with the rector of Petersfield, William Lowth.<sup>178</sup> Lowth held that the unity of the church did not consist of 'a bare Communion of Faith and Love, as our *Dissenters* pretend', but in assembling together to partake of the Anglican sacrament of holy communion.<sup>179</sup>

In his reply to Lowth's sermon, Norman suggested that Lowth may have been stoking the fires of rebellion that led to the disruption in February, and that he had been

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<sup>173</sup> *Daily Journal* (London, England), Friday, February 23, 1722, Issue CCCXL, 1. *British Library 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> Century Burney Collection Newspapers*, <http://find.galegroup.com/bncn/>, accessed 24 October 2012. The Riot Act of 1715 had made it a capital offence for groups of 12 or more people to destroy or attempt to destroy a place of worship. D. B. Horn and Mary Ransome (eds), *English Historical Documents 1714-1783* (London, 1957), 271-5.

<sup>174</sup> John Norman, *The Nature and Extent of Christ's Church, consider'd: a sermon preached at Petersfield in the county of Southampton, February 13. 1721-2* (London, 1722), iii-iv. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, <http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/>, accessed 24 October 2012.

<sup>175</sup> *Daily Journal*, Friday, February 23 1722, 1.

<sup>176</sup> DWL MIC 82, vol. 1, 14-15, 22, 53.

<sup>177</sup> Norman, *Nature and Extent of Christ's Church*, 15.

<sup>178</sup> In the publications issued in the aftermath of the disturbance, William Lowth is described as the rector of Petersfield. However, in the 1725 visitation returns, he describes himself as rector of Buriton, and Petersfield as a chapel, served by a curate. Ward (ed.), *Parson and Parish*, 29-30, 107-8.

<sup>179</sup> William Lowth, *The characters of an apostolical church fulfilled in the Church of England: and our obligations to continue in the communion of it* (London, 1722), A2, 10. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, <http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/>, accessed 24 October 2012.

adding fuel to the flames since then.<sup>180</sup> This accusation that he was some provincial Sacheverell was rebutted by Lowth, who responded that had been unaware the new meeting house was due to open, being at the time resident in Winchester. He had left Petersfield in the care of his curate, a man whom, he took care to add, was of 'a meek and quiet Spirit'.<sup>181</sup> Whatever the truth of the matter, it did not seem to be in dispute by either party that a demonstration had taken place outside the meeting house during the inaugural service, and that local Anglicans had taken part. Over thirty years after the Act of Toleration, nonconformity could still be considered a threat to the Established Church.

## Conclusion

This chapter has examined the ways in which Hampshire dissenters were affected by controversies and disputes in the half-century following the Toleration Act in 1689. This is not a subject known to have been studied in detail in the scholarly literature, and its study is an important contribution to other provincial studies on dissent in the period.

The evidence shows that, at times, Hampshire dissenters were far from living in an isolated provincial bubble. Two incidents of national importance originated in the county. The Portsmouth Disputation was a major public debate, resulting in a very public and on-going pamphlet war between the two sides which extended far beyond the town itself. The case of Cordelia Cowdry, which might have been treated as a local dispute between landlord and tenant, became a concern for the whole Quaker movement, and had a direct influence on national Quaker campaigning for the recognition of Friends' marriages in law.

There were other events originating outside the county whose effects were felt in Hampshire. However, it would be more accurate to make a distinction by saying that these controversies and difficulties affected dissenters in Hampshire, rather than Hampshire dissenters throughout the county. The effects of the Wilkinson-Story schism were felt, as far as is known, by Alton Monthly Meeting only, not by any of the other Monthly Meetings, nor at a county level. The Caffyn dispute touched on Baptists in the Portsmouth area, but the surviving historical record emphasises their involvement in the Portsmouth Disputation.

Despite lengthy research, it has not been possible to prove that Hampshire dissenters were seriously affected by certain events that have received considerable

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<sup>180</sup> John Norman, *Remarks on a sermon preached at Petersfield, June the 17th, 1722* (London, 1723), 5. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, <http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/>, accessed 24 October 2012.

<sup>181</sup> William Lowth, *An answer to the remarks of Mr. John Norman of Portsmouth, on a sermon Preached at Petersfield, June 17th 1722* (London, 1723), 4. *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, <http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/>, accessed 24 October 2012.

attention in the secondary literature, namely the Sacheverell riots, the Act for Preventing Occasional Conformity, the Schism Act and the riots of 1715. The Petersfield disturbance of 1722 was an isolated occurrence, though it does demonstrate how, even some years after the earlier troubles, a dissenting presence in a town could still be viewed with alarm.

However, if some events did not directly affect dissenters, they were commented upon and discussed. Hampshire dissenters were not actively involved with the Salters' Hall debate, but there were connections, and, as Thomas Story's journal shows, almost a year later it was still a live issue. There may have been no recorded disturbances in the aftermath of Sacheverell's trial, but the christening at West Worldham is evidence that Sacheverell had his supporters in the county.

The historical evidence regarding the extent to which external pressures from the Established Church and internal pressures from within the dissenting denominations affected Hampshire dissenters is inconclusive; some events did impact on Hampshire nonconformists, while others left little evidence of any effect, though it cannot be assumed that nonconformists in the county were not aware of them and commenting upon them. What is important is that research has been undertaken, and can now be a contribution to a greater understanding of the lives of dissenters in the years following the Toleration Act.

## CONCLUSIONS

This thesis has demonstrated that the history of Protestant dissenters in Hampshire represents a significant part of the religious history of the county in the period c. 1640-c. 1740. Yet Hampshire has been to a large degree overlooked by modern scholars studying the history of dissenters in this period. This thesis has, therefore, contributed to a more comprehensive understanding of the history of provincial dissenters in the mid-seventeenth to mid-eighteenth centuries. It has demonstrated that, very broadly speaking, the experiences of those in the county who regarded themselves as not conforming to the Established Church, while remaining Protestant in their beliefs, was comparable with the experiences of their co-religionists in other counties. Nevertheless, as this thesis has shown, the Hampshire experience remained individualistic; there were exceptions to national trends, if not at a county level, then certainly at the level of individual towns and villages.

A century is a long time; over the period covered by this thesis, the experiences of Protestant dissenters changed markedly, both nationally and in the counties. These changes have been examined in the literature, as discussed in chapter one; it has been the purpose of this thesis to examine how these changes were reflected in Hampshire.

Hampshire prior to the 1640s appears to have been largely, though not entirely, conformist in matters of religion, and even up to the mid-1640s may have remained so. Nevertheless, what is noticeable is the increased evidence of dissatisfaction with the national church from the mid-1640s onwards, both as expressed by those who nevertheless chose to continue to attend their parish church, and those who expressed their beliefs in outright sectarianism. This thesis sought to examine the evidence for this dissatisfaction in Hampshire, and how that discontent was expressed. While the contemporary evidence for the county is not sufficient to make a definitive connection, the changes made to public worship in 1645 and 1646 do appear to have represented a watershed moment for Hampshire, as those who felt the reforms went too far, and those who felt they did not go far enough, both began to take action.

Those who felt the reforms went too far, and who preferred the old prayer book liturgies, may have remained in the pews of their parish church, or sought a sympathetic congregation nearby. Their dissatisfaction with the godly reforms of the national church manifested itself in continued use of the old prayer book, and in the celebration of communion at major religious festivals, and some of the clergy were overtly or covertly supporting this. Previous studies, notably by Judith Maltby, have demonstrated the extent



of these proscribed liturgical practices in other localities.<sup>1</sup> As chapter two has shown, the evidence of the surviving churchwardens' accounts hints strongly at the continued and widespread observance of communion at the major festivals in Hampshire. The failure to impose a moral reformation on the people is also testimony to a certain lack of enthusiasm in the counties for puritan reform. Despite its seeming conformity in religious matters prior to the mid-1640s, it became clear during research for this project there was dissatisfaction with the religious changes, expressed outside the parish church, usually in the form of taking part in proscribed activities on the Sabbath.

Some religious dissatisfaction in the 1640s and 1650s expressed itself, not in disobedience, but in outright sectarianism. Chapter three aimed to examine how successful evangelists from these radical sects were in the county, and how they spread their ideas. As chapter three has shown, by the mid-1640s, as prayer-book loyalists were beginning to express their dissatisfaction, Baptist preachers had begun to make incursions into the county. The surviving evidence was not sufficient to state how far these preachers came in Hampshire with the Parliamentary armies, and they may not have infected the country to the extent Thomas Edwards claimed in *Gangraena*.<sup>2</sup> But what is certain is that they were planting seeds of religious radicalism which began to grow, planting Baptist congregations in the county. By the 1650s these congregations, though their total numbers may have been small, were well-established, and had created an environment which was receptive to the itinerant Quaker preachers in the last half of the 1650s. It is this period of Quakerism which is perhaps the most studied in the secondary literature, a period in which Quakers actively promulgated their faith by public preaching and, on occasion, by the more direct action of interrupting church services. This active evangelism, in contrast to the pacifism that came to exemplify the movement after the Restoration, has been seen as characterising this period in the movement's history. Though the numbers of Quakers who actually interrupted church services were small, and there is no evidence from Hampshire of any other form of dramatic protest by Quakers, their possible insurrectionary activities clearly worried the authorities, as demonstrated by the correspondence received by John Thurloe.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, the evidence of the sufferings book and the printed literature demonstrates that groups of Quakers were quickly established in the county, in spite of the concerns of the authorities.

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<sup>1</sup> Maltby, "“Good Old Way”", 233-56.

<sup>2</sup> Edwards, *First and Second Part of Gangraena*; Edwards, *Third Part of Gangraena*.

<sup>3</sup> Thurloe, *State Papers*.

The reassurances of the Declaration of Breda, and the negotiations surrounding the Worcester House Declaration encouraged many, and moderate Presbyterians in particular, to believe that a tolerant settlement could be reached in matters of religion. But they were disappointed. Chapter four therefore sought to examine how far the persecutions of the Restoration period in Hampshire were related to national legislation and events. It is clear from the Hampshire evidence that a number of ministers were ejected from their livings as those previously deprived under the Commonwealth and Protectorate took possession of their former livings, even before the Act of Uniformity in 1662 deprived many others of their parsonages. Those who had so recently been part of the religious establishment, now found themselves positioned as nonconformists, as much as those of a more radical religious persuasion. Persecution of radical religionists had begun in earnest following the Fifth Monarchist uprising of January 1661, and was reinforced by successive legislation.

The pattern of persecution in the Restoration period, of all dissenting groups, can be seen to travel in waves; it rises and falls with the state of national policy towards dissenters.<sup>4</sup> A view of Hampshire as a whole county may appear to show that Hampshire's experience fits the national pattern. But on closer inspection, the picture fragments. This was particularly the case with the situation regarding the persecutions in Restoration Hampshire. Southampton invariably showed a spike in indictments of dissenters in the immediate aftermath of significant events or legislation. Yet other parts of the county experienced more intermittent persecution, or experienced a single brief, but intense, episode.

The reasons for this seem to have been multiple. Some of the persecution may have related to the visibility of dissenters in a locality. It may have been difficult to ignore a large group of dissenters in a population, whereas isolated nonconformist individuals could be overlooked, deliberately or accidentally. It is noticeable that at periods of greatest persecution it was the group that was attacked; individuals suffered to a greater or lesser extent according to their prominence within that group, and their persistence in continuing to worship in their chosen way, but their sufferings related to an act of worship with that group; they were not attacked in isolation. The exceptions to this were the individual Quakers who locked horns with their parish priest over tithes, and most notably the long-running dispute in Bournemouth between James Potter and the minister William Woodward.

It was also an aim of this study to consider how far toleration was shown to dissenters. For many dissenters the experience of persecution, even at times when such

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<sup>4</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 221-62.

activity peaked nationally, was the exception. The fragmentary nature of persecution in Hampshire demonstrates that there must have been numerous occasions where the lesser officers of the authorities turned the proverbial blind eye to dissenting activity within their jurisdiction. Such deliberate inaction is, naturally, seldom documented unless it came to the attention of the higher authorities, as with the failure of the constable and churchwardens to act over the Andover conventicle in 1673.<sup>5</sup>

This study also sought to examine how far the different sects were persecuted. Persecuted dissenters were not, of course, a single mass entity. Yet many of the surviving Restoration records make no distinction between the various sectarians. It is sometimes possible to distinguish the allegiance of individuals by the names of prominent persons associated with them; thus any mention of Nathaniel Robinson immediately associates him and any co-defendants with the Independent church in Southampton, and those associated with one of the conventicles disturbed at Portsmouth in 1677 can be identified as Presbyterian from the knowledge that John Hickes was the preacher. But the churchwardens' presentments in particular tended to group all dissenters together in a single group, which makes identification of the sects and their possible numerical strengths in the county difficult, excepting the Quakers who can be identified through references in their sufferings book. However, the evidence does suggest that, in Hampshire at least, while Presbyterians, Independents and Baptists did not escape persecution, it was the Quakers whose visibility and uncompromising attitude singled them out for adverse attention.

Nevertheless, while differentiating between the sects can be a challenge, dissenters as a group have an undoubted presence in the historical record, and a major part of this thesis, as discussed in chapter five, was the attempt to ascertain the distribution of dissent within Hampshire and the numerical strength of that dissent. In particular, it was an aim of the research to discover, so far as was possible, how far the distribution and numbers changed between the Restoration and the early years of the eighteenth century.

Previous studies have suggested that dissent was strongest in market towns and in certain types of rural areas, that is, in areas that had a largely pastoral agricultural economy, and in woodland areas. The tendency to dissent in urban areas is seen to have increased during this period, as dissenters increasingly congregated in towns. What this study found in Hampshire was that the distribution of dissent in rural areas according to agricultural land use alone is not proven. It appears that the prevalence of dissent in rural areas was a combination of several factors, of which the agricultural economy was only one. As

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<sup>5</sup> See chapter four.

