

The immediate impact of the Second Reform Act on a southern county town: voting patterns at Lewes Borough in 1865 and 1868

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Much speculation has been expended in studies of the structure of market town politics prior to the Second Reform Bill, on the tangled motives and manoeuvres which accompanied the passing of the Bill, and on its impact across county and borough seats.¹ This study seeks to examine in some depth the nature of party allegiance at Lewes Borough in 1865 and the immediate repercussions there of the Reform Bill, especially the integration of the newly enfranchised into established political patterns.

In 1847, the Conservatives in Lewes Borough were sharply defeated by a Liberal-Peelite coalition: they gained only 28.6 per cent of the votes polled. In 1859, their share rose to 36.4 per cent, in 1865 to 44.4 per cent, and in 1868 to 49 per cent.² Their electoral recovery took place in a county town marked by continuity of economic function and social structure and by an intense religious and cultural life. The parliamentary borough housed 9533 people in 1851, 9716 in 1861, and 10,753 in 1871. The build-up of the local railway network by the mid-1840s ended certain cost advantages formerly enjoyed by the town as a river-port, but in the 1860s Court Leet banquets echoed to the praise of local prosperity and enterprise.³ The electorate fell from 763 in 1841 to 627 in 1859, partly through the erosion of scot-and-lot electors, but rose to 644 by 1865. The reforms of 1867–8 left the borough with one member, extended its area very slightly to anticipate new building,⁴ and increased the electorate to 1278 in 1868.

The election of 1847 marked a watershed in the political history of Lewes: the realignments provoked at it were still decisive twenty years later. In 1841 after a bitter fight, the Liberals gained both seats with 50.9 per cent of the poll. Few electors plumped,

cross-voted or abstained.⁵ The Liberals (Harford and Elphinstone) received 411 and 409 votes, the Conservatives (Henry Fitzroy and Viscount Cantelupe) 407 and 388. But on petition Harford was unseated in favour of Fitzroy. However, because of his votes to confirm the Maynooth grant and to repeal the Corn Laws, Fitzroy, like Gladstone, Goulburn, and Cardwell, faced 'Protestant'-Protectionist opposition to his re-election in 1847.⁶ This opposition fielded two 'strangers' in Lewes, Godfrey Hudson and Lord Henry Loftus. The Liberals merely nominated Robert Perfect, who had been elected unopposed at a by-election the previous March. Fitzroy polled 459 votes, Perfect 403, Hudson 206, and Loftus 140. Out of 226 electors who voted Liberal in 1841, 202 polled for Perfect and Fitzroy, while only 11 boycotted Fitzroy by plumping for Perfect. The party rank-and-file was clearly happy with a Liberal-Peelite coalition (Table 1).

TABLE 1: *Lewes voting preferences, 1841 and 1847*

Preference in 1841	Preference in 1847							Total
	Pf	Pf & Fz	Fz	Pf & Hd/Lf	Fz & Hd/Lf	Hd & Lf	Hd	
Liberal 2	11	202		4	3	5	1	226
Liberal 1						1		1
Conservative 2	1	53	31	1	23	87	13	209
Conservative 1						1		1
Liberal & Fitzroy		10		2	1	1		14
Liberal & Cantelupe		1		1				2
Non-voter		7	1			1		9
Total	12	273	32	8	27	96	14	462
New electors	6	101	12	2	12	44	7	184
Total	18	374	44	10	39	140	21	646

The body of former Conservative supporters, however, fragmented utterly: out of 209 electors who voted Tory in 1841 1 voted for Perfect, 53 for Perfect and Fitzroy, 31 for Fitzroy, 1 for Perfect and a Conservative, 23 for Fitzroy and a Conservative, only 87 for Hudson and Loftus, and 13 for Hudson. New electors dispersed their votes similarly. Out of 117 non-voters 44 were Conservative in 1841.⁷

The election heralded a period of twenty years during which the Liberals 'rode rampant in Lewes'.⁸ In 1852 and 1857 Fitzroy and his new Liberal colleague, Henry Brand J.P., a neighbouring

landowner from Glynde and a future Speaker, were returned unopposed. The Tories remained 'under a cloud – a separate and disjointed party' in a town regarded as 'a close Whig borough'.⁹ By the 1859 election, Fitzroy, soon to be First Commissioner of Works, had become as official a Liberal as Brand, already a treasury lord.¹⁰ They received 339 and 338 votes, and R. P. Amphlett Q.C. and Sir Charles Blunt, two Conservatives without local standing, 200 and 189. Among former electors the Tories gained 37.8 per cent of the vote, a modest recovery (Table 2). 'Protestant'–Protectionist diehards in 1847 were still Conservative in 1859 by 132 votes to 3, but Liberal electors in 1841 were still Liberal in 1859 by 198 votes to 6. Moreover, former Conservatives in 1841 (who in 1847 had abstained, cross-voted, plumped for Fitzroy, or voted for Fitzroy and Perfect), still polled 90 Liberal and only 52 Tory votes, 43 of them supporting Fitzroy and Brand. These were the men who 'followed Mr Fitzroy into new lines, and gradually fell into the Liberal camp'.¹¹ Their 'desertion' still debilitated the borough Conservatives who secured only 35.2 per cent of votes cast by new electors. On Fitzroy's death in December 1859, the Liberal, John G. Blencowe, a local J.P. and landowner seated in Chailey, was returned unopposed.

In 1865, the Conservatives secured a strong candidate with 'a great interest in the town' – William Christie J.P., Master of the Southdown Hunt, whose estate at Glyndebourne bordered Brand's.¹² His colleague, however, Sir Alfred Slade, a Crimean veteran from Somerset, given to violent and personal invective, was perhaps a liability.¹³ The Liberals nominated with Brand Lord Pelham J.P., heir to the earl of Chichester, who came to Lewes 'backed up by all his father's virtues'.¹⁴ Chichester, seated nearby at Stanmer, First Church Commissioner since 1850, Lord Lieutenant since 1860, and 'a consistent and staunch Liberal', chaired the local bench and was very active in good works.¹⁵ Brand polled 325 votes, Pelham 324, Christie 292, and Slade 232. Christie received 37 cross-votes and 23 plumpers, but some at the expense of Slade who attracted none (Table 2). Among former electors the Conservative share of the vote reached 42.4 per cent: since 1859, 3 Tories and 16 Liberals had switched allegiance, the Conservative advance owing more to death and removal than to defection. Among new electors, however, the Tories gained 49.3 per cent of the vote, a restoration of their position in 1841, which augured well for the future. The trend towards Conservatism among the younger £10 householders became still clearer at the 1868 election which found Pelham pitted

TABLE 2: *Electors' preferences compared with the previous election: 1859-68*

	Lib 1	Lib 2	Cross -vote	Con 1	Con 2	Un- polled	Total	Tory % share of vote
1859:1847								
Lib 1	1	9	—	—	—	2	12	
Peelite	1	15	1	—	7	4	28	
Lib-Peelite	2	146	2	—	8	7	165	
Lib-Con	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	
Peelite-Con	1	7	3	—	9	1	21	
Con 1	—	—	2	—	6	—	8	
Con 2	2	—	—	—	59	8	69	
Unpolled	1	11	—	—	24	13	49	
Total	8	188	8	—	114	35	353	37.8
New electors	7	136	6	3	72	51	275	35.2
1865:1859								
Lib 1	3	5	1	—	—	1	10	
Lib 2	3	186	10	2	14	11	226	
Cross-vote	—	1	4	2	3	—	10	
Con 1	—	—	—	1	1	—	2	
Con 2	—	3	5	5	114	2	129	
Unpolled	1	13	6	3	12	14	49	
Total	7	208	26	13	144	28	426	42.4
New electors	5	92	11	10	88	12	218	49.3
1868:1865								
Lib 1	5			1		1	7	
Lib 2	205			8		14	227	
Cross-vote	6			14		8	28	
Con 1	—			13		—	13	
Con 2	3			168		10	181	
Unpolled	6			8		11	25	
Total	225			212		44	481	48.2
New electors	375			378		44	797	50.1

Note: this table is based on a comparison of the pollbooks for 1847, 1859, 1865, and 1868 (E.S.R.O., C5/3/21, 22, 26, 28). The enumerators' returns for 1851, 1861, and 1871 (E.S.R.O., Microfilms, XA9/19-20, XA/2/5-6, XA17/4) have been used to confirm or establish continuity of identity. See also *Lewes in 1871: a Household and Political Directory*, ed. Colin Brent (Centre for Continuing Education, University of Sussex, Occasional Paper, No. 9, 1978).

against Christie. Pelham received 600 votes and Christie 590, including 5 which were miss-polled and therefore disallowed. Among all former electors, including 4 unregistered in 1865, the Liberal majority depended on the 1841 cohort (Table 3). Once again outright defectors among them were few and their net impact slight. Among the flood of (entirely) new electors the Conservatives secured a slender lead by 378 votes to 371: had the new

cohort consisted entirely of £10 householders, they might have snatched a victory.

At a post-election banquet in 1859, Blunt lamented that 'all the parochial and other public offices' in the borough were held by Liberals.¹⁶ They were indeed deeply entrenched within the 'town', but less so in the suburbs of Cliffe, Malling and Southover. A town council, composed of past and serving high constables and head-boroughs, elected at the Lewes Court Leet, formed a ceremonial focus and busied with proclamations, the clock, the wharf, the swimming baths, the ornamental walks, and some small charities. Within this politically emasculated context a rough party balance was maintained.¹⁷ But the Town Improvement Commission voted a solid Liberal majority onto its Standing Committee from 1859 to incorporation in 1881:¹⁸ in 1863 the solicitor and Liberal agent, Edgar Blaker (LLA.:Acw)¹⁹ was elected clerk; the 'ardent' Liberal house-agent, Cornelius Harris (LLAA:Bm), rate collector;²⁰ and Frank Davey (..CC:A), surveyor.*

TABLE 3: *Voting preferences in 1868 of electors registered in 1865 or earlier*

Cohort	Liberal	Conservative	Non-voters	Total
1841	63	43	9	115
1847	36	31	7	74
1859	62	61	13	136
1865	68	77	15	160
Total	229	212	44	485

The political complexion of the Cliffe Commission is unclear; its patronage remained divided – the collector and surveyor were both Liberal, the clerk Conservative.²¹ Southover, strung out along that 'open cesspit', the Winterbourne stream,²² was governed from its vestry, the vortex of bitter personal conflicts over drainage which correlated not at all with party alignments.²³ Elections to the Board of Guardians were not contested, perhaps because party representation seems to have been kept more or less evenly matched. Its clerk was Henry Bartlett (AAAC:A), its medical officers were Richard Turner (.LLL:A) and William Murrell (AAC.:A), and its relieving officer was the veteran Liberal, John Cooke (LLL.:C).²⁴ Cooke was also assistant parish relieving officer for St Michaels, an elective post which offered a useful party ally in the registration process. The office was held in Malling from 1843 by the florist,

* For an explanation of these abbreviations, see note 19, page 173 below.