Margaret Spufford commented, these factors might include its manorial status, whether the lord of the manor was resident or not, and the influence of the parish clergy.<sup>6</sup> There were, therefore, many factors that could influence dissent in rural areas, but this study did not find that any one factor was an overwhelming indicator of dissent, or of its lack. What is clear is that Hampshire dissent was, as comparable studies have shown, inclined to be at its strongest in towns, and this tendency increased over time, until by the early Georgian period, dissenting congregations were usually, though not exclusively, found in urban areas. Market towns were on trade routes, which would have facilitated the spread of dissenting publications, and of itinerant preachers. Market towns also had the advantage of more substantial populations than rural areas; the dissenting groups themselves tended to be larger, creating a crucial 'critical mass' which would survive persecutions and apostasy, as well as the inevitable attrition caused by death and removal. Nevertheless, as the returns to the bishop's visitation of 1725 showed, if the congregations were by that time largely in towns, small numbers of dissenters could be found living in rural areas, though there might be no meeting in the parish.<sup>7</sup> Hampshire was still, in the first half of the eighteenth century, a largely rural county, and while the connection between towns and dissent was strong, dissenters could still be found in villages across the county.

The maps in Watts's study of dissent illustrating the proportion of dissenting groups relative to the total population make for a striking visual comparison of the strength of dissent.<sup>8</sup> But the impression given for Hampshire dissent is misleading. Watts's own figures elsewhere in his work, and the exhaustive analysis of Compton Census undertaken for this project, illustrate that the number of dissenters in Hampshire was not significantly lower than in other counties, and was, in fact, higher than in some. It is not possible to make an exact comparison between the Compton Census of 1676 and a comparable source from the early eighteenth century, but the results of the study of dissenting congregations' membership records suggest that claims of a decline in dissent, while having some basis in Hampshire, would be somewhat exaggerated. What is possible is that the number of committed members decreased while, with the threat of persecution removed, the number of hearers, whose allegiance was less fixed, increased. The numbers of hearers given for some congregations in the Evans List, when compared to the numbers of known members, would suggest as much.

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<sup>6</sup> Spufford, *Contrasting Communities*, 298-300.

<sup>7</sup> Ward (ed.), *Parson and Parish*.

<sup>8</sup> Watts, *Dissenters*, 272-6.

A possible avenue for future research would be the proportions of men and women identifying as dissenters. There was insufficient evidence to make authoritative statements about the proportions in the Restoration period; the Compton Census did not separate out men and women, and men appeared disproportionately frequently in the court records compared with women. Likewise, the evidence of membership lists is limited in the early years of the eighteenth century. However, a study including the later years of the eighteenth century, beyond the period covered by this thesis, would be able to compare further membership lists. Such a project would also be able to consider any surviving personal accounts from this later period, to facilitate a consideration of the differences in the gendered experience of dissent.

Claims from the secular and ecclesiastical authorities in the Restoration period were that dissenters were of lowly status, but modern studies have indicated that dissenters tended to come from the middle ranks of society, and specifically from the ranks of small to medium farmers or self-employed artisans. A number of studies have used hearth tax returns to ascertain the social status of dissenters to come to this conclusion. Chapter six examined the evidence to ascertain how far this was the case in Hampshire. The conclusion reached by the work on the hearth tax returns that was undertaken for this study showed that Hampshire dissenters were largely from the middle ranks of society. However, what many previous studies had not done was to use the hearth tax evidence to ascertain the economic status of dissenters relative to the rest of the population. Though the evidence needs to be treated cautiously, given the size of the sample of dissenters, and that the study was of householders only, it appears that dissenters in Hampshire were usually, if not always, to be found among the more prosperous half of society. Some of them, from the evidence of their wills and inventories, were, if not wealthy, at least reasonably comfortably off. This is not to deny that there was poverty among the sects, as evidence of charitable relief demonstrates, but in general dissenters appear to have been at least slightly better off, on average, than the population as a whole.

Following toleration, the demographic of dissent may have changed somewhat so that those at the upper and lower economic ends of society may have become somewhat better represented than previously. This may be a reflection of dissent becoming, after toleration, more socially acceptable, or it may be a reflection of the available sources, which are those created by the dissenters themselves, rather than the Established Church or the secular authorities.

Chapter seven aimed to consider the challenges faced by dissenters in the years after Toleration, in particular how far dissenters in the county were affected by controversies and debates with other nonconformists, both within and outside their own denomination. Chapter seven also sought to examine the relationship of dissenters with the Established Church. If dissent did decline numerically in the years following toleration, Hampshire dissent at least seems to have remained active, and dissenters knew of the theological issues and controversies of the day. They may not have been directly involved in all such cases, but were aware of them, such as the Sacheverell case and the Trinitarian disputes. In some cases, disputes did touch Hampshire directly. The Portsmouth Disputation was an event of national importance, directly contributing to a wider on-going debate on infant baptism. The effects of the Wilkinson-Story schism in Hampshire have not been considered in the published literature, despite other localities having been studied; bringing the experience of Alton Quakers to light over this schism is a major contribution to the literature.

The relationship between dissenters and the Established Church in Hampshire seems to have largely been non-antagonistic, but there were exceptions. Though there is no support for serious rioting in Hampshire in the aftermath of Sacheverell's trial, or in 1715, and the evidence is weak for extent of the effect of the Occasional Conformity and Schism Acts, the disturbances outside the Petersfield meeting house in 1722 can be seen as an example of how, even over thirty years after toleration, the presence of Protestant dissenters could still raise objections.

In conclusion, therefore, historians might be forgiven, from an examination of the published literature, for thinking that there was little evidence for the history of dissenters in Hampshire, and that dissent in the county was insignificant. As this study has shown, this was far from the truth. Hampshire dissenters were a distinct, in some places a significant, presence for all but the very earliest years of this study. In common with dissenters elsewhere in the country, they suffered persecution, yet in spite of this many congregations survived to witness toleration. In the years following the Toleration Act, Hampshire's dissenters maintained networks with their co-religionists in the county and beyond. Their numbers may have diminished slightly, but they managed to avoid, with some exceptions, much of the confrontation with the Anglican church that was the experience of nonconformists elsewhere. Their relationships with their fellow-dissenters was mostly benign, though individual congregations were affected by some of the controversies of the period, there is no evidence of a county-wide schism in any dissenting group. Protestant

dissenters in Hampshire were a vigorous force in the county in this period; this thesis has finally established it as such in the scholarly literature.

## **APPENDIX: TABLES**

**Table 1: Hampshire parishes and the purchase of bread and wine for communion. Bread and wine purchased on at least one occasion, 1645-60.<sup>1</sup>**

<b>Parish</b>	<b>Bread and wine purchased for communion.</b>	<b>Bread and wine purchased for communion at a festival.</b>
(Old) Alresford	Yes	No
Alton St Lawrence	Yes	No
Bramley	No	No
Breamore	Yes	Yes
Chawton	Yes	Yes
Crondall	No	No
Easton	Yes	Yes
East Worldham	No	No
Ellingham	No	No
Fordingbridge	Yes	Yes
Hambledon	Yes	Yes
Headbourne Worthy	Yes	Yes
Newport, IoW	No	No
North Waltham	Yes	Yes
Odiham	Yes	No
Shorwell, IoW	Yes	No
Soberton	Yes	Yes
Southampton St Lawrence	Yes	No
South Warnborough	Yes	Yes
Stoke Charity	No	No
Upham	Yes	Yes
Winchester St John	No	No
Winchester St Peter Chesil	No	No

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<sup>1</sup> Data from surviving churchwardens' accounts, if itemised for at least one year 1645-60. See Bibliography for full citations.



### Tables 2a-d: Social status of dissenters

Tables 2a-d represent an analysis of the social status of dissenting households. The Hampshire figures have been identified from the 1664 churchwardens' presentments and the 1665 (1662 for Southampton) hearth tax returns.<sup>1</sup> The hearth tax brackets are taken from Stevenson's study of dissenters in Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire.<sup>2</sup> Table 2a represents a comparison of Hampshire figures with those of Stevenson's study. Tables 2b-d compare the percentage proportion of dissenters in each hearth tax bracket with the proportion in the population as a whole. A dissenting household has been taken as one where the head of the household, or the wife of the head of a household, was listed as a sectary, or identified as an Anabaptist or Quaker, in the 1664 presentments.

Table 2a: Percentage of dissenting households in hearth tax brackets

Number of hearths	Hampshire (excluding Isle of Wight) (%)	Stevenson study (%)
8+ hearths	2.96	1.4
4-7 hearths	20.69	14.4
2-3 hearths	34.97	46.1
1 hearth/exempt	41.38	38.1

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<sup>1</sup> HRO 21M65/B1/37; Hughes and White (eds), *Hampshire Hearth Tax*.

<sup>2</sup> Hearth tax brackets from Stevenson, 'Social and economic status', in Spufford (ed.), *World of Rural Dissenters*, 335.

Table 2b: Comparison of dissenting households with total households: two rural parishes

Number of hearths	Broughton		Bishopstoke	
	Dissenting households in parish (%)	Total households in parish (%)	Dissenting households in parish (%)	Total households in parish (%)
8+ hearths	6.67	0.77	0.00	2.82
4-7 hearths	6.67	5.38	30.00	14.08
2-3 hearths	26.67	18.46	50.00	46.48
1 hearth/ exempt	60.00	75.38	20.00	36.62

Table 2c: Comparison of dissenting households with total households: two port towns

Number of hearths	Portsmouth		Southampton ( Parishes of Holy Rood and All Saints, 1662)	
	Dissenting households in parish (%)	Total households in parish (%)	Dissenting households in parish (%)	Total households in parish (%)
8+ hearths	5.26	6.90	10.00	19.87
4-7 hearths	52.63	32.09	60.00	46.79
2-3 hearths	42.11	40.32	30.00	27.56
1 hearth/ exempt	0.00	20.69	0.00	5.77 <sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The Southampton returns for 1662 do not include exempt hearths.

Table 2d: Comparison of dissenting households with total households: five market towns<sup>1</sup>

No. of hearths	Bishops Waltham		Lymington		New Alresford		Ringwood		Romsey	
	Dissenting house-holds in parish (%)	Total households in parish (%)	Dissenting house-holds in parish (%)	Total households in parish (%)	Dissenting house-holds in parish (%)	Total households in parish (%)	Dissenting house-holds in parish (%)	Total households in parish (%)	Dissenting house-holds in parish (%)	Total households in parish (%)
8+ hearths	0.00	0.66	0.00	4.08	0.00	1.52	0.00	1.65	0.00	2.42
4-7 hearths	12.50	16.45	14.29	14.97	0.00	10.61	11.11	10.74	11.11	10.48
2-3 hearths	37.50	35.53	85.71	38.09	85.71	44.70	33.33	26.86	33.33	27.02
1 hearth/exempt	50.00	47.37	0.00	42.86	14.29	43.18	55.56	60.74	55.56	60.08

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<sup>1</sup> Identified as market towns c. 1625-c. 1700 in Winterson, 'Aspects of urban development', 10.

**Tables 3-9: Tables based on Compton Census data<sup>1</sup>**

**Tables 3a-j: Diocese of Winchester: Roman Catholics and Protestant Nonconformists as percentage of adult population, 1676<sup>2</sup>**

Table 3a: Diocese of Winchester: Andover deanery<sup>3</sup>

Parish	Conformists	Papists	Nonconformists	Total	Papists as % of total	Nonconformists as % of total
Andover						
Abbots Ann						

Redacted

<sup>1</sup> Whiteman (ed.), *Compton Census*.

<sup>2</sup> Whiteman, *Compton Census*, 81-96. Whiteman's figures comprise the first three columns: conformists, papists and nonconformists. The totals and percentages are my own calculations. Percentages have been rounded to the nearest two decimal points. Parishes and chapels as listed in Whiteman, except that spellings have been modernised from the original spellings retained by Whiteman.

<sup>3</sup> Whiteman, *Compton Census*, 81-3.

Parish	Conformists	Papists	Nonconformists	Total	Papists as % of total	Nonconformists as % of total
Amport						
Ashmansworth chapel						
Appleshaw chapel						
Bullington chapel						
Burghclere						
Crux Easton						
Combe						
Knights Enham						
East Woodhay						
Vernham Dean						
Foxcott chapel						

Redacted

Parish	Conformists	Papists	Nonconformists	Total	Papists as % of total	Nonconformists as % of total
Fyfield						
Facombe with Tangle						
Goodworth Clatford						
Grateley						
Hurstbourne Tarrant		Redacted				
Highclere						
Hurstbourne Priors						
St Mary Bourne chapel						
Kimpton						

Parish	Conformists	Papists	Nonconformists	Total	Papists as % of total	Nonconformists as % of total
Ludshelf alias Litchfield						
Linkenholt						
Longparish						
Monxton						
Newtown chapel						
Nether Wallop						
Over-Wallop						
Penton Mewsey						
Quarley						
South Tidworth						
Shipton Bellinger						

Redacted

Parish	Conformists	Papists	Nonconformists	Total	Papists as % of total	Nonconformists as % of total
Thruxton						
Tufton alias Tuckington chapel						
Wherwell						
Upper Clatford						
Weyhill						
Woodcott						
Whitchurch						

Redacted



Table 3b: Diocese of Winchester: Basingstoke deanery<sup>1</sup>

Parish	Conformists	Papists	Nonconformists	Total	Papists as % of total	Nonconformists as % of total
Aldershot						
Ashe						
Basingstoke <sup>2</sup>						
Old Basing						
Baughurst						
Bramley						
Crondall						
Cliddesden with Farley Wallop						

Redacted

<sup>1</sup> Whiteman, *Compton Census*, 83-5.

<sup>2</sup> The number of Roman Catholics is too insignificant to register as a percentage to two decimal points.

Parish	Conformists	Papists	Nonconformists	Total	Papists as % of total	Nonconformists as % of total
Dogmersfield						
Dummer						
Deane						
Eversley						
Elvetham						
Ellisfield						
Ewhurst						
Eastrop						
Farnborough						
Greywell chapel						
Hartley Wespall						

Redacted

Parish	Conformists	Papists	Nonconformists	Total	Papists as % of total	Nonconformists as % of total
Hartley Wintney						
Hannington						
Herriard						
Heckfield						
Mattingley						
Kingsclere						
Ecchinswell						
Sydmonton						
Laverstoke						
Wootton St Lawrence						
Newnham						

Redacted

Parish	Conformists	Papists	Nonconformists	Total	Papists as % of total	Nonconformists as % of total
Mapledurwell						
Nately Scures						
North Waltham						
Overton						
Tadley chapel						
Odiham						
Church Oakley						
Pamber						
Rotherwick chapel						
Silchester						
Sherfield on Loddon						

Redacted

Parish	Conformists	Papists	Nonconformists	Total	Papists as % of total	Nonconformists as % of total
Sherborne St John						
Monk Sherborne						
Long Sutton						
South Warnborough						
Steventon						
Stratfield Say						
Stratfield Turgis						
Tunworth						
Up Nately						
Upton Grey						
Winchfield						

Redacted

Parish	Conformists	Papists	Nonconformists	Total	Papists as % of total	Nonconformists as % of total
Weston Patrick						
Winslade		Redacted				
Wolverton						
Worting						
Yateley						

Table 3c: Diocese of Winchester: Alton deanery<sup>1</sup>

Parish	Conformists	Papists	Nonconformists	Total	Papists as % of total	Nonconformists as % of total
Alton						
Binsted						
Bramshott						
Bentworth						
Chawton						
East Worldham						
Colemore						
East Tisted						
Empshott						

Redacted

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<sup>1</sup> Whiteman, *Compton Census*, 85-6.

Parish	Conformists	Papists	Nonconformists	Total	Papists as % of total	Nonconformists as % of total
Froyle						
Farringdon						
Greatham						
Headley						
Hawkley						
Hartley Mauditt						
Holybourne						
Kingsley						
Liss						
Lasham						
Newton Valence						

Redacted



Parish	Conformists	Papists	Nonconformists	Total	Papists as % of total	Nonconformists as % of total
Priors Dean						
Selborne						
Shalden						
West Worldham						

Redacted

Table 3d: Droxford Deanery<sup>1</sup>

Parish	Conformists	Papists	Nonconformists	Total	Papists as % of total	Nonconformists as % of total
Alverstoke						
Buriton						
Blendworth						
Bedhampton						
Chalton						
Catherington						
Clanfield						
Crofton (see Titchfield) <sup>2</sup>						

<sup>1</sup> Whiteman, *Compton Census*, 86-8

<sup>2</sup> No figures given in Compton census.

Parish	Conformists	Papists	Nonconformists	Total	Papists as % of total	Nonconformists as % of total
Corhampton						
Farlington						
Droxford						
Durley (see Upham) <sup>3</sup>						
East Meon						
Exton						
Fareham						
Froxfield						
Hayling South						

Redacted

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<sup>3</sup> No figures given in Compton census.

Parish	Conformists	Papists	Nonconformists	Total	Papists as % of total	Nonconformists as % of total
Hayling North						
Idsworth (with Chalton)						
Hambledon						
Havant						
Meonstoke						
Petersfield						
Portsea						
Portsmouth						
Porchester						
Privett chapel (with West Meon)						

Redacted

Parish	Conformists	Papists	Nonconformists	Total	Papists as % of total	Nonconformists as % of total
Rowner						
Southwick						
Steep chapel						
Soberton (with Meonstoke)						
Titchfield (with Crofton chapel)						
Upham (with Durley chapel)						
Warnford						
Warblington						
Wymering						

Redacted

Parish	Conformists	Papists	Nonconformists	Total	Papists as % of total	Nonconformists as % of total
Widley						
Wickham						
West Boarhunt (see Portchester)						
West Meon						
Bishops Waltham						

Redacted

Table 3e: Diocese of Winchester: Southampton Deanery<sup>1</sup>

Parish	Conformists	Papists	Nonconformists	Total	Papists as % of total	Nonconformists as % of total
Holy Rood, in Southampton						
St Michael, in Southampton						
St Lawrence, in Southampton						
St John, in Southampton						
All Saints, in Southampton						
St Mary, by Southampton						

Redacted

<sup>1</sup> Whiteman, *Compton Census*, 88-9.

Parish	Conformists	Papists	Nonconformists	Total	Papists as % of total	Nonconformists as % of total
Botley						
Chilworth						
Bursledon						
Hamble						
Baddelsey						
Dibden						
Eling						
Fawley (with Exbury chapel)						
Hound and Netley						
Millbrook						
Nursling						

Redacted



Parish	Conformists	Papists	Nonconformists	Total	Papists as % of total	Nonconformists as % of total
North Stoneham						
South Stoneham						

Redacted

Table 3f: Diocese of Winchester: Fordingbridge Deanery<sup>1</sup>

Parish	Conformists	Papists	Nonconformists	Total	Papists as % of total	Nonconformists as % of total
Beaulieu						
Boldre						
Brockenhurst						
Breamore						
Christchurch						
Ellingham						
Fordingbridge						
Hordle						

Redacted

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<sup>1</sup> Whiteman, *Compton Census*, 89-90.

Parish	Conformists	Papists	Nonconformists	Total	Papists as % of total	Nonconformists as % of total
Holdenhurst chapel						
Hale						
Harbridge chapel						
Ibsley chapel						
Minstead						
Lymington						
Milford						
Milton						
Ringwood						
Rockbourne						

Redacted

Parish	Conformists	Papists	Nonconformists	Total	Papists as % of total	Nonconformists as % of total
Sopley		Redacted				
Whitsbury						

Table 3g: Diocese of Winchester: Isle of Wight Deanery<sup>1</sup>

Parish	Conformists	Papists	Nonconformists	Total	Papists as % of total	Nonconformists as % of total
Arreton						
Brading						
Bonchurch						
Carisbrooke (see Northwood)						
Brixton <sup>2</sup>						
Binstead						
Calbourne						
Chale						

Redacted

<sup>1</sup> Whiteman, *Compton Census*, 91-2.

<sup>2</sup> Alias Brighstone.

Parish	Conformists	Papists	Nonconformists	Total	Papists as % of total	Nonconformists as % of total
St Nicholas in Castro <sup>3</sup>						
Freshwater						
Brook chapel						
Gatcombe						
Godshill and Whitwell		Redacted				
Kingston						
Mottiston						
Newport						
Northwood						

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<sup>3</sup> No data in Compton Census.

Parish	Conformists	Papists	Nonconformists	Total	Papists as % of total	Nonconformists as % of total
Niton						
Newchurch						
St Helens						
St Lawrence						
Shalfleet						
Shorwell						
Thorley						
Whippingham						
Wootton						
Yaverland						
Yarmouth						

Redacted

Table 3h: Diocese of Winchester: Winchester deanery<sup>1</sup>

Parish	Conformists	Papists	Nonconformists	Total	Papists as % of total	Nonconformists as % of total
St Mary Kalendar, in Winchester						
St Lawrence, in Winchester						
St Maurice, in Winchester						
St Peter Colebrook, in Winchester						

Redacted

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<sup>1</sup> Whiteman, *Compton Census*, 92-3.



Parish	Conformists	Papists	Nonconformists	Total	Papists as % of total	Nonconformists as % of total
St Thomas and St Clement, in Winchester						
St John in the Soke, in Winchester						
St Peter Chesil, in Winchester						
St Michael, by Winchester						
St Swithun's above Kingsgate, in Winchester						

Redacted

Parish	Conformists	Papists	Nonconformists	Total	Papists as % of total	Nonconformists as % of total
St. Bartholomew Hyde, by Winchester						
St Cross, alias St Faith, by Winchester						
Compton						
Crawley and Hunton						
Chilcomb						
Farley Chamberlayne						
Hursley						

Redacted

Parish	Conformists	Papists	Nonconformists	Total	Papists as % of total	Nonconformists as % of total
Headbourne Worthy						
Littleton						
Lainston						
Morestead						
Twyford						
Owslebury						
Otterbourne (see Hursley)						
Bishopstoke						
Sparsholt						

Redacted

Parish	Conformists	Papists	Nonconformists	Total	Papists as % of total	Nonconformists as % of total
Weeke		Redacted				
Winnall						

Table 3i: Diocese of Winchester: Alresford deanery<sup>1</sup>

Parish	Conformists	Papists	Nonconformists	Total	Papists as % of total	Nonconformists as % of total
Abbotstone and Itchen Stoke						
Avington						
Brown Candover						
Bighton						
Bradley						
Bramdean						
Chilton Candover						

Redacted

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<sup>1</sup> Whiteman, *Compton Census*, 93-4.

Parish	Conformists	Papists	Nonconformists	Total	Papists as % of total	Nonconformists as % of total
Cheriton						
Easton						
Hinton Ampner						
Itchen Abbas						
Kilmeston						
Medstead						
Nutley						
Preston Candover						
New Alresford						
Old Alresford						

Redacted

Parish	Conformists	Papists	Nonconformists	Total	Papists as % of total	Nonconformists as % of total
Ovington						
Bishops Sutton						
Ropley						
Swarraton						
Tichborne						
Woodmancott						
Martyr Worthy						
Kings Worthy						
West Tisted						
Wield						

Redacted

Table 3j: Diocese of Winchester: Somborne deanery<sup>1</sup>

Parish	Conformists	Papists	Nonconformists	Total	Papists as % of total	Nonconformists as % of total
Ashley						
Broughton and Bossington						
Barton Stacey						
Chilbolton						
East Tytherly						
Eldon						
Houghton						
Mottisfont						

Redacted

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<sup>1</sup> Whiteman, *Compton Census*, 95-6.



Parish	Conformists	Papists	Nonconformists	Total	Papists as % of total	Nonconformists as % of total
Lockerley						
East Dean						
Leckford						
Longstock						
Michelmersh						
Micheldever						
East Stratton						
Northington						
Popham						
Romsey						
Sherfield English						

Redacted

Parish	Conformists	Papists	Nonconformists	Total	Papists as % of total	Nonconformists as % of total
Stoke Charity						
Kings Somborne, Little Somborne and Stockbridge						
Timsbury						
West Tytherley						
Wellow						
Wonston						

Redacted

Table 3k: Diocese of Winchester: Winton archdeaconry totals<sup>1</sup>

Deanery	Conformists	Papists	Non-conformists	Total	Papists as % of total	Non-conformists as % of total
Alresford						
Alton						
Andover						
Basingstoke						
Droxford						
Fordingbridge						
Isle of Wight						
Somborne						
Southampton						
Winton						
TOTALS						

<sup>1</sup> Whiteman, *Compton Census*, 71.

**Table 4: Diocese of Winchester: Percentage of conformists, Roman Catholics and Protestant nonconformists in parishes, by deanery, 1676<sup>1</sup>**

Deanery	Number of parishes making returns	Percentage of parishes with conformists only	Percentage of parishes with Roman Catholics and/or nonconformists	Percentage of parishes with Roman Catholics	Percentage of parishes with nonconformists	Percentage of parishes with conformists and Catholics only (no nonconformists)	Percentage of parishes with conformists and nonconformists only (no Catholics)	Percentage of parishes with conformists, Catholics and nonconformists
Andover								
Basingstoke								
Alton								
Droxford								
Southampton								

Redacted

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<sup>1</sup> Whiteman, *Compton Census*, 81-96.

Deanery	Number of parishes making returns	Percentage of parishes with conformists only	Percentage of parishes with Roman Catholics and/or nonconformists	Percentage of parishes with Roman Catholics	Percentage of parishes with nonconformists	Percentage of parishes with conformists and Catholics only (no nonconformists)	Percentage of parishes with conformists and nonconformists only (no Catholics)	Percentage of parishes with conformists, Catholics and nonconformists
Fordingbridge								
Isle of Wight								
Winchester								
Alresford								
Somborne								

Redacted

**Table 5: From Compton Census (1676): percentage of Roman Catholics and Protestant nonconformists in large Hampshire parishes (1000+ inhabitants)<sup>1</sup>**

Parishes	Total population	Catholics as percentage of population	Nonconformists as percentage of population
Alton			
Alverstoke (inc. Gosport)			
Andover			
Basingstoke <sup>2</sup>			
Christchurch			
Fareham			
Kingsclere (excluding chapels)			
Kingsclere (including chapels) <sup>3</sup>			
Newport (Isle of Wight)			
Portsmouth			
Ringwood			
Romsey			

Redacted

<sup>1</sup> Whiteman, *Compton Census*, 81-96.

<sup>2</sup> There was one Catholic in Basingstoke, but this figure is too insignificant to be represented as a percentage.

<sup>3</sup> The chapels of Ecchinswell and Sidmonton. The Compton Census lists separately the parish of Kingsclere and its two chapels.

**Table 6: From Compton Census (1676): percentage of Roman Catholics and Protestant nonconformists in Southampton parishes<sup>1</sup>**

Parish	Total population	Catholics as percentage of population	Nonconformists as percentage of population
St Cross			
St Michael			
St Lawrence			
St John			
Saint Mary			
All Saints			
TOTAL			

Redacted

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<sup>1</sup> Whiteman, *Compton Census*, 88-89.

**Table 7: From Compton Census (1676): percentage of Roman Catholics and Protestant nonconformists in Winchester parishes<sup>1</sup>**

Parish	Total population	Catholics as percentage of population	Nonconformists as percentage of population
St Mary Kalendar			
St Lawrence			
St Maurice			
St Peter Colebrook			
St Thomas & St Clement			
St John in the Soke			
St Peter Chesil			
St Michael			
St Swithun			
St Bartholomew			
St Cross			
TOTAL			

Redacted

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<sup>1</sup> Whiteman, *Compton Census*, 92.