Richard Wheatley (LLLL:Wm), in St Johns from 1863 by the grocer, Edward Bedford (.LLL:Cm), and in All Saints (also from 1863) by the *Sussex Express* printer, William Wingham (CCCC:A) who defeated the butcher, William Smith (LLLL:Cm), in a keen contest amid much bustling to and fro of flies.²⁵ In 1864, another *Express* printer, Frederick Smith (..CC), was vanquished in St Annes by the grocer, William Hall (LLLL:A); Smith was, however, successful in Southover in 1868.²⁶ In Cliffe, after the retirement of William Haywood (LL..) in 1866, the post was held by a rapid succession of tradesmen of obscure allegiance elected without a contest.²⁷

The themes which preoccupied Liberals, massed in the hall of the Mechanics' Institute, and Conservatives, crowding the Corn Exchange, changed little except in emphasis between 1865 and 1868. To many Tories 'Popery' was the crucial issue in 1865. Its advance threatened despotism or mob rule. To end Church rates without 'a fair and proper equivalent' would be to spoliage the only national 'Protestant' bastion against Rome. Brand had abetted Popery by recent votes for the appointment of Catholic priests in civil prisons, for an end to oaths requiring Catholic M.P.s not to subvert the Church of England, and against the official inspection of religious houses.²⁸ Liberals preferred to argue for a pruning of Anglican privilege, since an end to Church rates would allow an alliance of Anglican and Dissenter against Romanism, a tide not to be halted by petty civil or legal irritants.²⁹ Both parties strained to taint the other with 'Puseyism': Liberals dwelt on the Toryism of Brighton's ritualists, Conservatives on the complexion of Gladstone's election committee at Oxford University.

Fear also informed Tory views on franchise reform. Any industrious artisan could become a £10 householder: the enfranchisement of £6 householders would divorce electoral power from property: only 'lateral' extension was compatible with social order. The Liberals promised 'a moderate extension . . . to secure a more adequate representation of all classes'. Tory pessimism fed, too, on the scale of recent warfare in Italy and the United States which underlined the importance of the armed forces (the army being 'conservative throughout'),³⁰ of the Militia and of the Volunteers. Slade branded passivity towards the American Civil War as 'suicidal' and 'unEnglish':³¹ Christie hedged over 'a judicious intervention'. Liberals urged that peace abroad be fostered by moral force: free-trade diplomacy and practice (exemplified by the French

commercial treaty and the reform of the paper duties) would promote peace, wealth, and useful knowledge. Christie regretted the loss of these revenues which might have been better used in funding a repeal of the malt tax, a measure to revive the farmer and the Lewes tradesman and to promote cheaper and purer beer. Tory gloom was finally increased by the inevitable retirement of Palmerston, 'half' a Conservative, and by the prospect of Gladstone, or even Bright, in power.

In 1868, 'Protestant' feeling in Lewes reached fever-pitch over Irish Disestablishment, seen as a 'barefaced act of spoliation', 'subversive' to the Royal Supremacy, to Protestant institutions in Church and State, and to the settled rights of property, an initiative hatched in Rome the previous winter between Gladstone and some Cardinals. The grocer, James Shaw (CCC.), and the landowner, William Verrall (Table 4), both former Liberals and therefore of much symbolic value, declared the constitution in danger. Christie shuddered to learn there was a Catholic priest 'living and working in this very town'. 'Traitors' within the Anglican Church were again denounced. The Conservative 'cries' were to be 'Pelham and the Pope' and 'Christie and the Queen', who was known to be sympathetic to their cause. Other Conservative themes were much more briefly sketched – Disraeli's belief in the innate Toryism of the working man, Bright's opposition to factory reform, the fanaticism of advanced Radicals, the suppression of Fenianism, necessary spending on the armed forces, the Abyssinian campaign.³² To the Liberals, Irish Disestablishment was a necessary but just concession to Irish opinion, which might safely be left in the hands of a leader so superior to Disraeli in moral and mental endowment.³³ Although both parties paraded working men at their meetings and claimed credit for their enfranchisement, the thrust of political discussion was largely unaffected by their presence on the register, apart from Liberal endorsement of the secret ballot and Conservative opposition to it.

Vincent has seen the tone of popular politics in market towns before 1868 as often pitched by an 'urban peasantry' of small businessmen, almost pre-industrialized in context and preoccupied with the nexus between vendor and customer. Their Liberalism, reflecting an inability to make clear-cut economic demands of government, exulted urban enterprise, mobility and self-esteem, 'the indigenous culture of the town', by pressing the political claims of intelligence shaped by moral insight and by eroding prescriptive authority in Church and State. Such prescription embodied the

TABLE 4: Electors in 1865 and 1868 who were larger employers

Occupation	Voting 1841-75	Denom- ination	Employees voting in 1868				Total
			C	L	A	T	
<i>Dealing</i>							
Edward Beard	LLAL..	A					6
William Beard	..LLLL	A					..
George Browning	LLLL..	A		1		2	6
Arthur Browning	CC	A					..
Thomas Madgwick	CLLLLD	A	1			1	7
Henry Moore	..LLL	B		4		4	8
William Crosskey	LLLL.	U					10
Robert Crosskey	..LLL	U					..
John Smith	LLLLL.	C		1		1	30h
Edward Monk	CLLLLL	A		1		1	7
Thomas Monk	..LLL	A					..
Edward Monk	LL	A					..
Alfred Adams	LL	A					8
Robert Rubie	LL						..
Robert Longhurst	...ML.	A					12
William Pannett	.CCCC	J	2	1		3	20
William Pannett	.CCCC	J					..
George Elphick	CCCCC	J	3			3	30
Joseph Elphick	...CC.						..
Samuel Elphick	...CC	J					..
Robert Hillman	.CCCC	A	10			10	78
George Newington	..LLLL	A		4		4	86
Caleb Kemp	..LLL	Q					..
John Lucas	...CCC	Q?					..
George Molineux	.FLLLL	A					..
Philip Molineux	...LL	A					..
Thomas Whitfield	CCCC.	A					..
George Whitfield	..CCCC	A					..

Production	Occupation	Material	Quantity	Value	Weight
George Lenny	coachb'r	.CCCC	A		7
Richard Lambe	upholsterer	CFAACC	A	1	1
Isaiah Cheale	machinist	..LLL	A	2	7
David Cheale	machinist	..CCC	A		..
John Hother	breechesm'r	CCCCC	A		8
Benjamin Morris	brewer	.CCCC	J	2	7
Thomas Beard	brewer	..LLL	A	6	7
Francis Verrall	brewer	...CCC	A	1	9
Alex'r Elmsley	brewer	..CCC	A	2	11
Edwin Harvey	brewer	...L..	A	1	13
William Harvey	brewer	LLLLL.	C		..
John Maxfield Smith	brewer	...LL	C		..
Alfred Wood	brewer	LLLLL..		4	13
(succeeded in 1868 by the Monks)					..
Alfred Hillman	brewer	.CCCC	A	1	cl3
John Hillman	brewer & farmer	.CCCC	A		..
Thomas Bance	tailor	LLLLLL	A	2	14
Thomas Bance	tailor	LL	A		..
James Broad	candlemaker	.PLLLL	C	3	14
Thomas Attwood	ironmonger	.ALAAA		6	15
Edward Grantham	ironmonger	.FCCCC	A	1	cl5
James Cooper	ironmonger	.CCCC	A	5	6
Martin Langridge	ironmonger	.FMMLL	A		..
Henry Thompson	ironfounder	MLLLL.	C	2	16
Ebenezer Morris	ironfounder	CCCCC	J	7	19
Ebenezer Morris	ironfounder	..CCC			..
John Every	ironfounder	LALL..	U	4	35
John Every	ironfounder	.ALLLL	U		..
Albion Russell	boot-manufact'r	.LLLL	A	2	23
Charles Wille	timber-merchant	LLLLLL	C		24
Thomas Chatfield	timber-merchant	CFALAL	A		..
Edward Chatfield	timber-merchant	.FALLL	A		..
William Baxter	tanner	CCCCC.	A		34
			CW	2	1
			CW	10	13

alien values of encircling landed estates which imprisoned vast capital within family endowment and innumerable labourers within a 'Marxian' proletariat. Market-town Toryism, therefore, was a coalition of 'outs', of such 'epiphenomena of a mainly Tory landed ruling class' as wine merchants, watchmakers, saddlers, hatters, coach-builders and butchers, reinforced by the professions of medicine, law, and learning, all 'operating under the hegemony of the outside forces of the countryside'.³⁴ Such an analysis would seem to overplay the defensive character of Lewes Liberalism and the parasitic quality of Lewes Conservatism. Liberal enthusiasm in 1865 for peace, liberty abroad, free trade, a cheap press, a wider franchise, and a pruning of Anglican privilege, may have been partly 'urban' in origin, but the values such policies embodied were hardly under siege. These party orthodoxies, to which the landowners Blencowe, Brand, and Pelham bowed the knee, must have seemed close to a conventional wisdom, distilling a national experience. Tory audiences, thrilling to fears of the Mass, the mob and the alien in arms, were those who felt under seige. Such atavistic impulses were a perennial impulse in the party's psyche, not merely the obverse of 'urban' values: they were felt as strongly in a southern county town as in Lancashire and Cheshire. Moreover, although influential Lewesians prone to such fears very often had strong agrarian links, they were not of the dependent kind envisaged by Vincent.