**Table 8: Diocese of Winchester: Fordingbridge Deanery. Comparison of Compton Census figures with churchwardens' presentments<sup>1</sup>**

Parish	Identified Catholics 1664	Identified Catholics 1673	Identified Catholics 1676	Identified nonconformists 1664	Identified nonconformists 1673	Identified nonconformists 1676	Presented for not coming to church 1673; no religious allegiance specified
Beaulieu							
Boldre <sup>2</sup>							
Breamore							
Brockenhurst							
Christchurch							
Ellingham							
Exbury <sup>3</sup>							
Fordingbridge <sup>4</sup>							
Hale							
Harbridge chapel							

<sup>1</sup> HRO 21M65/B1/37; HRO 21M65/B1/41; Whiteman *Compton Census*, 89-90.

<sup>2</sup> The 1664 nonconformist identified as a Quaker. The 1673 nonconformist identified as an Anabaptist. The two parishioners presented in 1673 for not attending church where no allegiance was specified included Ferdinando Watts, the nonconformist identified as a Quaker in 1664.

<sup>3</sup> No figures for Compton Census in 1676.

<sup>4</sup> In 1673, the nonconformists presented comprised one man for holding conventicles, eight more for attending the conventicles, identified as Anabaptists.

Parish	Identified Catholics 1664	Identified Catholics 1673	Identified Catholics 1676	Identified nonconformists 1664	Identified nonconformists 1673	Identified nonconformists 1676	Presented for not coming to church 1673; no religious allegiance specified
Holdenhurst chapel							
Hordle							
Ibsley chapel							
Lymington							
Lyndhurst							
Milford							
Milton							
Minstead							
Ringwood							
Rockbourne <sup>5</sup>							
Sopley <sup>6</sup>							
Whitsbury <sup>7</sup>							

Redacted

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<sup>5</sup> One man presented for holding conventicles, 1664.

<sup>6</sup> The 1664 nonconformists identified as Anabaptists.

<sup>7</sup> In addition to those presented for not attending church, a husband and wife presented for not having their child baptised, and the wife for not being churched following childbirth.

**Table 9: Comparison of 1669 Conventicle Returns with 1676 Compton Census<sup>1</sup>**

Parish	Numbers of nonconformists: 1669 Conventicle Returns	Numbers of nonconformists 1676 Compton Census
<b>Andover Deanery</b>		
Andover		
Burghclere		
Over Wallop		
Nether Wallop		
Upper Clatford		
<b>Basingstoke Deanery</b>		
Basingstoke		
Kingsclere		
Kingsclere Woodlands		
Ecchinswell, parish of Kingsclere		
Sherfield on Loddon		
Newnham		

Redacted

<sup>1</sup> LPL MS 639, fols 261r-264r; Whiteman, *Compton Census*, 81-96.

Parish	Numbers of nonconformists: 1669 Conventicle Returns	Numbers of nonconformists 1676 Compton Census
Baughurst		
Crondall		
<b>Droxford Deanery</b>		
Swanmore, parish of Droxford		
Hill, parish of Droxford		
Shitfield, parish of Droxford		
Gosport, parish of Alverstoke`		
Portsmouth		
<b>Winchester Deanery</b>		
St Michael in the Soke, Winchester		
Hursley		
<b>Alton Deanery</b>		
Alton		
Holybourne		

Redacted

Parish	Numbers of nonconformists: 1669 Conventicle Returns	Numbers of nonconformists 1676 Compton Census
<b>Fordingbridge Deanery</b>		
Fordingbridge		
Ellingham		
Milford		
Hordle		
<b>Southampton Deanery</b>		
Town of Southampton	<sup>2</sup>	<sup>3</sup>

Redacted

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<sup>2</sup> Identified as three Presbyterian, three Anabaptist, one Quaker, one Fifth Monarchist and one Independent conventicle 'greater than all the rest'.

<sup>3</sup> See table 6: From Compton Census: percentage of Roman Catholics and Protestant nonconformists in Southampton parishes.

**Tables 10a-l: Indicators of dissent in parishes with over five per cent adult population dissenting<sup>1</sup>**

Table 10a: Diocese of Winchester: Andover deanery

Parish	No. of nonconformists in 1676	Nonconformists as % of total adults, 1676	Ejected minister 1662	Manorial status 1665	No. of sectaries in 1664	Urban/rural status
Andover	Redacted	Redacted	No	Split, but one main manor <sup>2</sup>	0	Borough town
Grately			No	?Single	0	Rural
Over Wallop			Yes	Split, but largely single landowner	6	Rural

<sup>1</sup> Whiteman (ed.), *Compton Census*, 81-96; Matthews, *Calamy Revised*; Doubleday and Page (eds), *Victoria County History of Hampshire*, vols 2-5; HRO 21M65/B1/37; Winterson, 'Aspects of urban development', 10; Everitt, 'The market towns', in Clark (ed.), *The Early Modern Town*, 175; Basil Duke Henning (ed.), *The House of Commons 1660-1690*, vol. 1 (London, 1983).

<sup>2</sup> The *VCH* describes the manor of Andover as 'co-extensive with the parish, [and] has no history separate from that of the borough'. However, the *VCH* goes on to describe other manors, including the manor of Foxcott, a chapelry within Andover parish. The history of these other manors is uncertain. Francis L. Bickley, 'Andover with Foxcott', in Page (ed.), *Victoria County History of Hampshire*, vol. 4 (1911), 351-4.

Parish	No. of nonconformists in 1676	Nonconformists as % of total adults, 1676	Ejected minister 1662	Manorial status 1665	No. of sectaries in 1664	Urban/rural status
Tufton	Redacted	Redacted	No	Single	0	Rural
Whitchurch			No	Split	0	Borough town

Table 10b: Diocese of Winchester: Basingstoke deanery

Parish	No of nonconformists in 1676	Nonconformists as % of total adults, 1676	Ejected minister 1662	Manorial status 1665	No. of sectaries in 1664	Urban/rural status
Baughurst	Redacted		No	Split	3	Rural
Basingstoke			No	Split	0	Market town
Crondall			Yes	Split	10	?
Dummer			No	Split, but single landowner	1	Rural
Hartley Wespall			Yes	Single	2	Rural
Hannington			No	Single	0	Rural
Ecchinswell (parish of Kingsclere)			No	Single <sup>1</sup>	1	Rural, but Kingsclere market town
Mapledurwell			No	Single	4	Rural

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<sup>1</sup> Single manor in Eccinswell, but multiple manors in the whole parish of Kingsclere.



Table 10c: Diocese of Winchester: Alton deanery

Parish	No. of nonconformists in 1676	Nonconformists as % of total adults, 1676	Ejected minister 1662	Manorial status 1665	No of sectaries in 1664	Urban/rural status
Alton	Redacted		No	Split	8	Market town
Binsted			Yes	Split	Not listed	Rural
Froyle			No	Split	15	Rural
Headley			No	Split	8	Rural
Holybourne			No	Split	3	Rural
Kingsley			No	Split	0	Rural

Table 10d: Diocese of Winchester: Droxford Deanery

Parish	No of nonconformists in 1676	Nonconformists as % of total adults, 1676	Ejected minister 1662	Manorial status 1665	No. of sectaries in 1664	Urban/rural status
Alverstoke (inc.Gosport)	Redacted	Redacted	No	Split	3	?Urban
Catherington			No	Split	2	Rural
Droxford			Yes	Split	10	?
Fareham			No	Split	20	Market town
North Hayling			Yes	Single	0	Rural
Portchester			No	Split, but single landowner	3	?
Portsmouth			Yes	Uncertain	49	Borough town
Privett chapel			No	Part of West Meon, see below	Not listed	Rural
Titchfield (with Crofton chapel)			Yes	Split, but one major landowner	0	Rural

Parish	No of nonconformists in 1676	Nonconformists as % of total adults, 1676	Ejected minister 1662	Manorial status 1665	No. of sectaries in 1664	Urban/rural status
Warnford	Redacted		No	Single	0	Rural
West Meon			No	Split, but one main manor	Not listed	Rural

Table 10e: Diocese of Winchester: Southampton Deanery (excluding Southampton city parishes)

Parish	No. of nonconformists in 1676	Nonconformists as % of total adults, 1676	Ejected minister 1662	Manorial status 1665	No. of sectaries in 1664	Urban/rural status
North Baddesley	Redacted	Redacted	Yes	Single	Not listed	Rural
Millbrook			Uncertain <sup>1</sup>	Split	8	Rural
South Stoneham			No	Split	7	Rural

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<sup>1</sup> 'Parishes: Millbrook', *A History of the County of Hampshire: Volume 3* (1908), 427-432, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=42021>, accessed 1 December 2010; Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 81. It is not clear whether Jas. Brown of Millbrook and Thomas Brown, ejected vicar of Ellingham, were one and the same person, or two different ministers.

Table 10f: Diocese of Winchester: Southampton Deanery (Southampton city parishes only)

Parish	No. of nonconformists in 1676	Nonconformists as % of total adults, 1676	Ejected minister 1662	No. of sectaries in 1664	Urban/rural status
St Cross (Holy Rood)			No	35	Borough town
St Michael			Yes	Not listed	
St Lawrence			No	0	
St John			No	0	
All Saints			Yes	4	

Redacted

Table 10g: Diocese of Winchester: Fordingbridge Deanery

Parish	No of nonconformists in 1676	Nonconformists as % of total adults, 1676	Ejected minister 1662	Manorial status 1665	No. of sectaries in 1664	Urban/rural status
Christchurch			Yes	?Single; one major landowner	14	Borough town
Ellingham			Yes	Split, but one landowner	3	Rural
Fordingbridge			Yes	Split	0	Market town
Hordle			No	Split	Not listed	Rural
Harbridge chapel			No	Split	Not listed	Rural
Lymington			No	Split	16	Borough town
Ringwood			No	Split	66	Market town

Redacted

Parish	No of nonconformists in 1676	Nonconformists as % of total adults, 1676	Ejected minister 1662	Manorial status 1665	No. of sectaries in 1664	Urban/rural status
Rockbourne	Redacted	Redacted	Yes	Single	1 <sup>1</sup>	Rural
Whitsbury			No	Single	Not listed	Rural

Table 10h: Diocese of Winchester: Isle of Wight Deanery

Parish	No. of nonconformists in 1676	Nonconformists as % of total adults, 1676	Ejected minister 1662	Manorial control	No. of sectaries in 1664	Urban/rural status
Chale	Redacted	Redacted	No	Split	4	Rural
Gatcombe			No	Single	4	Rural
Thorley			No	Single	0	Rural

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<sup>1</sup> No sectaries are listed, but the ejected minister, Mr John Haddesley, is presented for holding conventicles. HRO 21M65/b1/37, fol. 7v.

Table 10i: Diocese of Winchester: Winchester deanery (excluding Winchester city parishes)

Parish	No. of nonconformists in 1676	Nonconformists as % of total adults, 1676	Ejected minister 1662	Manorial status 1665	No. of sectaries in 1664	Urban/rural status
Chilcombe	Redacted	Redacted	No	Single	0	Rural

Table 10j: Diocese of Winchester: Winchester deanery (Winchester city parishes only)<sup>1</sup>

Parish	No. of nonconformists in 1676	Nonconformists as % of total adults, 1676	Ejected minister 1662	No. of sectaries in 1664	Urban/rural status
Winchester St Mary Kalender	Redacted	Redacted	No	0	Borough town
Winchester St Lawrence			No	Not listed	

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<sup>1</sup> Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 132, 182, 216, 318, 480. In addition the chaplain of St Cross Hospital appears to have been ejected, and three, possibly four, preachers at Winchester Cathedral.



Parish	No. of nonconformists in 1676	Nonconformists as % of total adults, 1676	Ejected minister 1662	No. of sectaries in 1664	Urban/rural status
Winchester St Maurice	Redacted		No	3	Borough town
Winchester St Peter Colebrook			No	Not listed	
Winchester St John			No	0	
Winchester St Peter Chesil			No	0	
Winchester St Bartholomew			No	Not listed	

Table 10k: Diocese of Winchester: Alresford deanery

Parish	No. of nonconformists in 1676	Nonconformists as % of total adults, 1676	Ejected minister 1662	Manorial status 1665	No. of sectaries in 1664	Urban/rural status
New Alresford	Redacted		Uncertain <sup>1</sup>	Uncertain	16	Market town
Ovington			No	Single	Not listed	?

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<sup>1</sup> Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 477. John Taylor, 'Rector of Alresford' ejected, but it is not clear whether Old or New Alresford parish is meant. There is no reference to a John Taylor, Rector of Alresford, in the *Clergy of the Church of England Database 1540-1835*, <http://www.theclergydatabase.org.uk>, accessed 11 December 2010.

Table 10I: Diocese of Winchester: Somborne deanery

Parish	No. of nonconformists in 1676	Nonconformists as % of total adults, 1676	Ejected minister 1662	Manorial control 1665	No. of sectaries in 1664	Urban/rural status
Broughton and Bossingdon	Redacted		No	Split	32	Rural
Romsey			Yes	Split	22 (+5) <sup>1</sup>	Market town
Sherfield-English			No	Single	0	Rural
East Wellow			No	Split	Not listed	Rural

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<sup>1</sup> HRO 21M65/B1/37. At fol. 18v, 22 names are given. At fol. 28v at the end of the manuscript, is another list, of 14 Romsey sectaries who have been excommunicated. Five of the excommunicated sectaries listed at fol. 28v do not appear in the list given at 18v.

**Table 11: Hampshire and Isle of Wight: ministers ejected 1660-2<sup>1</sup>**

First name	Last name	Place of ejection	Conventicle in Hampshire 1669	Licence in Hampshire 1672-3	Notes on activities after 1662
William	Bicknell	Portsea		Alton(?)	
Thomas	Brag (or Brague)	Portsmouth			Preached in Portsmouth.
James	Brown	Millbrook	Andover	Lower Clatford	
Thomas	Brown	Ellingham			May have died shortly after ejection.
Edward	Buckler	Calbourne IoW			Preached in Dorset.
Benjamin	Burgess	Portsmouth	Gosport	Gosport; Portsmouth	

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<sup>1</sup> Sources: LPL MS 639; Turner (ed.), *Original Records*; Matthews, *Calamy Revised*.

First name	Last name	Place of ejection	Conventicle in Hampshire 1669	Licence in Hampshire 1672-3	Notes on activities after 1662
Thomas	Clark	Godshill IoW			Preached in Portsmouth from c. 1680.
Leonard	Cook	Winchester Cathedral			
John	Corbet	Bramshott			Preached in London.
Henry	Coxe	Bishopstoke	Droxford; Southampton	Droxford; Romsey; Southampton	
James	Creswick	Freshwater IoW			Removed to Yorkshire; house licensed as meeting place 1689.

First name	Last name	Place of ejection	Conventicle in Hampshire 1669	Licence in Hampshire 1672-3	Notes on activities after 1662
John	Crofts	Mottisfont	Ellingham		1672-3 licensed to preach in Wiltshire.
Richard	Crossin	Fordingbridge			Afterwards conformed.
Tristram	Dymond (or Dyman, or Dimond)	Clanfield			
Humphrey	Ellis	Winchester Cathedral			Afterwards conformed; became rector of Mottistone, IoW.

First name	Last name	Place of ejection	Conventicle in Hampshire 1669	Licence in Hampshire 1672-3	Notes on activities after 1662
John	Farroll	Selborne			Preaching in Surrey 1669; licensed there 1672-3. Later returned to Hampshire, preached at Lymington.
Theophilus	Gale	Winchester Cathedral			Preached in London.
Jeremiah	Goss	Heckfield			Died in London 1665.

First name	Last name	Place of ejection	Conventicle in Hampshire 1669	Licence in Hampshire 1672-3	Notes on activities after 1662
John	Haddesley	Rockbourne	Fordingbridge		1672-3, licensed to preach in Salisbury, Wiltshire.
John	Harmer	Ewhurst			Died 1670.
John	Harrison	Warblington		Havant	
John	Hooke	King's Worthy			Becomes dissenting minister at Basingstoke.
Samuel	Jefferson	Beaulieu			
John	Jennings	Hartley Wespall			1672-3, licensed in Leicestershire.



First name	Last name	Place of ejection	Conventicle in Hampshire 1669	Licence in Hampshire 1672-3	Notes on activities after 1662
George	Jones	Elvetham; King's Sombourne			Afterwards conformed.
Thomas	Kentish	Overton			1672-3, licensed at Southwark, London.
Robert	Lancaster	Amport; North Baddesley			Died by 1677, in London.
George	Lawrence	St Cross Hospital Winchester			
Robert	Leicester (or Lester)	Farlington			Buried at Southwick 1668.

First name	Last name	Place of ejection	Conventicle in Hampshire 1669	Licence in Hampshire 1672-3	Notes on activities after 1662
John (or James)	Marryot	Over Wallop	Basingstoke		
Walter	Marshall	Hursley	Alton; Winchester	Southwick	Died 1680, by which time minister at Gosport.
John	Martyn	Yarmouth loW		Yarmouth loW	
Martin	Morland	Cliddesden; Wield			1672-3, licensed at Hackney, Middlesex.
Thomas	Newnham	St Lawrence loW			Continues preaching.

First name	Last name	Place of ejection	Conventicle in Hampshire 1669	Licence in Hampshire 1672-3	Notes on activities after 1662
Urian	Oakes	Titchfield			Ministered to congregation at Southwick; emigrated to New England by 1671.
John	Pinckney (or Pinkury)	Longstock		Longstock	
Simon	Pole	West Cowes IoW			Indicted at Somerset assizes 1663 for being at a conventicle; died 1671.
John	Ridge	Exton		Hayling Island	

First name	Last name	Place of ejection	Conventicle in Hampshire 1669	Licence in Hampshire 1672-3	Notes on activities after 1662
Nathaniel	Robinson	Southampton All Saints	Southampton	Romsey: Southampton	
Robert	Rogers	Deane			1669, at Hungerford, Berkshire. 1672-3 licensed at Oxford. Also preaches in Wiltshire.
Andrew	Rowel (or Ruell)	Hayling		North Hayling	1669, in Surrey and Sussex.
Giles	Say	Southampton St Michael	Southampton	Southampton	By 1690, dissenting minister in Norfolk.

First name	Last name	Place of ejection	Conventicle in Hampshire 1669	Licence in Hampshire 1672-3	Notes on activities after 1662
Samuel	Sprint	Tidworth	Andover	Andover(?); Clatford	
Richard	Symmonds	Southwick			Ministered to congregation at Southwick.
John	Taylor	Alresford			
Faithful	Teate	Winchester Cathedral			Calamy gives him as at Winchester, but no evidence that he was there; died before 12 May 1660.
James	Terry	Michelmersh	Basingstoke	Odiham	

First name	Last name	Place of ejection	Conventicle in Hampshire 1669	Licence in Hampshire 1672-3	Notes on activities after 1662
Samuel	Tomlyns (or Tomlins)	Crawley	Winchester	Winchester	Also preached at Andover and Whitchurch, and in Wiltshire.
Samuel	Tutchin	Odiham	Gosport		
Robert	Tutchin (jun) (or Tuchin)	Brockenhurst	Fordingbridge	Lymington(?)	
Robert	Tutchin (sen)	Newport IoW			Died 1671.
Richard	Upjohn	Bishop's Sutton; Ropley		Southampton	
John	Warner	Christchurch			Died 1668.
John	Warren	Romsey		Romsey(?)	1672-3, his house licensed as meeting place.

First name	Last name	Place of ejection	Conventicle in Hampshire 1669	Licence in Hampshire 1672-3	Notes on activities after 1662
Thomas	Warren	Houghton		Romsey	
Humphrey	Weaver	Crondall	Crondall	Crondall	
Noah	Webb	Upton Grey			1672-3, licensed at Frimley in Surrey. Also preached in Wiltshire.
Robert	Webb	Droxford		Hursley(?)	
Martin	Wells	Yaverland IoW		Newport IoW	

First name	Last name	Place of ejection	Conventicle in Hampshire 1669	Licence in Hampshire 1672-3	Notes on activities after 1662
George	Whitmarsh (or Whitemarsh)	Rowner	Gosport	Gosport	1669, also at Salisbury and Newton Tony in Wiltshire. 1672-3, also licensed at Salisbury. Later preaches in Sussex.
John	Yates	Binsted		Binsted	



**Table 12: Changing numbers of dissenters: evidence from surviving meeting minutes and accounts**

Place	Denomination	Year	Members/ subscribers	'Hearers' in Evans List (1715-18)
Alton	Quaker	1672 <sup>1</sup>	67	156
		1690 <sup>2</sup>	95	
		1696 <sup>3</sup>	59	
		1730 <sup>4</sup>	75	
		1740 <sup>5</sup>	57	
Basingstoke	Independent/Presbyterian	1711 <sup>6</sup>	46	270
		1727-9 <sup>7</sup>	60	
Broughton and Wallop	Particular Baptist	c. 1684 <sup>8</sup>	25	Upward of 100
		1728 <sup>9</sup>	17	
Fareham	Independent	1701- 5 <sup>10</sup>	30	200
		1743 <sup>11</sup>	27	
Whitchurch	Baptist	1721 <sup>12</sup>	54	No data
		n.d. <sup>13</sup>	56	
		1732 <sup>14</sup>	38	
		1735 <sup>15</sup>	42	

<sup>1</sup> HRO 24M54/60, fols 2r-4r. (List of subscribers towards purchase of burying ground and building of meeting house, 1672.)

<sup>2</sup> HRO 24M54/60, fols 13r-13v. (List of subscribers towards repair of meeting house and building of two galleries, 1690.)

<sup>3</sup> HRO 24M54/60, fols 16r-16v. (List of subscribers towards building of a wood house at the meeting house, 1696.)

<sup>4</sup> HRO 24M54/60, fols 22r-22v. (List of subscribers towards laying a new floor and other repairs, 1730.)

<sup>5</sup> HRO 24M54/60, fols 27r-28r. (List of subscribers towards repairing the meeting house, 1740.)

<sup>6</sup> LSURC Church meeting minutes, 1710-1890, fols 25v-26r. (List of members, 1711.)

<sup>7</sup> TNA PRO RG 4/2106, fols 4r-5v.

<sup>8</sup> AL B1/1, 108-11. (List of church members at Broughton and Wallop.)

<sup>9</sup> AL B1/2, fol. 68v. (List of church members making regular subscriptions towards the cost of visiting preachers.)

<sup>10</sup> HRO 1M93/1, 7, 11-12. (List of church members 25 July 1701, with additions to 1705.)

<sup>11</sup> HRO 1M93/30, 84. (List of those making regular subscriptions towards the minister's stipend.)

<sup>12</sup> HRO 46M71/B1 List of members of the Baptist Church in Whitchurch, n.d. [c. 1721]. Single-sheet document with two lists of members, one dated 1721, and one undated list on the reverse side.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> HRO 46M71/B2 List of members of the Baptist Church in Whitchurch, 1732-1735. A list of 38 members was drawn up on 21 October 1732.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.* Following the 1732 entries, the list of members was maintained to July 1735. During this period three members died, and seven new members joined.

**Table 13: Social status of male dissenters, 1715-18<sup>1</sup>**

Town	Denomination	'Substantial'		'Middling'		'Mean'		Total	'Hearers' <sup>2</sup>	Numbers meeting in 1725 <sup>3</sup>
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%			
Alton	Presbyterian	39	47.56	22	26.83	21	25.61	82	220	12 families (c. 36 to 48 individuals)
Alton	Quaker	20	39.22	18	35.29	13	25.49	51	156	20 families (c. 60 to 80 individuals)
Odiham	Independent	10	33.33	9	30.00	11	36.67	30	70	180 (combined meeting)
Odiham	Presbyterian	13	22.03	31	52.54	15	25.42	59	141	

<sup>1</sup> DWL MS 38.4, 103-5. The percentages have been calculated to the nearest two decimal points.

<sup>2</sup> Assumed to be both men and women.

<sup>3</sup> Ward (ed.), *Parson and Parish*, 5-6, 99-101. The incumbent of Alton estimated three or four persons per family. The Odiham returns give a combined figure for the Independent and Presbyterian meetings, which by 1725 had joined together in one meeting.

**Table 14a: Hampshire dissenting meetings and hearers, from the Evans List of 1715-18<sup>1</sup>**

Place of Meeting	Denomination	Number of Hearers
Alton	Presbyterian	220
	Quaker	156
Andover	Presbyterian	300
	Independent	200
Basingstoke	Independent	270
Blackwater	Baptist	40
Broughton & Wallop	Baptist	Upwards of 100
Christchurch	Independent	400
Crondall	Presbyterian	No data
Fareham	Independent	200
	Baptist	No data
Fordingbridge	Presbyterian	?552
	Baptist	118
	Quaker	40
Gosport	Independent	1,000
	Baptist	40
	Quaker	6
Havant	Presbyterian	200
Isle of Wight	Baptist	55
	Quaker	35
Kingsclere	Presbyterian	60
Lymington	Presbyterian	234
	Baptist	No data
Nately, near Basingstoke	Baptist	10
Newport, IoW	Presbyterian	300
Odiham	Independent	70
	Presbyterian	141
	Quaker	1
Petersfield	Presbyterian	?
Portsmouth	Presbyterian	800
	Baptist	No data
Ringwood	Presbyterian	500
	Baptist	200
	Quaker	100
Romsey	Presbyterian	423
	Baptist	48
	Quaker	No data
Roslin and Yard, IoW	Independent	90
Southampton	Independent	430
	Baptist	No data
	Quaker	9
Tadley	Independent	60
Whitchurch	Independent	No data
Winchester	Presbyterian	330

<sup>1</sup> DWL MS 38.4, 103-5. There were other Quaker and Baptist meetings in the county not listed in the Evans List.

**Table 14b: Total hearers in Hampshire by denomination, from Evans List of 1715-18**

<b>Denomination</b>	<b>Total hearers</b>
Presbyterian	4,040
Independent	2,720
Total Presbyterian and Independent	6,760
Baptist	611
Quaker	347
Total hearers of all denominations	7,718

**Table 15: Roman Catholics and Protestant Dissenters in Hampshire: Summary of replies to bishop's visitation, 1725<sup>1</sup>**

Parish	Incumbent	Roman Catholics	Protestant dissenting meetings	Resident dissenters
Abbotstone and Itchen Stoke	Edward Griffith	Yes	No	
Abbots Ann	Robert Willis	No		
Aldershot	James Forde (curate)	No	No	Presbyterian, Quaker
Alton	Thomas Matthew	No	Presbyterian, Quaker	
Alverstoke	Charles Monckton	No	Presbyterian, Baptist	
Amport	Thomas Hayley,	Yes	No	No
Andover	Harry Penton	No	Presbyterian/Independent, Quaker	
Arreton (IoW)	William Griffin	No	No	
Ashe	Charles Goldsmith	No	No	No
Ashley	Francis Cox	No	No	No
Avington	John Newey	Yes	No	
Barton Stacey	Walter Garrett	Yes	No	No

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<sup>1</sup> Ward (ed.), *Parson and Parish*.