How were the fears and aspirations of this continuing debate mirrored in the economic and denominational lives of electors? A start will be made with the more influential townsmen – the wealthier *rentiers*, the professional men, and the larger employers (Table 4). Among them, churchman was divided from churchman, and dissenter from dissenter. Liberal churchmen voted to end Church rates in 1865 and to disestablish the Irish Church in 1868. In St Annes such rates had been enforced in 1866 and 1867 only after sharp dispute and a parish poll.³⁵ Some had been Liberal churchmen since 1841 or earlier. Edgar Blaker, Liberal agent and secretary to the Town Mission, was 'respected by Churchmen and Nonconformists alike'.³⁶ The faith in Mr Gladstone of John Verrall (LLLL), landowner, horse-breeder, and wit, was 'unbounded'.³⁷ The wine merchant and statistician, George Browning, was 'a thorough advocate of free trade', so was George Bacon, proprietor since 1843 of the *Sussex Advertiser*, an 'intimate' friend of Cobden and 'influential' in the repeal of the hop duty.³⁸ From 1847 they were reinforced

by former Tory churchmen deserting with Fitzroy, such as Thomas Madgwick (wholesale grocer), Thomas Chatfield (timber merchant), and Edward Monk (corn merchant and another friend of Cobden since their schooldays at Midhurst³⁹) who nominated Pelham in 1865 and 1868 and opposed Church rates in St Annes. Other churchmen, new electors in 1847, followed their formerly Tory fathers into the Liberal camp – for example, Edward Chatfield, and the banker, George Molineux J.P., father of two Anglican clergymen.⁴⁰ More recently registered were Edward Monk's sons, Thomas and Edward, the doctors John Macrae (LLL:A) and Richard Turner, Thomas Beard (a brewer with close relatives among local Quakers),¹¹ Albion Russell (boot-manufacturer), and George Newington (a corn and lime merchant also linked to Quakers by marriage and business, and senior partner in Rickman and Company which leased pits and kilns at Glynde from Brand).⁴² George Bushby (APLL:Acw) was land-agent to John Dodson, Liberal M.P. for East Sussex, and to Chichester,⁴³ whose larger tenant-farmers included John Willett and James Tompsett.⁴⁴ Such Liberal churchmen formed the backbone of the Brookside Hunt.⁴⁵ The only defector among them in 1865 was John Ellman J.P., who leased Landport Farm from a prominent Tory, Lord Abergavenny.⁴⁶ In 1868 he was followed by the solicitor for the London, Brighton and South Coast Railway (L.B.S.C.R.C.) Frederick Coode (LLC.), and the builder, Charles Berry. But in general, influential Liberal churchmen remained loyal: their continuing allegiance surely reinforced local confidence that the party embodied a national consensus rather than mere urban 'self-esteem'.

Most influential dissenting townsmen were Liberal. The Quaker Meeting housed four party stalwarts. The Liberal patriarch, Burwood Godlee (LLLL), a J.P. since 1855, left the local lime trade to devote himself to the County Prison, County Asylum, Savings Bank, Dispensary, and Turkish Baths.⁴⁷ Also retired to good works was the barrister and law draftsman, John Hodgkin (.LL.), father-in-law of Alfred Waterhouse and Sir Edward Fry and cousin to the architect, Thomas Rickman.⁴⁸ An advocate of 'popular education', he campaigned against Church rates in St Annes.⁴⁹ Another cousin was Richard Rickman (LLLL), the 'silent, original, cultivated' merchant who built up the firm headed by Newington.⁵⁰ Hodgkin's campaign was aided by Caleb Rickman Kemp, a partner of Newington's. Kemp, who played a major role from 1872 in the London Yearly Meetings and in the British and Foreign Bible Society, was

another devotee of Cobden, espousing the master's desire for 'free trade' in land.⁵¹ Liberal Quakeresses owned a first-rate girls' academy,⁵² ran a home for girls,⁵³ and financed the building in 1871-2 of the British Workmen's Institute, 'a public house without the drink',⁵⁴ from the hall of which agricultural unionism was soon to be expounded.⁵⁵

In 1865, Thomas Carter, the Unitarian minister at Westgate Chapel (1857-67), lent his schoolroom there to the nascent Co-operative Society.⁵⁶ His congregation included Robert Crosskey, who with his father, William, had placed the drapers' firm of Browne and Crosskey in 'the front rank of county trade'. Robert, a Guardian and Town Commissioner, twice High Constable, became a J.P. in 1874.⁵⁷ His brother, Walter (...L), who joined Macrae and Turner in 1868, was to be the town's second mayor after incorporation.⁵⁸ The rapidly expanding Phoenix Ironworks were owned by two other Unitarians, John Every and his son, John, a 'model' employer who conceded the 54-hour week in 1871.⁵⁹ These men refreshed their Liberal civic sense at powerful springs. From 1869 William Crosskey's son, Henry, became pastor to a Birmingham congregation which included Joseph Chamberlain, himself descended from Lewes Unitarians.⁶⁰ Henry's fervent gospel of 'civic renaissance' imparted 'a new social sense' to Midlands radicalism.⁶¹ In 1872 at Westgate he preached a benign pantheistic evolution. He lectured at the Mechanics' Institute from 1868.⁶² George Dawson, another Birmingham minister to proclaim the civilizing potential of municipal power, had spoken there almost annually since the late 1840s: his last public lecture was given there in 1876, as the guest of Robert Crosskey.⁶³ Carter's successor at Westgate, William Saltmarsh Smith (...LL), maintained this Liberal tradition.⁶⁴

By their social influence and cultural range, leading Congregationalist townsmen at Tabernacle Chapel much reinforced local Liberalism. Larger employers abounded - James Broad (the candle manufacturer), Henry Thompson (owner of the Etna ironworks) who was son-in-law to the timber merchant, Charles Wille,⁶⁵ Henry Card (the builder), and his son, Henry, who designed the School of Art and became County Surveyor in 1868,⁶⁶ and John Smith (a draper) whose son, John Maxfield, left the family firm to join his father-in-law, William Harvey, at the Bridge brewery.⁶⁷ Harvey was a keen antiquarian: so was the builder and mason, John Parsons, and his cousin and partner, Charles, secretary to the School of Art and seconder of Pelham in 1865 and 1868.⁶⁸ Both had deserted with Fitzroy, a rare political pedigree among dissenters. A

probable worshipper at Tabernacle Chapel was James Bates, joint-proprietor of the non-party *East Sussex News*.⁶⁹ The ministers there were also Liberal – John Webb (1864–7), an admirer of George Stephenson, and William Spencer-Edwards (1868–75), who evoked the aesthetic splendours of Florence for the Mutual Improvement Society.⁷⁰

The Baptist minister at Eastgate Chapel, J. B. Pike (1864–7), a devotee of ‘self-help’, believed that ‘the scruples that made him a dissenter, also made him a liberal’.⁷¹ So did other influential Baptist townsmen – Henry Moore (a wholesale grocer), Benjamin Thorpe (a builder), who was surveyor to the Cliffe Commission,⁷² and two proprietors of well regarded boys’ schools, William Button (LL..) and Daniel Griffiths (LLLL).⁷³ No substantial townsmen worshipped at the Hamilton Presbyterian Chapel, apart from the land-owner, Isaac Mannington (.LLL):⁷⁴ but its minister, John Prentice (1864–77), was Liberal,⁷⁵ so too was its leading layman, Arthur Morris (...L), the chief postmaster.⁷⁶ Also socially obscure was the Wesleyan congregation in Station Street. Its pastors rapidly came and went, but the Circuit Steward was the school-proprietor, John Dudeney (LALL), whose father had won local acclaim as ‘Shepherd, Mathematician and Schoolmaster’.⁷⁷ Only one larger employer connected with these dissenting sects, John Lucas, a partner of Newington and Kemp, was a Conservative: indeed he was an active and audacious one.⁷⁸ But his links with the Quaker Meeting must have been strained by 1868 since he also subscribed to the local Church Association: he resigned formally in 1876 before marrying a vicar’s daughter.⁷⁹ The Congregationalist builder, George Harman (LMLC), a Conservative by 1875–6, resigned from the Tabernacle Chapel after 1869.⁸⁰

Leading Liberal townsmen had been much involved in local commercial innovation. Godlee and Edward Monk had been among the promoters of the Lewes–Hastings railway-line, and later, with Hodgkin, of the Lewes–Uckfield line.⁸¹ Rickman had used the former to build up his firm.⁸² In 1865 Slade and Lucas accused Brand, and Chichester, of protecting the monopoly of the L.B.S.C.R.C. by keeping from Parliament the strength of local opinion in favour of a new London–Beckenham–Lewes–Brighton line.⁸³ Lucas also claimed in 1868, that the L.B.S.C.R.C.’s engines were decked in 1865 with evergreens, the Liberal colours and ‘the Newhaven and Dieppe steamers put on the screw for Pelham and Brand’.⁸⁴ The company chairman in 1865, Leo Schuster, was a Liberal committee-man for East Sussex.⁸⁵ In 1866, the company

agent cast six votes in St Annes against the levying of a Church rate⁸⁶ In 1873, Lucas also alleged that the Lewes Gas Company had long been 'a Liberal preserve' requiring political conformity from employees.⁸⁷ Its promoters had included Godlee and Henry Browne, a Unitarian, normally resident in London and associated with the Crosskeys by business and marriage.⁸⁸ Browne was still a Director in 1868–72, together with Robert Crosskey, John and Charles Parsons, Hodgkin, two Conservatives, and John Bates (LALL:C), a retired manager of the works, an 'old Chartist', and the first mechanic to enrol at the Mechanics' Institute in 1825.⁸⁹ Like the L.B.S.C.R.C., the 'gas monopoly' attracted sporadic sniping.⁹⁰ The Lewes, Eastbourne, and East Sussex Building Society was also strongly Liberal, like the ailing Turkish Baths Company.⁹¹

A scrutiny of leading Conservative townsmen reveals how the emotions which flooded the Corn Exchange in 1865 and 1868 were mirrored in their economic and denominational lives. The Lewes and East Sussex Ruridecanal Church Association, which mobilized in April 1868 'to resist Mr Gladstone's persistent attack on the Irish branch of the Church of England', was a rallying-point for 'Protestant' churchmen, especially *rentiers* and professional men.⁹² Subscribers in 1868 included only 3 Liberals; but 3 of the 4 Tory doctors in Lewes were members, together with 6 Tory solicitors, 4 of them lay consultees.⁹³ The law-firm of Bernard Husey-Hunt (ACC.), Edmund Currey (..AC), and Edward Nicolson (..CC), handled much probate and episcopal business;⁹⁴ John Lewis (AChCC), a parson's son, was High Bailiff to the County Court and clerk to the Leet;⁹⁵ Inigo Gell (CCCC) became chief Conservative agent for East Sussex;⁹⁶ and Frederick Coode had recently defected from the Liberals. Their initiative in the Church Association was especially important since the Anglican clergy in Lewes gave little leadership in 1865 or 1868.