<b>Parish</b>	<b>Incumbent</b>	<b>Roman Catholics</b>	<b>Protestant dissenting meetings</b>	<b>Resident dissenters</b>
Basingstoke, Old Basing and Up Nately	Thomas Warton	Yes (Old Basing)	Presbyterian, Quaker (both Basingstoke)	Presbyterian (Basingstoke and Old Basing), Baptist (Basingstoke and Up Nately), Quaker (Basingstoke and Old Basing)
Baughurst	George Prince	No	Quaker	Presbyterian, Quaker
Beaulieu	Philip Sone	No	No	Presbyterian, Baptist
Bedhampton	William Lamerton	Yes	No	
Bentworth	Edward Acton	No		No
Bighton	John Mitchell	No	No	No
Bishops Sutton and Ropley	Henry Cooper	Yes	No	No
Bishopstoke	John Chirrieholme	Yes		No
Bishops Waltham	John Cooke	Yes	No	No
Blendworth	Thomas Hughes	Yes	No	
Boldre and Brockenhurst	Thomas Jenner, Francklyn Powell (lecturer)	Yes	No	Independent (Boldre and Brockenhurst); Baptist (Brockenhurst)
Bonchurch loW	William Downes	No		No

<b>Parish</b>	<b>Incumbent</b>	<b>Roman Catholics</b>	<b>Protestant dissenting meetings</b>	<b>Resident dissenters</b>
Botley	Joseph Walton	No	No	No
Brading IoW	Richard Palmer	No		No
Bradley	Thomas Winder	No	No	No
Bramdean	Robert Knapp	Yes		No
Bramley	Stephen Green	Yes	No	No
Bramshott	Joseph Jackson	No		Quaker
Breamore	John Crabb	Yes	No	
Brighstone or Brixton IoW	Reginald Jones	No		No
Brook IoW	John Woodford	No	No	No
Broughton	Samuel Eyre	No	Baptist	
Brown Candover	Richard Burleigh	No		No
Burghclere	Richard Eyre	No	No	Presbyterian, Quaker
Buriton	William Lowth	Yes	Yes	
Calbourne IoW	Thomas Terrell	No	No	Presbyterian, Baptist
Carisbrooke IoW	Thomas Troghear	No	Presbyterian, Baptist, Quaker (all Newport)	Yes (Carisbrooke, Newport, West Cowes, Northwood)
Catherington	Thomas Hughes	Yes	No	Baptist
Chale IoW	Richard Burleigh	No	No	Presbyterian

<b>Parish</b>	<b>Incumbent</b>	<b>Roman Catholics</b>	<b>Protestant dissenting meetings</b>	<b>Resident dissenters</b>
Chalton	Thomas Yalden	Yes	Baptist (occasional)	Baptist
Chawton	John Baker	No		No
Cheriton	William Trimnell	Yes	No	Presbyterian
Chilbolton	Alured Clarke	No		No
Chilcomb	John Price	No	No	Presbyterian
Chilton Candover	John Mitchell	No		No
Chilworth	Richard Speed (curate)	No	No	
Christchurch	Edward Bowen	Yes	Presbyterian, Baptist	Presbyterian, Baptist
Church Oakley	Samuel Read	No		No
Clanfield	Thomas Yalden	No	No	Yes
Cliddesden and Farleigh Wallop	William Dobson	No		No
Colemore and Priors Dean	William Purbeck	No		No
Combe	Richard Westmacott	No	No	
Compton	Charles Scott	No	No	Yes
Corhampton	Michael Ainsworth	No	No	
Crawley	Robert Wiseman	No		No
Crondall	Thomas Sone	No	Presbyterian, Quaker	Presbyterian, Quaker



<b>Parish</b>	<b>Incumbent</b>	<b>Roman Catholics</b>	<b>Protestant dissenting meetings</b>	<b>Resident dissenters</b>
Crux Easton	Seth Eyre	No		No
Deane	Charles Goldsmith	No	No	No
Dibden	Nicholas Bennet	No	No	No
Dogmersfield	Richard Rogers	No		Presbyterian
Droxford	Lewis Stephens	No	No	No
Dummer	John Dobson	No	No	No
Durley	John White	Yes	No	Presbyterian
East Meon with Froxfield and Steep	John Downes	Yes (Froxfield)	No	
Easton	Thomas Rivers	No	No	
Eastrop	Alexander Litton	No	No	Yes
East Tisted	Benjamin Blissett	No	No	
East Tytherley	Thomas Mundy (curate)	No		None
East Woodhay and Ashmansworth	Joshua Wakefield	No	Unclear	Yes
East Worldham	John Turton	No		No
Eldon	John Webb	No	No	
Eling	Richard Speed	No	No	
Ellingham	John Torbuck	No	No	Presbyterians, Baptist

<b>Parish</b>	<b>Incumbent</b>	<b>Roman Catholics</b>	<b>Protestant dissenting meetings</b>	<b>Resident dissenters</b>
Ellisfield	Ezekiel Lion	No	No	
Elvetham	Edward Aspin	No	No	Presbyterian, Baptist
Empshott	William Dalgress	No	No	No
Eversley	Edward Aspin	No	No	No
Exbury	William Bradshaw	Yes	No	
Exton	John Newlin	No		No
Facombe and Tangle	Francis Eyre	No		No
Fareham	Daniel Wavell	Yes	?Presbyterian, Baptist	?Presbyterian, Baptist
Farley Chamberlayne	John Pretty	No	No	
Farlington	Edward Cornwall	Yes	No	
Farnborough	William Halstead	No	No	Yes
Farringdon	Stephen Hales	No		No
Fawley	William Bradshaw	No	Baptist	Baptist
Fordingbridge	Gregory Doughty	Yes	Yes	Yes
Freshwater IoW	Edmund Brome	No	No	
Froyle	John Greenway	No	No	Quaker
Fyfield	Samuel Torrent	No	No	
Gatcombe IoW	John Worsley	No	No	
Godshill IoW	Barnabas Simson	No	Yes	

<b>Parish</b>	<b>Incumbent</b>	<b>Roman Catholics</b>	<b>Protestant dissenting meetings</b>	<b>Resident dissenters</b>
Goodworth Clatford	Thomas Hardy	No	No	Presbyterian
Grateley	Richard Jenks	No	No	Presbyterian
Greatham	Edmund Yalden	No	No	No
Hambledon	John Sutton	Yes	Baptist	Baptist
Hannington	John Nicoll	Yes		No
Harbridge (chapel of ease to Ringwood)	George Harris, Thomas Price (curate of chapel)	No	No	Yes
Hartley Mauditt	William Avery	No	No	No
Hartley Wespall	Miles Stanton			
Hartley Wintney	Charles White	No		Presbyterian, Baptist, Quaker
Havant	Ralph Baddely	Yes	Presbyterian	Presbyterian, Baptist.
Hayling	Alexander Smith	No	No	Yes
Headbourne Worthy	Samuel Lindsey	No	No	
Headley	George Holme	No	No	Quaker
Heckfield	Augustine Goodwin	No	No	Presbyterian
Herriard	Richard White	No	No	
Highclere	Hastings Lloyd	No	No	No
Hinton Ampner	William Browne	Yes		No

<b>Parish</b>	<b>Incumbent</b>	<b>Roman Catholics</b>	<b>Protestant dissenting meetings</b>	<b>Resident dissenters</b>
Holdenhurst	Gabriel Ayscough (curate)	Yes		Yes
Houghton	Charles Woodroffe	No	No	Baptist
Hound, Bursledon and Hamble	Dummer Andrews	Yes (Hound)	No	
Hursley and Otterbourne	Edward Griffith	Yes	No	Yes (Hursley)
Hurstbourne Priors and St Mary Bourne	Charles Warner	No	No	Yes
Hurstbourne Tarrant and Vernham Dean	Samuel Heskins	Yes	No	No
Itchen Abbas	John Newey	Yes	No	
Kimpton	George Greenway	No		No
Kingsclere	Ambrose Webbe	Yes	Presbyterian	Presbyterian
Kings Somborne	Peter Needham	Yes		No
Kingston loW	John Godsall	No	No	No
Kings Worthy	Henry Tittle	Yes	No	No
Knights Enham	Samuel Read	No		No
Lainston	Walter Garrett			
Lasham	Thomas Hinton	No	No	No

Parish	Incumbent	Roman Catholics	Protestant dissenting meetings	Resident dissenters
Laverstoke	Samuel Baker	No	No	
Leckford	George Hayward			
Linkenholt	Robert Worgan	No		No
Liss	William Jackson (curate)	No	No	Quaker
Litchfield	Hugh Wallington	No	No	
Littleton	Thomas Brereton (curate)	No	No	No
Longparish	Corbett Shelbery	No	No (Two licensed houses, without congregations)	
Longstock	John Burbank	No	No	No
Long Sutton	Temple Rose (curate)	No		No
Lymington	Thomas Jenner	Yes	Presbyterian, Baptist	Presbyterian, Baptist
Martyr Worthy	William Moss	Yes		No
Meonstoke	Abraham Markland	No	No	No
Micheldever	John Imber	Yes	No	Quaker
Michelmersh	Charles Cranley	No	No	Yes
Milford	Leonard Milbourne	Yes	Yes, inc. Baptist	Yes, inc. Baptist
Millbrook	Bernard Brougham	No	No	Presbyterian, Quaker
Milton	Leonard Milbourne			

<b>Parish</b>	<b>Incumbent</b>	<b>Roman Catholics</b>	<b>Protestant dissenting meetings</b>	<b>Resident dissenters</b>
Minstead	Edward Midleton	No	Baptist	
Monk Sherborne	Laurence Farington	Yes	No	Yes
Monxton	Thomas Rothwell	No	No	Yes
Morestead	Charles Braxtone	Yes		No
Mottisfont	Edward Jones	Yes	No	No
Mottistone IoW	Harry Constantine	No	No	No
Nately Scures	Thomas Fenton	No		No
Nether Wallop	Francis Barry	Yes	No	Baptist
Newchurch IoW	William Kelway	No	No	Presbyterian
Newnham	Michael Hutchinson	No	No	Yes
Newton Valence	Edmund Yalden	No	No	No
Niton IoW	John Thomson	No		No
North Stoneham	Timothy Owen	Yes	No	No
North Waltham	Richard Walton	No	No	No
Nursling	Henry Lambe	No	No	Presbyterian, Quaker
Nutley	John Waterman	No		No

<b>Parish</b>	<b>Incumbent</b>	<b>Roman Catholics</b>	<b>Protestant dissenting meetings</b>	<b>Resident dissenters</b>
Odiham and Greywell	James Finmore		Presbyterian/Independent (Odiham), Baptist (Odiham)	Presbyterian (Odiham and Greywell), Independent (Odiham), Baptist (Odiham), Quaker (Odiham)
Old Alresford, New Alresford and Medstead	William Needham	Yes (not Medstead)	Quaker (New Alresford)	Presbyterian (Medstead), Quaker (New Alresford and Medstead)
Overton and Tadley	Nicholas Clagget (rector), Richard Russell (vicar), George Gibson (curate, Tadley)	Yes (Tadley)	Yes (Tadley)	?Presbyterian (Tadley), Quaker (Tadley)
Over Wallop	Richard Burd	No	Baptist	Baptist
Ovington	John Barrett	Yes		No
Owslebury	Walter Mildmay	No	No	Presbyterian
Pamber	Laurence Farington,	No	No	Presbyterian
Penton Mewsey	John Border	No	No	Independent

<b>Parish</b>	<b>Incumbent</b>	<b>Roman Catholics</b>	<b>Protestant dissenting meetings</b>	<b>Resident dissenters</b>
Petersfield	George Aylmer (curate)	Yes	Presbyterian	Presbyterian
Portchester	Thomas Carew	No	Quaker	Quaker
Portsea	Evan Jones	Yes	Baptist	Yes
Portsmouth	Anthony Bliss	Yes	Presbyterian, Baptist (Arminian and Calvinist), Quaker	Presbyterian, Baptist (Arminian and Calvinist), Quaker
Preston Candover	John Waterman	No		No
Quarley	George Lewis	No	No	No
Ringwood	George Harris	Yes	Presbyterian, Baptist, Quaker	Presbyterian, Baptist, Quaker
Rockbourne	Thomas Durnford	No	No	Presbyterian, Quaker
Romsey	Walter Mayo	No	Presbyterian, Baptist	Presbyterian, Baptist
Rotherwick	William Sealy	No		No
Rowner	John Burbydge	No	No	Yes
St Laurence IoW	James Nutkins	No		No
Selborne	Gilbert White	No		No
Shalden	Anthony Lynch	No	No	Yes
Sherborne St John	Ezekiel Lion	No	No	
Sherfield English	William Kingsman	Yes	No	Presbyterian



<b>Parish</b>	<b>Incumbent</b>	<b>Roman Catholics</b>	<b>Protestant dissenting meetings</b>	<b>Resident dissenters</b>
Sherfield on Loddon	Charles Sutton	Yes		Quaker
Shorwell IoW	John Godsall	No	No	Presbyterian
Silchester	Richard Taylor	No	No	Presbyterian
Soberton	Abraham Markland	Yes	No	
Sopley	Thomas Stephens	Yes		No
Southampton, All Saints	William Purbeck	Yes	Presbyterian/Independent, Quaker	Presbyterian, Quaker
Southampton, Holy Rood	Bernard Brougham	Yes	No (excepting Church of French refugees)	Presbyterian, Baptist
Southampton, St Laurence and St John	Bernard Brougham (sequestrator)	No	No	Presbyterian, Baptist
Southampton St Mary	Ralph Brideoake	Yes	No	Baptist
Southampton, St Michael	William Kingsman (curate)	Yes	Baptist	Presbyterian, Baptist
South Stoneham	George Prince	Yes	No	Presbyterian, Quaker
South Tidworth	Samuel Heskins	Yes	No	No
South Warnborough	Lawrence Smith	No		Yes
Sparsholt	William Baker	No	No	No
Steventon	Richard Wright	No	No	

<b>Parish</b>	<b>Incumbent</b>	<b>Roman Catholics</b>	<b>Protestant dissenting meetings</b>	<b>Resident dissenters</b>
Stoke Charity	Joshua Reynolds	No		No
Stratfield Saye	Walter Chapman	No	Independent	Independent
Stratfield Turgis	John James	No		No
Swarraton	William Box	No		No
Tangley	Francis Eyre	No		No
Thrupton	William Pretty	Yes	No	Yes
Titchfield	Vacant, William Hailes (curate)	Yes	No	Presbyterian, Baptist
Tunworth	John Graile	No	No	Presbyterian
Twyford	Walter Mildmay	Yes	No	Presbyterian
Upham and Durley	John White	Yes		No
Upper Clatford	Peter Terry	No	No	Presbyterian/Independent
Upton Grey	Lancelot Jackson	No	No	Presbyterian
Warblington	Vincent Bradston	Yes	No	Presbyterian
Warnford	James Baddely	No	No	
Weeke	George Fern	No	No	
Wellow	Peter Newcome	Yes	No	Yes
West Cowes IoW (chapelry)	John King (lecturer)	No		Presbyterian, Quaker, Sabbatarian

<b>Parish</b>	<b>Incumbent</b>	<b>Roman Catholics</b>	<b>Protestant dissenting meetings</b>	<b>Resident dissenters</b>
West Meon	Stephen Unwin	No	No	Baptist
Weston Patrick	Temple Rose	No		No
West Tisted	George Knibb	No		No
West Tytherley	William Kingsman	No	No	No
West Worldham	William Avery (curate)	No	No	No
Weyhill	Joseph Todhunter	No	No	
Wherwell	Samuel Ogden (incapacitated), William Dowse (curate)	No	No	Yes
Whippingham IoW	John Gilbert	No	Quaker (occasional)	Presbyterian, Quaker
Whitchurch	Joseph Wood	Yes	Independent, Baptist, Quaker	Independent, Baptist, Quaker
Whitsbury	Thomas Durnford	No	No	Presbyterian
Wickham	Samuel Palmer	Yes		Yes
Widley and Wymering	William Chichely	No		No
Wield	Stephen Stephens (curate)	No	No	No

<b>Parish</b>	<b>Incumbent</b>	<b>Roman Catholics</b>	<b>Protestant dissenting meetings</b>	<b>Resident dissenters</b>
Winchester, St Bartholomew Hyde	Walter Garrett	Yes	No	Yes
Winchester, St Faith	Abraham Markland	Yes		No
Winchester, St John	Thomas Brereton	Yes	No	Presbyterian
Winchester, St Lawrence	John Price	Yes	No	Presbyterian
Winchester St Maurice, with St Mary Kalendar and St Peter Colebrook	Daniel Wavell	Yes	Yes	Presbyterian/ Independent, Baptist, Quaker
Winchester, St Michael	John Broadway	Yes	No	No
Winchester, St Peter Chesil	Thomas Brereton	Yes	No	Presbyterian, Quaker
Winchester St Swithin	John Broadway	No	No	No
Winchester St Thomas	William Jeffries	Yes	No	Presbyterian
Winchfield	Thomas Pretty	No	No	No housekeepers
Winnall	Luke Imber	No		No
Winslade	John Pepper	No		No

<b>Parish</b>	<b>Incumbent</b>	<b>Roman Catholics</b>	<b>Protestant dissenting meetings</b>	<b>Resident dissenters</b>
Wolverton	William Robbins	No		No
Wonston	John Sturges	No	No	Yes (occasional conformists)
Woodcott	Hugh Wallington	No	No	
Wootton, St Helens and Binstead IoW	Francis Deacon	No		Independent
Wootton St Lawrence	Thomas Fenton	No	No	Presbyterian
Worting	Henry Bigg	No		No
Yarmouth with Shalfleet and Thorley IoW	Robert Harvey	No	No	Yes (Shalfleet)
Yateley	John Thomas (curate)	No	No	Presbyterian/ Independent, Baptist, Quaker
Yaverland IoW	William Griffin	No	No	

**Table 16a: Hampshire meeting house certificates: evidence from quarter sessions records**

Place	Meeting house	Remarks	Date
Newport, IoW <sup>1</sup>	Barn in Pile Street	[Presbyterian] Registered by Martin Wells (minister)	4 July 1689
Southampton <sup>2</sup>	New built house, Above Bar Street	Congregational Registered by Nathaniel Robinson	5 July 1689
Southampton <sup>3</sup>	House of John Greenwood	Registered by Richard King	5 July 1689
Winchester <sup>4</sup>	House of Mr Edward Hooker in the Soke.	[Presbyterian] Mr Sprint (teacher), Thomas Bates, James Mitchell.	5 April 1692
Odiham <sup>5</sup>	House of Richard Hooker.	Mr James Cuffly (preacher and teacher), Richard Hooker, Joseph Dearing, William Wakeford, Edward Hollis, Thomas Slacy, William Warner.	4 October 1692
Crondall <sup>6</sup>	House of Humphrey Weaver	[Presbyterian] Humphrey Weaver (minister).	25 April 1693
Romsey <sup>7</sup>	House of Benjamin Lock, tailor, in Mill Street.	Thomas Burt (teacher), Stephen Wheeler, John Feltham, Robert Jeffrey.	14 January 1695/6
Longparish <sup>8</sup>	House of Robert Jervise, maltster ['maulster']	[Presbyterian] Mr Samuel Sprint (preacher), Richard Whinnell, John Rogers, Thomas Farr.	14 January 1695/6
St Mary Bourne <sup>9</sup>	House of Thomas Berkley	Richard Billingsley (teacher)	21 April 1696.
Crondall <sup>10</sup>	House of Richard Chandler		12 January 1696/7

<sup>1</sup> IWRO NBC/45/59, fol. 119r.

<sup>2</sup> SAS SC9/3/14.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> HRO Q1/7, 51-2; HRO Q3/3, 59.

<sup>5</sup> HRO Q1/7, 72.

<sup>6</sup> HRO Q3/3, 80.

<sup>7</sup> HRO Q1/7, 198; Q3/3, 132.

<sup>8</sup> HRO Q1/7, 198.

<sup>9</sup> HRO Q3/3, 140.

<sup>10</sup> HRO Q3/3, 156.

Place	Meeting house	Remarks	Date
Hamble <sup>11</sup>	House of Edmund Blake		12 January 1696/7
Fordingbridge <sup>12</sup>	House of Nathan Gifford	For the congregation of Mr Robert Whitaker	13 April 1708.
Odiham <sup>13</sup>	House of Richard Hooker	For congregation of Thomas Cawkitt	11 January 1708/9
Odiham <sup>14</sup>	House of William Wakeford	For congregation of Thomas Cawkitt	11 January 1708/9
Tadley <sup>15</sup>	New-built, on land belonging to Robert West senior	Thomas Ovey (pastor), William Myhell, Edmond Benham, William Benham, John Restall.	7 October 1718
Romsey <sup>16</sup>		'protestant dissenters'	10 January 1737/8
Alton <sup>17</sup>	House of Richard Palmer	Presbyterian. Richard Palmer, Thomas Harding.	10 July 1738

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<sup>11</sup> HRO Q3/3, 156.

<sup>12</sup> HRO Q3/3, 300.

<sup>13</sup> HRO Q3/3, 306.

<sup>14</sup> HRO Q3/3, 306.

<sup>15</sup> HRO Q1/9, 161-2; HRO Q3/4, 78.

<sup>16</sup> HRO Q3/6, 104.

<sup>17</sup> HRO Q1/12, fol. 201v; Q3/6, 112.

**Table 16b: Hampshire meeting house certificates: bishop's court records<sup>1</sup>**

Parish	Meeting House	Remarks	Date
21M65/F2/1/1 North Charford	Mary Samber widow	Signed: John Overatt and others	April 1702
21M65/F2/1/2 Alton	John Newall tanner	Presbyterian. Signed: John Tomlyn, William Page, John Page, John Newell	16 March 1705/6
21M65/F2/1/3 Kingsclere and places adjacent	A new place prepared by us	Signed: Jacob Ball, minister, Henry Duckett, Richard Fletcher, John Knight, Thomas Abblebusy and others	19 December 1706
21M65/F2/1/4 Ringwood	John Rook cloth dresser	Signed: John Rook, John Holloway, William Swetland, Richard Chater and others	1 June 1707
21M65/F2/1/5 Ringwood	William Swetland bricklayer	Signed: William Swetland, John Scaplen, Henry Littlejohn, James Holloway, Richard Chater	1 June 1707
21M65/F2/1/6 Whitchurch	Newly erected in Mans Lane	Nathaniel Holmes, minister.	21 August 1708
21M65/F2/1/7 Timsbury	Joseph Arnold	Signed: Francis Willson, Richard. Arnold, George Webb, Edmund Noyes	1 February 1709/10
21M65/F2/1/8 Iver psh Christchurch	Robert Kerley	Presbyterian Signed: John Smith minister, with Thomas Burd, Henry Bidlcombe, John Cuttler, John Biddlecombe	4 April 1710
21M65/F2/1/9 Totton, parish of Eling	House of John Ventham	Signed: Francis Wilson, Richard Binsted, Samuel Langdon, one other	15 June 1710
21M65/F2/1/10 Whitcombe, parish of Carisbrooke loW	Mrs Jane Pell widow	Signed: Matthew Cox senior, Caleb Cooke, John Cook, Thomas Tutton.	22 August 1710

<sup>1</sup> HRO 21M65/F2/1



Parish	Meeting House	Remarks	Date
21M65/F2/1/11 All Saints Southampton	Mr William Bolar	[Independent] Signed: Isaac Watts, Moses Gooderidge, James Johns, Abraham Johns.	10 November 1710
21M65/F2/1/12 Eling	Not stated	Quaker Signed: Richard. Burges, M. Blake.	11 November 1710
21M65/F2/1/12a Romsey	John Tomlyn	Signed: John Tomlyn	11 October 1712 [sic, out of sequence]
21M65/F2/1/13 Carisbrooke	William Cook junior	John Foster pastor, and others	29 October 1711
21M65/F2/1/14 Romsey	Mrs Good widow without the Abbey Gate	'Baptized believers' Signed by William Thornton.	12 November 1711
21M65/F2/1/15 Newport loW	Anthony How senior	Signed: Anthony How senior, Andrew Douglass, John Gole, John Norton, Richard Smith, John. Dove, Saml. Adams	19 December 1711
21M65/F2/1/16 Wootton, loW	House of Caleb Cook called Childerton	Signed: Caleb Cooke [sic], John Foster, William Cook, Thomas Young, Thomas Wearne, Andrew Douglass	31 March 1712
21M65/F2/1/17 St Michael Southampton	Mrs Margaret Legg widow	Signed: Stephen Kent, Francis Wilson and others	12 September 1712
21M65/F2/1/18 Wherwell	Scisly Henbrey	Signed: Thomas Freemantle, Stephen Lewis	10 October 1712
21M65/F2/1/19 Hinton, parish of Christchurch	William Cook	Presbyterian Signed: Roger Hendey, Thomas Carter senior, Thomas Carter junior, John Smith and one other	30 April 1713
21M65/F2/1/20 Sopley	Jonathan Eliot and John Grose	Presbyterian Signed: John Eliot, Nicholas Mist, Joseph Snelling John Taylor, John Smith	30 April 1713

Parish	Meeting House	Remarks	Date
21M65/F2/1/21 Easton	Manor House in the possession of Edward Hooker senior, gentleman	The house to be used 'for a place occasionally for Religious Worship'. Signed Edward Hooker senior, Richard Perkins, Jonathan Coleman, John Grace, John Kent and one other	26 September 1713
21M65/F2/1/22 Heath, parish of Fawley	John Wyn in Frost Lane	Signed: Edward King, William Dickman	12 November 1713
21M65/F2/1/23 Fordingbridge	Thomas Elliot	Signed: James Whitaker, Anthony Gifford, James Gibbs	2 December 1713
21M65/F2/1/24 Burley, parish of Ringwood	William Brown	James Whitaker, Philip Lyne, Thomas Durnford	7 December 1713
21M65/F2/1/25 Hythe, parish of Fawley	Wm Dickman [and see /22]	Signed: Francis Yelverton, Thomas Forist, John Skews, William Dickman, William Morgan	12 June 1714
21M65/F2/1/26 Winsor, parish of Eling	Edward Fishbourn	Baptist Signed: George Jackman, Edward. Fishborn [sic], Christopher Clark, William Plasket	4 August 1714
21M65/F2/1/27 Andover	Joseph Weight clothier	Signed: Joseph Waight, Jacob Bunny	9 August 1714
21M65/F2/1/28 Bickton	Vincent Pinhorn	Signed: Vincent Pinhorn, John Pinhorn, Simon Gilbert, John. Rawkins	19 July 1715
21M65/F2/1/29 Hythe, parish of Fawley	Ann Boys	Baptist Signed: Thomas Dickman, Thomas Martten, James Stevens, John Smith and others	5 August 1715