In St Annes the incumbent, Augustus Parsons, who was unregistered, caused uproar in 1872 by locking his churchyard against crowds converging for the burial of William Smith, the celebrated Conservative pugilist, rough-rider and colt-breaker.⁹⁷ In All Saints and Southover John Scobell (CA..) was aged and ailing, as was Robert Grignon (..A.), the absentee Rector of St Johns.⁹⁸ In 1867 Grignon's curate failed to secure any nomination for Rector's Churchwarden.⁹⁹ By January 1868 Scobell's death and Grignon's resignation had emptied cures which served over half the borough's population.¹⁰⁰ A letter to the *Sussex Express* condemned parish

churches 'whose shabby exterior and pewed-up, and pew-rented interior are a positive disgrace'.¹⁰¹ In Cliffe, John Russell (CCCC) left no imprint in the local press, being 'of the old school'.¹⁰² In St Michaels, Frederick Woolley (.CCC), headmaster of the small, ill-endowed Grammar School, and father of the borough Conservatives' agent, was active enough, but his 'ritualistic' tendencies, deeply embarrassing to local Tories, extended by 1867 to the surplice, intonation, chanting and flowers: in November 1871 he was denounced in a 'Bonfire sermon'.¹⁰³

Larger employers among 'Protestant' churchmen often had close business links with the countryside. The three Hillman brothers were active Tories with great influence in Malling and Cliffe: Robert, a corn, coal, lime, and artificial manure merchant, leased pits and kilns from the Conservative Lord Gage; John farmed 700 acres at Lower Stoneham in Malling and owned, with Alfred, the Southdown Brewery in Cliffe.¹⁰⁴ Their father, John Hillman I, a leading diehard in 1847, expired in 1864 'a firm anti-free trader'.¹⁰⁵ The 'staunch' Conservative, William Baxter, owned tanneries in Malling and Southover,¹⁰⁶ home of Francis Verrall and his father William, the major rate-payer and 'Lord' of the Leet, hammer of Popery, landowner, farmer, and brewer.¹⁰⁷ William's resistance to improved parish drainage locked him in bitter combat with Captain Wyndham (..C.) at The Grange, who patented a device 'for facilitating the mounting and dismounting of velocipedes'¹⁰⁸ and past whose windows flowed much effluent from William's brewery.

John Ellman farmed at Landport with his son, Robert, a Guardian for twenty-five years:¹⁰⁹ their bailiff, James Pickard, who also farmed independently, arranged the Lewes Sheep Fair for fifty years.¹¹⁰ Farming was a by-employment of the veterinary surgeon, John Grover, of the coach builder, George Lenny, who bred nag horses at Hamsey and rode to hounds,¹¹¹ and of the breechesmaker, John Hother, secretary of the Southdown Hunt for over thirty years.¹¹² David Cheale was an agricultural machinist. The builder, Joseph Davey, had an extensive rural practice, erecting 'national schools, etc.', some on Chichester's estates.¹¹³ Two other Conservatives had retired into the country by 1868, the ironmonger, James Cooper, to Kingston manor-house, and the banker, Thomas Whitfield, to Hamsey, although his son, George, a J.P., still resided in the High Street.¹¹⁴ That trenchant party spokesman, William E. Baxter, a diehard in 1847, had built up a large rural circulation for the *Sussex Express*, hailed by local Conservatives as 'the first provincial newspaper in England'.¹¹⁵ These churchmen came together

to dominate the committee of the annual Lewes Fatstock Show and to ride out with the Southdown Foxhounds.¹¹⁶ In November 1868, nine followers, all prominent Lewes Tories, were breakfasted by Christie at Glyndebourne.¹¹⁷ The hunting passion of the doctor, George Scrase (CCCC), a farmer's son, may have caused his enumeration as 'Horse Surgeon' in 1871: he married a daughter of John Hillman I.¹¹⁸

Among leading townsmen, 'Protestant' churchmen were allied politically to 'Protestant' dissenters. In 1870, Kemp referred to local dissenters with 'extravagant and . . . erroneous views in reference to Roman Catholicism and Papal ascendancy' who formed 'a large, influential and amiable body of men, not liberal supporters'.¹¹⁹ These men gathered at Jireh Chapel, where to this day an annual 'Bonfire service' is held. A deacon there, the ironfounder Ebenezer Morris, nominated Christie in 1865 and 1868, and was proud to be 'a conservative dissenter' and 'a friend of the Church', that 'great bulwark . . . of their rights and liberties'.¹²⁰ Together with Matthew Welland (.CCC), the minister at Jireh Chapel from 1859 to 1908, he orchestrated in 1866 an 'enthusiastic' public meeting 'to resist the progress of Popish aggression'.¹²¹ The sect was 'high' Calvinist. Morris believed it differed from the Church in discipline but not in doctrine.¹²² Its fervent anti-Romanism had spanned the ministries of John Vinall I (1811–57), like Morris a diehard in 1847, and of John Vinall II (1857–9).¹²³ All other influential worshippers there were Tory – Morris's nephew, Benjamin (a brewer in Southover), William Pannett (a coal and corn merchant), his cousin and partner, William, Samuel Elphick (a corn, coal and lime merchant, who leased pits and kilns at Offham), and his partner and father, George (a farmer's son who occupied Rise Farm in Southover¹²⁴). A probable worshipper was George Elphick's son-in-law, the solicitor, Edward Hillman (CCCC), clerk to the Cliffe Commission.¹²⁵ George Elphick and Ebenezer Morris (who had been brought up a farmer), were both long-serving Guardians for Cliffe. As with many Conservative churchmen, 'Protestantism' and agrarian experience interwove. The sect held aloof from other Lewes Dissenters, except for two small congregations at Bethesda and Providence Chapels, the latter built by a turnpike surveyor, Richard Barrett (MC.), for the hatter and preacher Ebenezer Vinall (CCC.), the brother and hated rival of John Vinall II.¹²⁶ Ebenezer was succeeded in 1869 by a miller, Eli Ashdown (..CC).¹²⁷ The socially most influential layman at Providence was probably the dyer and High Constable, William Mann (CCC.).¹²⁸

It becomes apparent from this survey of leading townsmen that Liberalism and Conservatism in Lewes reflected much more than alignments within an urban peasantry, largely induced by pressures from an agrarian hinterland. In 1865–8 Liberalism drew together into a stable coalition churchmen and dissenters who subscribed to party orthodoxies which transcended any local or even ‘urban’ experience. Conservatism yoked together other churchmen and dissenters who shared a common ‘Protestantism’ and often strong agrarian links. But such links were not gilded chains binding High Street toadies to high-spending gentry. They had been forged by parentage and upbringing, by active exploitation of rural resources, by the articulation of Conservative opinion across the county, and by a passion for the hunt. Perhaps their pessimism, their sense of siege, owed something to fears that an agrarian civilization, of which so many were an integral part, was in jeopardy.

How far did political allegiance among ‘smaller’ self-employed electors, the urban peasantry proper, correlate with economic and denominational divisions? The electorate was, of course, much altered in 1868. In 1865, apart from 19 unclassified electors, 14 were self-styled *rentiers*, 457 were self-employed (71.6 per cent), and only 154 were employees, including 28 in the public services (Table 5). Most of the self-employed controlled petty enterprises with at most only one or two hands. By 1868, with 50 electors unclassified, 15 were *rentiers*, 525 were self-employed, and 688 were employees, 72 of them in the public services. Among the self-employed, the largest single increases were seven additional shoemakers and five tailors: both in numbers and in composition, therefore, their ranks remained relatively stable, and provided some continuity of political structure within the borough.

A wide distribution amongst them of capital, economic initiative and social weight had always made their political ‘management’ arduous. Moreover, the ownership of property was much dispersed: no powerful landlords dominated the borough from within or without.¹²⁹ Abergavenny, De La Warr and Norfolk were ‘Lords’ of Lewes Leet,¹³⁰ but they held little town property. Credit at Lewes Old Bank was controlled by the Liberal Molineuxs and the Conservative Whitfields.¹³¹ Lewes Savings Bank had an unchanging committee in 1868–71 of five Liberals and three Tories, but its Treasurer was a Whitfield.¹³² Effective manipulation of custom would have been most difficult. Larger employers were much divided, and although Lewes was ringed with farms belonging to strong Conser-

vatives (Abergavenny, Gage, and Sir Henry Shiffner)¹³³ the party balance in its commercial hinterland was not too strongly tilted. Liberals were numerous in Brighton and in the Eastbourne fief of the Duke of Devonshire and formed a large minority of voters around Uckfield, Cuckfield, and East Grinstead.¹³⁴ In this broad wealden region 'rural dissent', nourished by primordial socio-economic structures,¹³⁵ was further buttressed by such Liberal landowners as Chichester, Pelham, Brand, R. W. and J. G. Blencowe, Francis Barchard, and J. H. Sclater, all J.P.s; by Sir John Shelley M.P., John Dodson M.P., John Hankey, and J. M. Montefiore.¹³⁶ The *Sussex Advertiser* recalled an attempt in the 1840s at exclusive dealing with Tory tradesmen by local gentry and farmers, but alleged no more recent repetition.¹³⁷ Nor amid the din of party strife were charges made that public commercial contracts were partially awarded. Between 1863 and 1875 supplies for the workhouse and the civil prison were drawn more or less evenly from tradesmen in both political parties.¹³⁸

The largest single contingent of self-employed electors, the keepers of inns and beershops, was probably the most directly vulnerable to 'the screw' of political pressure, since most licensed houses were controlled by Lewes or Brighton brewers. In 1865, they mustered 24 Conservatives, 21 Liberals and 6 cross-voters, in 1868 35 Conservatives and 22 Liberals (Table 6). One Liberal in 1865 was retired.¹³⁹ Apart from John Garrett (LLLL), innkeeper at the Brewers Arms for over twenty years,¹⁴⁰ no tenant of Conservative brewers, whether the Verralls, the Hillmans, or Alexander Elmsley, was a Liberal voter. Edward Monk senior took over direction of the Bear Yard brewery from his brother-in-law, Alfred Wood, between 1865 and 1868, but he seems to have controlled the licensed houses attached to the brewery from an earlier date. None of his tenants voted Tory: John Green (LLLL:W) leased the Bear Hotel stables from him for forty-five years.¹⁴¹ How far this identity of political allegiance represents the operation of 'the screw' is uncertain. Beer-shop keepers were usually humble men, often of up-country origin, but innkeepers like Garrett, 'host' to the Liberal Bundle of Sticks Society,¹⁴² carried more local weight. Beard, the Harveys and the Brighton brewers achieved no such identity, perhaps none was sought.