Parish	Meeting House	Remarks	Date
21M65/F2/1/30 Fareham	Newly erected in West Street	[Independent, see 1M93/30] Signed: Thomas Oxford, James Missing, Thomas Newman, John Francklin and others	12 December 1715
21M65/F2/1/31 'Dounte' [?Downton]	John Angood	Signed: James Parsons, John Lillington, Richard. Chalk, Caleb Sheppard.	26 April 1717
21M65/F2/1/32 Havant	Mrs Mary Slidall	Signed: Mary Slidell, John How, John Bemesler, John Wickham, John Knight.	4 May 1717
21M65/F2/1/33 Havant	Mr Nathan Kindrick	Signed: Nathan Kindrick, John How, John Knight and others	4 May 1717
21M65/F2/1/34 Romsey Extra	William Houghton in Latimer Street	Signed: William Houghton, Daniel Sharp, Edmond Sharp, William Joleffe, Thomas Frith, Henry Smith, Robert. Newlands	5 July 1717
21M65/F2/1/35 Denmead, parish of Hambledon	William Luff	Baptist Edward Fishbourn preacher. Signed: William Luff, Edward Fishbourn, Roger Terry	13 July 1717
21M65/F2/1/36 Alton	William Page junior	Signed: William Page junior, John Newell, John Morse, Andrew Bolen, William Cox, John Page	16 July 1717
21M65/F2/1/37 Tadley	A new edifice on ground of Rob West senior	Signed: Thomas Ovey pastor, William Myhell, Edmond Henham and others	4 October 1718
21M65/F2/1/38 Southampton	Mrs Eliz. Weekes	Signed: Moses Goodridge, George Vallett, Thomas Bowers, Eliz. Weekes, James Johns	13 November 1718

Parish	Meeting House	Remarks	Date
21M65/F2/1/39 West Cowes, parish of Northwood IoW	Daniel Todd		9 February 1718/19
21M65/F2/1/40 Farnborough	Not stated	Quakers Signed: Richard Burges	30 April 1719
21M65/F2/1/41 Lockerley	William Houtchings	[Baptist] Signed: John How, Stephen Kent, William Steele, William Houghton, Thomas Sturgis, Richard Mills, Thomas Kent.	14 May 1719
21M65/F2/1/42 Chalton	Daniel Austen	Baptist. Signed: W. Randall, Richard Drinkwater, ministers.	28 May 1719
21M65/F2/1/43 Ringwood	Richard Cheater	Signed: M. Carter, Henry Gosse, Richard Cheater, Thomas Fryer, Thomas Line, Peter Warren and one other	24 June 1720
21M65/F2/1/44 Dockenfield	Andrew Belen	Signed: Thomas Baldwin, William Page, John Page and one other	26 November 1720
21M65/F2/1/45 West Cowes IoW	Isaac Alford	Signed: Edward Trusler Joseph Barter	3 December 1720
21M65/F2/1/46 Stanpit, parish of Christchurch	John Kerley	Presbyterian Signed: James Kerley, Edward Kerley, Thomas. Carter, Joseph Welsted	n. d.
21M65/F2/1/47 Milton	Roger Hendey	Presbyterian Signed: John Bryant, Joseph Weyman, John Frost, John Collins.	n.d.
21M65/F2/1/48 Throop, parish of Holdenhurst	Henry Bidlecombe	Presbyterian Signed: John Bidlcombe, Henry Emberley, John Man, Richard Man and one other	n.d.
21M65/F2/1/49 Basingstoke	James Kitchener	Signed: James Kitchener, Wm Moth, John Spencer, Samuel Stocker, John Smith	n.d.

Parish	Meeting House	Remarks	Date
21M65/F2/1/50 Basingstoke	William Jackson in Stew Lane	Baptist Mr George Keily minister. Signed: Thomas Jackson, Richard Cutter, Richard Mills	n.d.
21M65/F2/1/51 Minstead	William Wright	Baptist George Jackman, William Wright, Edward Wright and others	n.d.
21M65/F2/1/52 Southampton	Abraham and James Johns	Signed: Moses Goodridge, Thomas Bowes, James Johns, Abraham Johns	n.d.
21M65/F2/1/53 Southampton	Moses Goodridge	Signed: Moses Goodridge, Thomas Bowes, James Johns, Abraham Johns	n.d.
21M65/F2/1/54 Havant	Thomas Molard	Signed: Thomas Millard, John How, John Wickham, John Knight and one other	n.d.
21M65/F2/1/55 Romsey Extra	Newly built in Middlebridge Street	Signed: William Houghton, Thomas Frith, Daniel Sharp and one other	n.d.
21M65/F2/1/56 Lyndhurst	Edward Fishbourn	[Baptist, see /51] Signed: George Jackman, Edward Fishbourn, Joshua Elling, Henry Youngs, Christopher Clark, William Plaskett and one other	n.d.
21M65/F2/1/57 Christchurch	Henry Kitch in Waterditch	[Baptist, see /51 and /56] Signed: Henry Kitch, Christopher Clark, Richard Clark, George Jackman, Thomas Marter and one other	n.d.
21M65/F2/1/58 Basingstoke	James Harfell	Signed: John Burnham, Thomas Hunt and others	n.d.

Parish	Meeting House	Remarks	Date
21M65/F2/1/59 Stuckton, parish of Fordingbridge	Robert Whitaker	Signed: James Whitaker, Andrew Collins	n.d.
Sopley	John Sabin		
21M65/F2/1/60 Romsey Infra	Newly erected near the Abbey Gate	Presbyterian Signed: William Houghton, William. Baker and others	n.d.
21M65/F2/1/61 Fareham	Mr Samuel Barnard's house. One other house.	Signed: John Hornes	5 April 1725 [signed]
21M65/F2/1/62 Hambleton	House of William Luff	Baptist Signed: William Newell, William Wheeler, Robert Row, William Luff, Richard Turner, Edward Wheeler, Richard Drinkwater and others	5 March 1725/6
21M65/F2/1/63 Whitchurch	New building	[Baptist, see HRO 46M71/B2] Signed: James Cannon, John Grant.	20 July 1726
21M65/F2/1/64 Alton	The back buildings of John Fielder in Alton Eastbrook	Signed: William Page, M. Norris, John Fielder	21 November 1726.
21M65/F2/1/65 Hythe	House of Henry Jones	Baptist Signed: Henry Jones, William Wright, George Jackman, Thomas Hayter, Thomas Marten and others	28 January 1726/7
21M65/F2/1/66 Houghton	House of Andrew Weeble	[Baptist] Signed: Henry Steele, Henry Sturges, Samuel Leach, William Knight, William Steele, John Kent	2 March 1726/7 (signed)
21M65/F2/1/67 Gosport	House of John Clifton	Signed: John Hooper, Samuel Beves junior, John Leach	5 June 1727

Parish	Meeting House	Remarks	Date
21M65/F2/1/68 Sopley	House of Edward Norris, wherein dwells Mr Smith, minister	Presbyterians Signed: John Smith minister, Richard Elliott and others	14 July 1727
21M65/F2/1/69 All Saints (Above Bar) Southampton	A house lately erected	[Independent] Signed: Isaac Watts, Joseph Brackstone, James Johns, Thomas Bone, Abraham Johns	22 July 1727
21M65/F2/1/70 Penton	House of the late Mr John Heller	Signed: David Millar and others	17 August 1727
21M65/F2/1/71 Upper Wallop	House of William Somner	Signed: John Kent, Stephen Kent, Richard Miller, David Millar, William Sumner, John Leach, Richard Beaumont	20 September 1727
21M65/F2/1/72 St Mary Bourne	House of Richard Beckley	Baptist Richard Beckley, John Benham, John Grant	6 September 1727 [date of application]
21M65/F2/1/73 Ringwood	New erected house	[Presbyterian, see 11M61/24] Signed: Alexander Carter, Henry Gosse, Richard Cheater and others	22 June 1728
21M65/F2/1/74 North Warnborough	House of Robert Chapman	Baptist Signed: William Jackson, Robert Chapman, John Ayre, Thomas Jackson, Richard Cutler and others	31 July 1728
21M65/F2/1/75 Fordingbridge	House of Mr James Joyce	Signed: Nathaniel Lane, George Luffman, Moses Joyce, John Randoll	16 July 1728
21M65/F2/1/76 West Cowes, IoW	House in the occupation of Mr Charles Jacobs or his assigns	Signed: Stephen Day, Isaac Alford	7 August 1728
21M65/F2/1/77 West Cowes, IoW	A void room in West Cowes	Signed: Stephen Day, Isaac Alford	12 October 1728

Parish	Meeting House	Remarks	Date
21M65/F2/1/78 West Cowes, IoW	A room belonging to a tenement of Mr John Hollis, late in the occupation of Edw:d Trufler, near the High Street in West Cowes	Signed: Stephen Day, Isaac Alford	11 March 1728/9
21M65/F2/1/79 Gosport	House of William Weatherell, at the back side of South Street facing the chapel	Signed: Robert Roberts, James Ivyman, John Bedford, William Roberts, John Millard, James Mallard and one other.	19 July 1729
21M65/F2/1/80 Basingstoke	House of Thomas Jackson in Waatts Street	Baptist Signed: Thomas Jackson, John Aires, Richard Cutler, Robert Chapman, William Jackson and one other	9 July 1729
21M65/F2/1/81 Nether Wallop	House of John Leach	[Baptist] Signed: John Leach, John Kent, Thomas Chitty, John Grant and others	19 July 1729
21M65/F2/1/82 Portsmouth Common	House of John Bemister, Queen Street, on Common near Portsmouth	Signed: John Knight, John Bemister, Thomas Whitewood	26 August 1729
21M65/F2/1/83 Havant	New erected building in Pallant Lane on the north side of the East Street	Signed: William Bayly, Richard Andrews, Robert Andrew, E. Bayly and one other	14 October 1729.
21M65/F2/1/84 Southampton	Dwelling house of Mr Moses Goodridge without Bargate	Signed: Henry Francis, Moses Goodridge, William Jolleffe, James Johns	28 March 1730
21M65/F2/1/85 Carisbrook, IoW	House of Joshua Hall in Upper Lovestone & the house of Martha Cave in Chilton [Chillerton]	Mr John Mercer, preacher. Signed: Frances Young, Thomas Young, William Davis, Daniel Todd, Caleb Cooke	9 August 1732.



Parish	Meeting House	Remarks	Date
21M65/F2/1/86 Middle Wallop	For preaching a funeral sermon by Mr Lewis a dissenting minister of Andover at the dwelling house of John Leach of Middle Wallop, deceased	[Baptist] Signed: Stephen Kent, Richard Mills, Henry Pyle, Samuel Leach, William Browning, George Barton.	16 September 1732
21M65/F2/1/87 Christchurch Twynham	House of Elias Lane at Middle Bockhampton	Signed: John Sleat senior, John Sleat junior, Joseph Burden and others	28 October 1732
21M65/F2/1/88 Southampton	House of Mr Thomas Bower	Signed: Henry Francis, William: Jolleffe, Thomas Bernard, Robert Reade, James Johns and one other	9 August 1734
21M65/F2/1/89 Southampton	House of Gregory Bowden	Henry Francis, minister. Signed: Thomas Rower, James Johns, Abraham Johns, Hugh Weekes, R. Reade.	19 April 1735
21M65/F2/1/90 Southampton	[Illegible, page torn]	Signed: Joseph Bunny, Nicholas Joules, James Billett, Abraham Venthams, Edward Rawlings, Richard Rawlings	18 June 1736 [signed]
21M65/F2/1/91 Winchester	House of Daniel Parker, shoemaker	Signed: Edward Pain, Jonathan Coleman, Richard Perkins, Thomas Parker and one other	August 1737 [signed]
21M65/F2/1/92 Titchfield	House of Richard Roy	[?Presbyterian, see HRO 5M53/1101/2] Signed: William Sabben, Rachel Comden, John Bedbrook, Mary Godine	28 January 1737/8
21M65/F2/1/93 Milford	House of William Rice	Signed: Richard Chalke, Peter Grose, Samuel Wickenden, Thomas Wickenden, William Parsons, Thomas Whitewood	1 March 1737/8

Parish	Meeting House	Remarks	Date
21M65/F2/1/94 Winchester	House of Thomas Vine	Signed: Jonathan Coleman, Thomas Parker, Richard Gosse, Thomas Edwards	16 March 1737/8
21M65/F2/1/95 Hamble	House of Henry Butler	Signed: Joseph Wheeler, James Johns, Henry Butler, Joseph Butler, Richard Butler	4 April 1739
21M65/F2/1/96 Hambledon	House of Henry Butler	[Memo copy of /95]	4 April 1739
21M65/F2/1/97 Fordingbridge	House of William Starks	Baptist Signed: James Joyce, Thomas Eastman, Thomas Stokes, Moses Joyce, Caleb Joyce and one other	3 August 1739
21M65/F2/1/98 Godshill IoW	House of Joseph Warne in Godshill Street, Godshill	Presbyterian Signed: Joseph Wearn, William Cave, John Morgan, Caleb Cook, James Wearn, William Sanders and others	26 Dec 1739
21M65/F2/1/99 Southampton	House of Mrs Ann Goodridge	Signed: Henry Francis, James Johns, Robert Reade, Thomas Bernard	23 February 1739/40
21M65/F2/1/100 Basingstoke	House of Mr George Burnham	Signed: Samuel Hogget, William Moth, Joseph Bull, John Morse, Samuel Spencer	20 February 1739/40
21M65/F2/1/101 Southampton	House of Mr Henry Francis	Signed: Henry Francis, Robert Reade, Thomas Bernard	29 September 1740

## APPENDIX: MAPS



















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24M54/25/3 General Meeting of Dorsetshire and Hampshire: Burials.

24M54/33 Alton Monthly Meeting: Men's meeting: Minute book, 1672-1676.

24M54/34 Alton Monthly Meeting: Men's meeting: Minute book, 1676-1744.

24M54/48 Alton Monthly Meeting: Women's meeting: Minute book, 1672-1676.

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24M54/50 Alton Monthly Meeting: Women's meeting: Minute book, 1716-1773.

24M54/60 Alton Monthly Meeting: Accounts, 1672-1810.

24M82/PW2 Fordingbridge: Churchwardens' account and rate book, 1602-1649, n.d.

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29M79/PR1 West Worldham: parish registers, 1653-1812.

37M85/4/MI/1/24 Andover Borough: Town Council before 1836: Minutes, 1654.

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