The screw apart, the mounting Toryism of tenants may have been fanned by rising Temperance activity, usually associated with local dissenters. Until 1868, their campaign seems to have been sporadic – lectures by a representative of the United Kingdom Alliance or by

TABLE 5: *Political allegiance in 1865 and 1868 of Lewes Borough electors*

	1865					1868				
	C	L	M	A	T	C	L	A	T	
RENTIERS	6	7	—	1	14	9	5	1	15	
SELF-EMPLOYED ELECTORS										
<i>Dealing/personal service</i>										
Major employers/bankers	8	13	1	—	22	10	16		26	
Innkeepers	11(1)	9	3	1	24	13	8	1	22	
Beershopkeepers	13(1)	12	3	2	30	22	14		36	
Corn/coal/lime merchants	3	1			4	2	1		3	
Coal merchants	2(1)	1			3	5	1		6	
Yeast/flour/dealers		1		1	2		1		1	
Drapers	6	7			13	4	6	2	12	
Butchers	10(3)	7	4	1	22	16	5	1	22	
Poulterers		2			2				—	
Fishmongers	1				1	1	1		2	
Grocers/Greengrocers	13(1)	21	2	1	37	13	17	1	31	
Fruiters	2(1)	3			5	1	1	2	4	
Tobacconists	1	2			3	1	1		2	
Wine/beer merchants		2			2	1	1		2	
Newsagent/Stationer/Book & Music sellers	2	3(1)		2	7	3	3	2	8	
General dealer	2	5			7	2	7	1	10	
Hawkers/Hucksters	1	1			2	5	2		7	
Marine-store dealers	2	2	1		5	4	2		6	
China/Furniture dealers		3(1)			3		3		3	
Auctioneers/Appraisers	2	1			3	3	1		4	
Chemists	6(1)	2(1)			8	5	2		7	

TABLE 5: (Cont.)

	1865				1868				
	C	L	M	A	T	C	L	A	T
RENTIERS	6	7	—	1	14	9	5	1	15
SELF-EMPLOYED ELECTORS									
Coachmakers			1		1	1			1
Coachpainters					—	1			1
Dyers	1	2			3	2	1		3
Shoemakers	9	12	3		24	14	15	2	31
Hatters	1(1)	1			2	1	1		2
Tailors	4	1	1		6	3	5	2	10
Millers	3	3		2	8	4	3	1	8
Millwrights		1(1)			1				—
Maltsters		1(1)			1				—
Coopers	1	2			3		4		4
Watchmakers/Jewellers	1	4			5	2	5		7
Photographers		1	2		3		3	1	4
Paperbagmakers					—	1	1		1
Ropemakers					—				1
Organbuilders					—	1			1
Market-gardeners	1	2		1	4	2	4	1	7
Stablekeepers	2(1)	1			3	1	1		2
Carters/Carriers/Carmen	1	1			2	3	3	3	9
Coach/fly proprietors		1			1			1	1
Road surveyors	2				2	1			1
Barge-owners	1				1	1			1
Total	40(5)	53(3)	12	6	111	58	66	18	142
Total	54	69	13	8	144	72	81	20	173
Building									
Major employers	2	7(1)	1		10	3	8		11

Builders	2	1	1	3	3	2	1	6
Bricklayers		1		1	1	3		4
Carpenters	4	4		9	5	3	2	10
Masons				—		1		1
Plumbers/Painters/Glaziers		5		7		5		5
Paperhangers	1			1	2			2
Gasfitters		1(1)		1			1	1
Total	7	12(1)	1	23	3	11	4	29
Total	9	19(2)	2	33	3	14	4	40
<i>Professional Service</i>								
School-proprietors		3		4	1			3
Doctors	3(1)	2	1	7	1		1	7
Anglican incumbents/curates	2		2	4		4	1	5
Dissenting ministers/RC clergy	2	1		3		2	2	8
Solicitors/Barristers	3	4		7		7	3	12
Land surveyors/agents		2(2)		2		1	1	2
Total	10	12	1	27	4	17	8	37
<i>Agriculture/Breeding/Quarrying</i>								
Major employers	6	1	1	8		5	1	8
Farmers	2	1		3		4	1	5
Cattle/horse dealers			1	1		1		1
Vetinerary surgeon	1(1)			1		1		1
Total	3	1	1	5		6	1	7
Total	9	2	2	13		11	2	15
Total of self-employed	179	217	35	457	26	245	50	525

TABLE 5: (Cont.)

	1865					1868				
	C	L	M	A	T	C	L	A	T	
RENTIERS	6	7	—	1	14	9	5	1	15	
SELF-EMPLOYED ELECTORS										
EMPLOYEES										
<i>Dealing/personal service</i>										
Corn/lime merchant's clerks & warehousemen	2	2			4	3	3		6	
Corn/lime merchants' labs		1			1	4	1		5	
Coal porters	2	1			3	6	1		7	
Draper's assistants		1			1	1	1		2	
Butchers					—	3			3	
Grocer's clerks/travellers		2			2		2		2	
Grocer's shopmen/assistants	2(1)	1			3	3	1		4	
Grocer's porters/warehousemen	1	3			4	1	5		6	
Wine merchant's clerks & assistants										
Wine merchant's porters		1		1	1	1	1	1	3	
Marinestore-dealer's manager					1	2	1		3	
Marinestore-dealer's lab					—		1		1	
Chemist's porters					—		1		1	
Chemist's porters	1				1		2		6	
Bakers					—	4	2		2	
Confectioners					—	1	1		2	
Dairymen/Milkmen					—	2			2	
Waiters	2				2	2			2	
Bank manager				1	1			1	1	
Bank cashier/clerk/account't		2			2	2	3	1	6	
Insurance agent		1			1		1		1	
Commercial traveller		1			1		1		1	
Merchant's clerk		1			1	1			1	

Contractor's agent	1	—	1	1	—	1	1
Hay trusser	1	1	1	1	1	1	—
Laundryman	11(1)	18	2	31	36	29	68
<i>Total</i>							
<i>Production</i>							
Agricultural machinists	1(1)			1	3	1	4
Engine-driver				—	1	1	1
Shipwrights				—	1	1	2
Blacksmiths				—	5	3	8
Ironfounders/moulders		1		1	3	5	8
Smiths		1		1	1	1	1
Ironfounder's labs				—	2	6	8
Ironmonger's assistant		1		1	2	1	4
Ironmonger's porters	1			1	2	3	5
Whitesmiths		2		2	3	10	13
Tinmen/coppersmiths		2		2		5	5
Gasworks manager			1	1	2	2	2
Gasworks labourers						6	6
Lamplighter		1		1		1	1
Curriers						1	2
Fellmongers							3
Tanners	1			1	4	2	6
Tanners' labourers					6	1	7
Candlemakers		1		1		2	2
Candlemakers' clerk						1	1
Sawyers					2	6	9
Sawsmith/Engine driver						2	2
Timber merchants' clerk	1(1)	1		2	1	1	2
Timber merchants' labs						4	4
Basketmakers						1	1
Cabinetmakers		1		1		1	1

TABLE 5: (Cont.)

	1865				1868				
	C	L	M	A	T	C	L	A	T
RENTIERS	6	7	—	1	14	9	5	1	15
SELF-EMPLOYED ELECTORS									
Upholsterers	1				1	3	2		2
Wheelwrights					1	1	1		4
Saddlers	1					1	1		1
Harnessmaker						1			2
Coachpainters etc						2			2
Shoemakers		1			1	4	15		19
Tailors	3	4	1		8	12	13	2	27
Millers	1				1	1	1		2
Millwright						1			1
Millers' labourer						1			1
Brewers	1				1	5	2		7
Brewers' clerks	1				1	2	1		3
Maltsters						2	3		5
Brewers' storemen						2	2		4
Brewers' labourers		1			1	10	12	1	23
Coopers						1	1		2
Watchmakers							1		1
Printer-Compositors	3	2			5	13	10	1	24
Bookbinders						1			1
Printers' traveller etc	4	1			5	6	4		10
Waterworks manager							1		1
Engine driver						1			1
Brickmaker							1		1
Factory Enginesmith							1		1
Labourers	2				2	21	15		36
Pimpmaker						1			1
Sievmaker						1			1
Total	21(2)	20	1	1	43	130	154	7	291

TABLE 5: (Cont.)

	1865				1868				
	C	L	M	A	T	C	L	A	T
RENTIERS	6	7	—	1	14	9	5	1	15
SELF-EMPLOYED ELECTORS									
<i>Domestic Service</i>									
Servants	1	1(1)			2	1		1	2
Coachmen		1			1	3	2	1	6
Grooms						4	3		7
Gardeners	5	2			7	13	9		22
<i>Total</i>	6	4(1)			10	21	14	2	37
<i>Professional service</i>									
Town Missionary		1			1		1		1
Solicitors' clerks	4	1			5	6	1		7
Land agents' assistants				1	1			1	1
<i>Total</i>	4	2		1	7	6	2	1	9
<i>Agriculture/Breeding/Quarrying</i>									
Agricultural labourers	1				1	35	6	2	43
Horse clipper							1		1
Jockeys/Grooms	1			1	2	5			5
Chalkpit labourers		1			1	12	3		15
Limeburners' labourers						4			4
<i>Total</i>	2	1		1	4	56	10	2	68
<i>Public Service</i>									
East India Company						1			1
Inland Revenue/Customs		1			1		3		3
Postmen						3	4		7
County Clerk/Deputy		1		1	2		1		1
County Clerk's clerk		1			1		1		1

County Treasurer/Deputy	1	1	2	1	1	1
County Court Bailiff	1(1)		1			1
clerks	1				1	1
Naval Prison chaplain				1	1	2
warders	2				1	1
others	1				8	11
County Prison warders	1(1)				1	1
others	2				1	3
Police Chief Constable					6	8
Superintendent					1	1
Artillery Militia NCOs					3	3
Musicians	1					1
Service Officers Retired				1		1
Pensioners					3	10
Relieving Officer	1		1		7	2
Union Clerks	1		1		2	3
'Town' Surveyor	1		2		1	2
Assistant				1		1
'Town' rate collector	1		1			1
Swimming baths keeper					1	1
Castle warder					1	1
Parish clerk	1		1			1
Parish sexton	1		1		1	1
Total	7(2)	16	5	28	27	36
Total of all employees	57	83	2	12	154	315
UNCLASSIFIED	13(1)	5	1	19	21	23
						6
						50

Note: most correlations of elector and occupation have been based upon the enumerators' returns for 1851, 1861, and 1871. This information, however, has been supplemented from *Directories*, from a combing of the *Sussex Advertiser*, the *East Sussex News*, and the *Sussex Express* for incidental references, from Anglican baptismal registers, and miscellaneous other sources.

the former prize fighter, Noah Bailey, comic orations by the Lewes Temperance Band.¹⁴³ But in 1868 the cause received 'fresh life' from the Quakeress, Miss Payne: in July during a Grand Temperance Festival, 111 sat down to tea and 300 rallied in the evening: a Drinking Fountain Fund was launched.¹⁴⁴ The Toryism of tenants may also have been confirmed by the thirst of farmers on market day, of Militiamen and Volunteers, of enthusiasts for racing and the hunt. George Cox (.CC.), tenant of a Beard house, kept a hunting livery stable and enjoyed the 'confidence' of Christie.¹⁴⁵ Lewes was bidding to become 'a second Epsom'.¹⁴⁶ Although the principal trainer, Richard Drewitt, was politically uncommitted, five jockeys or stable grooms were Tory in 1868.

TABLE 6: *Voting by keepers of inns and beershops*

Landlords	1865					1868			
	Con	Lib	C-V	A	Total	Con	Lib	A	Total
Monks		7			7		6		6
Harveys/Smith	1		1		2	2			2
Beard	3	3	2		8	6	3		9
Verralls	4	1	1		6	5	1		6
Hillmans	4				4	6			6
Elmsley	3			1	4	5			5
Brighton brewers	3	5			8	3	7		10
Others	6	2	2	1	11	8	4		12
Owner-Occupiers		2		1	3		1	1	2
Total	24	20	6	3	53	35	22	1	58

Apart from keepers of inns and beershops, the number of smaller self-employed electors engaged in dealing and personal service increased between 1865 and 1868 from 164 to 176, those in production and transportation from 111 to 142, and those occupied in building from 23 to 29 (Table 5). Among the first group the Conservative share of the vote rose from 44 to 53.4 per cent, among the second group from 43.1 to 46.8 per cent. Coal merchants, butchers, and blacksmiths were prone to Conservatism. Some butchers, by renting nearby fattening grounds, were also rural small holders. At least one blacksmith was reliant on the turf; Samuel Hillman (CCCC:A), successively Headborough, Constable and Ale-Conner of Southover, was commissioned to shoe at race meetings and racing establishments.¹⁴⁷ A Liberal bias among saddlers, cabinetmakers, watchmakers, and gunmakers, as among wine merchants and larger drapers, further absolves borough Conservatives

from the charge of being uniquely parasitic on affluent rural custom. But how far party allegiance affected business relationships among these urban peasants and influenced the flow of custom to them is uncertain.

Those urban peasants who can be firmly associated with a dissenting congregation normally mirrored the political allegiance of their ministers and influential townsmen (Table 7). Among them, Congregationalists, Baptists, Presbyterians, and Unitarians polled 83 Liberal and 9 Conservative votes in 1865, and 42 Liberal and 7 Conservative votes in 1868. Wesleyans were Liberal by 18 votes to 3 in 1865, and by 8 to 2 in 1868. No overt sectarian rivalries threatened this political accord: all but the Unitarians and Quakers co-operated in worship, missionary and Sunday School work, and anti-Romanist lectures.¹⁴⁸ Authority patterns within these sects may have encouraged civic action. Certainly a restless democracy at Eastgate Chapel punctuated Baptist activity with debate, dispute, and even schism.¹⁴⁹ Several urban peasants from their ranks were Town Commissioners – the upholsterer, William Hammond (LLLL:Bm), the grocer, Edward Bedford (.LLL: Cm), and the cabinetmaker, Thomas Simmons (LLLL: Cm).¹⁵⁰ Others served also as High Constables – the bootmaker, Henry Goldsmith (LLLL:Bm), the plumber, William Duplock (LLLL:Um), and the baker, Joseph Shelley (LLLL:Um).¹⁵¹ In accordance perhaps with the gospel of Henry Crosskey, Duplock and Shelley were also Guardians. The painter, Henry Saunders (.LLL:Wm), had been a Brighton Town Councillor.¹⁵² Other 'ardent' Liberals included three shoemakers, a tobacconist, a coal merchant, a turner, and a cowkeeper.¹⁵³ Among the nine voting Conservative in 1868 were a blacksmith, a butcher, a wheelwright (and herbalist), and Henry Wingham (CCCC:Um), owner of the Crown Hotel, the only dissenter associated with the 'drink trade' by 1868, who became an Anglican worshipper by the 1880s.¹⁵⁴

In stark contrast, however, to the Liberal bias among dissenting urban peasants was the voting by members of Jireh Chapel, who were Conservative in 1865 by twenty-four votes to one, and in 1868 by twelve to one. In 1865 the defection occurred of the senior deacon, the carpenter, John Izard (LCC.), who had been a consistent Liberal since 1841: such apostasy was rare within his cohort.¹⁵⁵ These members presumably held the views on Roman Catholicism and Papal ascendancy which Kemp found so 'extravagant' and 'erroneous'. They included the grocer, Alfred Funnell (CCCC), a Guardian for Southover and a Fatstock Show committee-man, the

TABLE 7: *Votes polled by Protestant dissenters at the general elections of 1865 and 1868.*

	Jireh Calvinists						Tabernacle Congregationalists						Baptists					
	members			close associates			members			close associates			members			close associates		
	C	L	A	C	L	A	C	L	A	C	L	A	C	L	A	C	L	A
1865																		
Leading townsmen	12						1	15			4							
Urban peasants	24	1		10	15	1	4	21	1	2	14	1	1			1		
Employees				2	2		2	8		2	8	2						
Total	36	1		12	17	1	7	44	1	4	26	3	1			1		
1868																		
Leading townsmen	6			1				8		3								
Urban peasants	12	1	1	6	5	3	4	12		7	2		1			1		1
Employees	2	1	1	5	3		1	10		1	11							
Unclassified																		
Total	20	2	2	12	8	3	5	30		1	21	2	1			1		1

	Wesleyan Methodists members & close associates			Presbyterians members & close associates			Unitarians members & close associates			Quakers members		
	C	L	A	C	L	A	C	L	A	C	L	A
1865												
Leading townsmen			1		2			8		2	8	
Urban peasants	3	18			4		2	14	2			
Employees		8			2			8			2	
Total	3	26	1		8		2	30	2	2	10	
1868												
Leading townsmen		1			2			4		1	4	
Urban peasants	2	8	1		2		2	7	1			
Employees	2	9		2	3			10			1	
Unclassified												
Total	4	18	1	2	7		2	21	1	1	5	

Note: the totals under column A represent electors abstaining, not votes unpollled by them. See note 19 definition of 'close associates' and for a discussion of the sources used to construct this table.

corn dealer and farmer, Isaac Funnell (CCCC), who became a Town Councillor after incorporation, and the butcher, Benjamin Morris (CCC.), a High Constable.¹⁵⁶ Agrarian links were again strong. But close associates of Jireh Chapel did not fully share the strong Tory bias of its inner elite (Table 7); only the members were virtually solid in their full-bloodied political 'Protestantism'. In general, however, the borough's dissenting sects offered a context within which ministers, leading townsmen and urban peasants could confirm and explore a permeating political attitude.

The Anglican congregations provided no such context. The local incumbents were largely inactive in 1865-8, apart from Woolley whose initiatives were disruptive. Influential townsmen who were churchmen were divided over politics. But a scatter of necessarily anecdotal evidence suggests that 'staunch' Anglicans among the urban peasants were usually Conservative, such as the tailor Henry French (.CCC), the wheelwright Thomas Goldsmith (CCC.), and the builder Edward Pullinger (LCCC), who served as parish clerks, and the innkeeper John Goldsmith (.CCC), who lead the Southover ringers.¹⁵⁷ Serving or future churchwardens included the miller, George Uridge (ACCC), the grocer, William Hillman (.CCC), the shoemaker, James Pelling (.CCC), who held the office for thirty-five years and managed the Conservative committee-rooms, and the grocer, Frederick Flint (CCC.), a High Constable, whose diehard loyalism in 1847 and thereafter won the admiration of the *Sussex Express*.¹⁵⁸ Flint subscribed to the Church Association, which was also supported by other urban peasants who held local office as Guardian, High Constable or Commissioner - the chemist, John Head (CCCC), the butcher, Dennet Huggett (CCCC), and the fishmonger, George Coppard (.CCC).¹⁵⁹ The keenly Tory green-grocer, Charles French (CCCC), regularly attended St Johns.¹⁶⁰ 'True blue' stalwarts were usually churchmen, such as the boot-maker, William Newnham (CCCC), the White Hart stable-keeper and Waterloo veteran, William Miles (CCCC), and that 'fund of anti-Liberal anecdote', the retired auctioneer, Thomas Mantell (CCC.).¹⁶¹ Among those objecting in 1871 to the lighted candles on the altar at St Michaels was the newsagent, William Banks (CCAC).¹⁶² Urban peasants who were active Liberals were rarely churchmen: active churchmen among them were rarely Liberal, although the fruiterer, John Wilmshurst (LLAA), and the grocer, George Martin (LLLL), both served as churchwardens in Cliffe.¹⁶³ Strenuous Liberal churchmanship seems to have been largely a prerogative of the socially prominent.

Within what other local associations could leading townsmen and urban peasants unite to give expression to the attitudes embedded in the continuing political debate of 1865–8? Influential Liberal Lewesians, churchmen and dissenters alike, were conspicuous patrons of the Mechanics' Institute, and thus of useful knowledge, 'popular' education and self-improvement. Almost without exception, they subscribed handsomely in 1870 to its new Lecture Hall, together with Chichester (who presided at the opening), Pelham, Brand, the Blencowes, Dodson, Barchard and Lord Edward Cavendish. Godlee headed the list with £100.¹⁶⁴ Its presidents included Button and Robert Crosskey, its vice-presidents George Browning, Kemp, and Thomas Monk (who lectured on Joseph Mazzini); and Charles Parsons was treasurer for almost 20 years.¹⁶⁵ The *Sussex Advertiser* claimed that the Institute encountered much Conservative opposition in its early days.¹⁶⁶ Tories, such as William E. Baxter, still objected to its 'management',¹⁶⁷ filled none of its senior offices, and subscribed meagrely, if at all, to the new hall. Exceptions were Lord Gage and Thomas Whitfield, who gave £20 and £15. In 1863, the secretary, Charles Wells (.LLL:A), manager, and from 1868, successor to Thompson at the Etna Ironworks, and a local pioneer of electric lighting,¹⁶⁸ regretted that so few 'Assistants, Mechanics and Working Men' were members.¹⁶⁹ Most of its members, who numbered 211 in December 1868,¹⁷⁰ were probably recruited, therefore, from the smaller self-employed population, eager to attend the lectures on great authors, geology, and experimental physics and to profit from the reading-room, the museum of casts, specimens, and models, and the library, generously replenished by Chichester, Pelham, Godlee and others.¹⁷¹ Twenty-five Liberal urban peasants subscribed to the new hall, and ten together with John Every II, were committee members in 1865–8 – two chemists, a plumber, a shoemaker, a gunmaker, a grocer, a butcher, a bookseller, a stationer and a florist. Among them, dissenters formed a strong majority. Only five Conservatives subscribed and only three served on the committee. The coherence of Lewes Liberalism must have owed much to the mental and emotional links forged within the Institute between M.P.s, local leaders and the rank-and-file.

By contrast, prominent 'Protestant' churchmen were keen advocates of the local Fourth Sussex Rifle Volunteers, whose original formation in 1859 as a rifle club had received a 'major impetus' from the Conservative Blue Club, launched the same year to consolidate Tory support in the borough.¹⁷² Robert Eelman, John Hillman I,

Hother, Lenny, Cooper, and Currey were among the original sponsors: Liberal churchmen were less conspicuous. Influential dissenters played little part.¹⁷³ By 1865 the officers of the Fourth Sussex were mainly Conservative – Captain Husey-Hunt, Lieutenant Gell, Assistant-Surgeon George Rigden (AChCC), and Chaplain Woolley; only the Ensign, the genial wine merchant and marksman, William Beard, was a Liberal.¹⁷⁴ In 1865, the sergeants mustered yet another Tory lawyer (Husey-Hunt's colleague, Nicolson), Aubrey Hillman (the farming son of John Hillman II), John Goldsmith (.CCC), Tory innkeeper, bell-ringer, and future parish clerk, John Farnes (a grocer who had abstained since 1847), and George Harland (a non-voter, whose brothers, a baker and a clerk in Gell's office, were Conservative).¹⁷⁵ The prominent 'Protestant' churchman, Alexander Elmsley, owner of the Malling brewery, was an officer in the First Sussex Artillery Volunteers.¹⁷⁶

The political complexion in 1865–8 of the privates on parade with the Fourth Sussex is not easy to retrieve. No official lists survive, and many competing in sports and shoots were younger non-electors. But no Liberal activists among the urban peasantry seem to have been prominent, while newer recruits were sometimes strong Tories, like James Pelling.¹⁷⁷ The ambience was heartily patriotic – shoots, drills, midnight marches, athletic sports, and beer in the canteen, the martial strains of the Lewes Military and Town Band, of which Gell's managing clerk, John Long (CCC.) was the secretary,¹⁷⁸ and the great Easter Reviews held nearby on the Brighton downs from 1861.¹⁷⁹ Given this prevailing tone, the Toryism of its sponsors, officers and sergeants, and the proprietorial enthusiasm shown for it on Conservative platforms, the Fourth Sussex must surely have proved attractive to more energetic urban peasants with Tory leanings. Since 1853–4 local military ardour had fed on the presence in Southover of the depot of the Royal Sussex Artillery Militia, commanded by the Conservative non-voter, Captain Settle.¹⁸⁰ A hundred 'specimens of the agricultural population', mostly billeted in public houses, were periodically drilled there by Sergeant-Major William Weston (.CCC).¹⁸¹ In 1868, the other Militia N.C.O.s and musicians were Conservative by 8 votes to 3.

Most obviously 'Protestant' in tone of all the town's associations, however, were the four 'Bonfire' Societies, the Borough, Southover, Commercial Square, and Cliffe. These loose associations, territorially organized by elected committees and funded by 'subscribers', celebrated the nation's 'Deliverance from Popery' on 5 November with processions, bonfires, and fireworks. Although

Bonfire activities during this period are badly documented, leading Conservatives were by 1870 very prominent in the 'principal' Society, the Borough, with which Southover was closely associated.¹⁸² In 1866, the Borough's Chairman was the butcher, Joseph Lipscombe (CChC.:A); in 1869 Francis Verrall, whose father, William, feasted the Southover Society in 1866;¹⁸³ and in 1870 Minshall Baxter, a son of William E. Baxter whose *Sussex Express* had for 'many years . . . supported the bonfire boys'. At the annual dinner in 1870 Lucas responded on behalf of 'the subscribers' and asked Baxter's name to be coupled with his, while David Cheale declared himself a 'bonfire boy from the bottom of my heart'.¹⁸⁴ In November 1861-3 the Borough Society's banners and tableaux hailing the campaigns and victories of Garibaldi were accompanied by others demanding liberty for the negro slave and the Polish people.¹⁸⁵ Thereafter the themes grew more obsessive, less generous. In 1865, Father Wagner of Brighton was burnt in effigy, in April 1868 the Emperor Theodore of Abyssinia.¹⁸⁶ In November 1868, the Pope's effigy was exploded outside a temporary Catholic chapel in Southover Crescent and Bonfire sermons reviled Father Ignatius, denounced the torture of nuns, and rejoiced at the overthrow of the Spanish Bourbons.¹⁸⁷ The structure of control by 1870 within the smaller Commercial Square and Cliffe Societies is unclear.

While, therefore, the occupations of urban peasants in Lewes throw only a fitful light on their voting patterns in 1865-8, their denominational preferences did normally correlate with those of influential townsmen of like political allegiance, and grew more, rather than less relevant, between 1865 and 1868 to the local political struggle. Clearly, too, Liberal rather than Tory urban peasants shared with Liberal leading townsmen an enthusiasm for the Mechanics' Institute. Socially influential Conservatives, by contrast, heavily patronized the local Rifle Volunteers and the 'principal' Bonfire Society, and it seems highly probable that these associations enjoyed the active support of Tory rather than Liberal urban peasants, although direct evidence for this is fragmentary.

The major discontinuity between 1865 and 1868 was occasioned by the flooding of the Borough register with newly enfranchised electors who were employees. In 1865 only 126 electors (19.7 per cent) were employees outside the public services (Table 5), and their wide dispersal across the economy limited the direct political influence of the larger employers. Many, moreover, were experienced assistants, clerks, and artisans, whose economic value to their

firms was high. Their voting preferences in 1865 are set out in Table 8.

Of the fifty Conservative electors, seven worked on the *Sussex Express* – the chief reporter, an accountant, a traveller, the managing clerk, and three printers.¹⁸⁸ At least twelve others are known to have worked for Tories – a clerk, bargeman and coal-porter for Robert Hillman, two domestic gardeners, a tanner, a brewer, a flydriver at the Star Hotel, and four solicitors' clerks, from whom political reliability was perhaps essential. At least twenty-four Liberal electors served Liberal employers – four shopmen and porters at Moore's, a labourer, a bargeman and a coal porter at Rickman and Company, two slaters and a mason at Parsons' stoneyard, three railwaymen, two printers on the *Sussex Advertiser*, two tailors, two domestic gardeners, a candlemaker, a founder's manager, a lamp-lighter, a warehouseman at Monks', and a solicitors' clerk at Blakers'. The mason, the warehouseman and one of the slaters had, like

TABLE 8: *Voting patterns of employees, 1865 and 1868*

	1865					1868				
	C	L	M	A	T	C	L	A	T	
Managers, senior assistants	—	5		3	8	2	11	2	15	
Clerks, travellers, agents	12	11		1	24	21	18	2	41	
Artisans in building	4	16		2	22	13	53	3	69	
Artisans in production etc	12	14	1		27	76	94	5	175	
Shopmen, storemen, porters, transport & stable workers, (non-labouring)	11	12	1	1	25	41	38	3	82	
Domestic servants, grooms, gardeners	6	4			10	21	14	2	37	
Labourers	5	5			10	114	78	5	197	
Total	50	67	2	7	126	288	306	22	616	

their masters, deserted the Tories in 1847. At least six employees in 1865 voted on the opposite side from their master. Three Conservatives – Stephen Hollands (.ChC.:A), shopman to Madgwick, Thomas Wells (BICHCC:A), agent to Edward Chatfield, and John Kent (CCCC:A), a saddler with Henry Davey (LP.:A) – all served masters who were ex-Tories.¹⁸⁹ Two out of the three Liberals – George Parsons (LLL.:J), foreman at the Pannetts' coal wharf, and George Bates (LLL.:Pv), a smith for many years with Ebenezer Morris – had a denominational link with their employers, but not so Nehemiah Morris (LLLL:C), clerk to the corn merchant, James Kidd (ACC.:A).¹⁹⁰ If these instances in which the voting in 1865 of

employee and employer can be correlated are typical, then the great majority of employees voted as their employers did.

By 1868, however, at least 616 electors were employees outside the public services, together with some, perhaps most, of the fifty unclassified electors. Managerial and clerical staff on the register increased from 32 to 56 (Table 8). But swamping them were 326 artisans and other non-labouring manual workers, whose respectability and independence had been keenly debated in 1865, and 37 servants and 197 labourers, whose lack of independence had largely been assumed in 1865. The flood of employees, incorporating half the electorate, reduced the weight of the urban peasantry and gave larger employers much greater scope to exert influence, whether charismatic, paternalistic, or bluntly intimidatory. A correspondent to the *East Sussex News* in June 1868 spoke of 'merchants in Lewes who employ a great number of men, who, as a body, will vote on the same side as their employers, not through any pure political conviction but simply through intimidation and a regard to their personal interests'.¹⁹¹ In 1871, Christie conceded that his party had turned the screw, but less so than the Liberals.¹⁹²

As in 1865, so in 1868, known employees of Liberal firms were usually Liberal – at the three breweries of Beard, the Monks, and Harvey and Smith, by a majority of 14 to 2; at the two ironworks of Thompson and Every by 6 to 1; at Rickman and Company by 4 to 0; on the *Sussex Advertiser* by 4 to 0; and at the gasworks, that 'Liberal preserve', by 9 to 0. According to the *Sussex Express* the L.B.S.C.R.C. relaxed the political reins on its employees in 1868,¹⁹³ but railwaymen were still Liberal by 19 to 7, especially the senior staff. Edward Chatfield controlled the only large timber-yard and sawmill in Lewes, James Broad the only candleworks, and Albion Russell the only large boot manufactory:¹⁹⁴ timber-yard workers were Liberal by 13 to 3, candlemakers by 3 to 0, and shoemakers by 15 to 4. Major Liberal firms in the building trade employed 78 men, Conservative firms 34 (Table 4): building workers mustered 68 Liberals and 20 Tories, and the artisans among them 53 Liberals and 13 Tories. Five employees at Cards' were Liberal, so were 11 masons, slaters, and masons' labourers, all probably working at Parsons' stoneyard. Liberal, too, were 9 gardeners and grooms serving Liberal households.

Identity of allegiance was very common among Conservative masters and men. Known employees at the four breweries of Morris, Elmsley, the Verralls, and the Hillmans were Tory by 6 to 0, at Baxter's tanyards by 10 to 3, on the *Sussex Express* by 13 to 0, at the

Morris ironworks by 7 to 2, and with the corn, coal and lime dealing firms of Pannetts', Elphicks' and Robert Hillman by 15 to 1. Chalk-pit and limekiln labourers were Tory by 16 to 3: most probably worked for the Elphicks at Offham or for Robert Hillman at Malting and Southerham, rather than for Rickman and Company several miles off at Glynde. Agricultural labourers were Conservative by 35 votes to 6. Nine of them, all Tory, worked for Robert Ellman at Landport:¹⁹⁵ many of the rest must have been employed on farms, ringing the borough, occupied by such Conservative stalwarts as William Verrall, George Elphick and John Hillman II. The agrarian links of prominent Conservatives were now proving crucial in securing the party a comfortable majority of the votes cast by labourers on the register. Also Tory were 6 solicitors' clerks serving Hunt, Currey and Nicolson, or Gell, and 3 gardeners retained by Joseph Davey, Ebenezer Morris and Robert Hillman.

As in 1865, employees who diverged from their masters politically were often skilled, or at least senior, men – John Figg (..C.:A), chief clerk to Thomas Beard; Henry Barrett (..CC:Jm), practical brewer to Harvey; John Hallam (..CC:A), shopman to Thompson; Richard Barber (..L.:U), a 'much valued' mechanic at the Morris ironworks for 33 years; Jabez Blaber (..LL:W), foreman at the Southover tanyard; and William Schultze (..LL:?C), foreman to the upholsterer, William Lambe.¹⁹⁶ Subsequent to the election, no claims were ever published locally that any employee had suffered by casting an independent vote. Most employees, however, voted as their masters did, or so the samples uncovered above would suggest, whether from 'pure political conviction', 'a regard to their personal interests', or 'intimidation'. However, the twelve assistants, whitesmiths, and tinmen, employed at two ironmongery firms, either by Thomas Attwood (LAAA), or by Joseph Cooper (CCCC) and Martin Langridge (MMLL) may have been unusually free from pressure: they were Liberal by eleven to one.

Employees in the public services increased from twenty-eight to seventy-two (Table 5). Their appointment must often have owed much to a tangled skein of political influence. In 1868, three revenue and customs officers were Liberal. W. E. Baxter accused Brand of showering 'Treasury' money and patronage onto local supporters:¹⁹⁷ two 'ardent' Liberals who perhaps benefited were Cornelius Harris, collector of the Queen's taxes and of the Town Commission's rate, and the master shoemaker, David Wall (LLLL:Pm), who was also an exciseman.¹⁹⁸ Postmen were divided: the keen Liberal, Oddfellow, and Co-operator, George Pelling

(..LL:Um), owed his position as letter-carrier to a recommendation from Fitzroy in 1851.¹⁹⁹ Retired army and naval officers and pensioners, together with Militia N.C.O.s and musicians, were Tory by thirteen votes to four. Slade charged Chichester with partisan use of the patronage available to him as Lord Lieutenant.²⁰⁰ Certainly in 1866 he appointed as County Clerk, William K. Langridge (.LLC:A), a paid agent of Pelham in 1865 and a son-in-law of Edward Monk, in succession to his father, William V. Langridge (LA...:A), a Liberal committee-man for East Sussex in 1865.²⁰¹ The County Treasurer, however, Lewis Fullager (.LLC:A), was elected, at Quarter Sessions in 1864 on his father's retirement, defeating another Liberal, Edgar Blaker.²⁰² County Prison staff were Liberal in 1865 by ten votes to one, and in 1868 by nine votes to one. It must remain uncertain how much this bias owed to the county establishment, to the visiting justices, chaired by Burwood Godlee, or to the governors, William Sanders and Captain Helby. Sanders' son and deputy was a Mechanics' Institute committee member in 1865;²⁰³ Helby condemned the Bulgarian atrocities in 1876.²⁰⁴ Local J.P.s also 'visited' the Naval prison; its staff were Liberal in 1868 by nine votes to four. Among the Tories there was the Chaplain, George Litle (.ACC), a 'strong' Conservative and secretary of the Ruridecanal Church Association.²⁰⁵

Given that the influence of employers, whether private or public, was pervasive, although not always decisive, how far did employees move within the same denominational and cultural environment as self-employed electors of like political persuasion? Dissenters among them, worshippers at Jireh Chapel apart, were strongly Liberal, in 1865 by 42 votes to 4, in 1868 by 53 votes to 6 (Table 7), the six Tory deviants being two Militia Sergeants, a postman, a maltster living next to the Malling brewery, a solicitors' clerk, and the flydriver at the Star Hotel. Liberal employees were also active within the Mechanics' Institute. Among the subscribers to the new Hall were a Wesleyan bank cashier (.LLL), a Unitarian printer (.LLL), a Quaker coal porter (ALLL), and a Unitarian tinman, John Miller (LLL.), the Institute's librarian 'of all the talents', as the *Sussex Express* sneeringly put it.²⁰⁶ In 1865, another printer (..L.), an ironmongers' assistant (LL...:U), and Samuel Beckett (.LLL), the County Prison schoolmaster, served on the committee.²⁰⁷

Also in 1865, however, certain *âmes d'élite* among the Liberal dissenting artisanate struck out an independent path by pioneering the Lewes Industrial and Provident Co-operative Society.²⁰⁸ Its first annual presidents were the foreman whitesmith, Charles Steele

(LLLL:U), the grocers' porter, Thomas Eager (LLLL:Bm), the cowkeeper and plumber, John Slarks (LLLL:Bm), the sawsmith, John Tapp (..LL:C), the gardener, John Virgo (.LLL:Wm), and the whitesmith, Alfred Hunt (..L.:?B); the Secretary was the whitesmith, Henry Pumphrey (..LL:Bm), and the auditors were Miller and Beckett.²⁰⁹ Their political unanimity was broken only by the Treasurer, the shopkeeper (?) and plumber, Thomas Weller (CCCC), parish clerk of All Saints.²¹⁰ Two other 'ardent' Liberals were among the handful of pioneers – the County Prison warder, Thomas Sheppard (..LL), and the postman, George Pelling, both, like Steele, Eager and Pumphrey, members of the Bundle of Sticks Club,²¹¹ and, like Miller and Tapp, Friendly Society office-holders. Miller served for sixty years as Secretary of the local Manchester Oddfellows and Tapp for thirty-three years as Secretary of the Foresters.²¹² Although not exclusively Liberal, these Societies fostered among 'smaller' electors a tradition of 'independence' which caused William Schultze to refuse on behalf of the Oddfellows a barrel of beer donated by William Verrall.²¹³ In 1865, Godlee, Charles Parsons, John Every II, and Thomas Carter agreed to act as arbitrators to the nascent Co-operative Society.²¹⁴ This faith of prominent Liberals in the 'honest and industrious artisan' proved well founded. By 1870, membership stood at 245 and the funds being too large to 'be worked properly' a Building Society was launched to utilize them.²¹⁵

Prominence, therefore, within the dissenting sects (Jireh Chapel apart), the Mechanics' Institute, and the Co-operative Society, and perhaps too within the Manchester Oddfellows and the Foresters, was largely a monopoly of Liberal employees. Each association offered mutual aid in the quest for mental and moral improvement. In some Liberal artisans this quest united with a strong craft pride and a growing civic confidence. In 1867 Pumphrey proposed and Alfred Hunt seconded the formation of a committee of eighteen 'mechanics' to co-ordinate entries to the Lewes Industrial and Fine Art Exhibition, 'to show what they could do': at least twelve were Liberal and three Tory.²¹⁶ In 1872, at the St Johns vestry, five Liberal artisans opposed the continued payment of a compulsory rate to extinguish an ancient loan raised to finance a churchyard extension.²¹⁷ Liberal labourers were not prominent within these associations; the ardently Liberal stonemasons' labourer, Stephen Chandler (..LL), who ran the Foresters' juvenile section for 13 years, was probably a rare spirit.²¹⁸ In general, the energies of the Liberal artisan seem to have subjected the Liberal coalition in

Lewes to no serious strain. The Co-operative Society's establishment saw no exodus of erstwhile Liberal tradesmen from the party by 1868, nor had trade unionism become a permanent feature of the Lewes industrial scene. In 1866, carpenters and joiners, who were Liberal in 1868 by nineteen votes to four, struck for higher wages and shorter hours: 'their demands were almost immediately acceded to'. A month later a circular urged operative tailors to unite.²¹⁹ No subsequent activity was reported in the press. In 1874 a partner in Langridge and Cooper, that haunt of Liberal artisans, affirmed that 'none of our men are unionists'.²²⁰

Employees who were active churchmen, Volunteers and Bonfire boys were normally Conservative. In 1871 the *Sussex Express* accountant, William Watts (CCCC), churchwarden at St Michaels for forty-three years, opposed Woolley's candles and processions.²²¹ John Kent, a Tory 'spy' in 1859, attended St Johns for seventy-six years; the parish clerk there was Timothy Cox (CCCC), and a sidesman, that 'thorough type of Conservative working man', Stephen Hollands.²²² By 1872, Hollands was Secretary to the Borough Bonfire Society, for which the collector since 1862 had been the machinist, John Carey (..CC);²²³ in April 1870, Carey, together with a huckster (..CC), a jobbing smith (..CC), and a brewers' labourer (..CC) were charged with instigating a riot during the first evening service to be held in the new Catholic Chapel; a large mob had thrown stones, sung Bonfire 'ditties', and hustled such Anglican onlookers as Captain Wyndham.²²⁴ 'Captain of Boxes' in the Borough Society in 1872 was the *Sussex Express* printer, William Gearing (..CC), brother-in-law of the National Infant School mistress and a future Colour Sergeant in the Fourth Sussex Volunteers.²²⁵ Other keen Volunteers were their Secretary and Treasurer, the ironmongers' shopman, John Hallam, and the *Sussex Express* printer, William Barnard (.CCC), a mainstay of Southover parish church and choir.²²⁶ Some Conservative labourers may have shared their enthusiasm for a parish church, a defence force, and a 'Protestant' Society, which claimed to embody traditional and communal coherencies, often with much public spectacle and ceremony.

There seems little doubt, therefore, that in 1865-8 the denominational and cultural enthusiasms of electors who were employees tended to coincide with those of urban peasants and leading townsmen who voted as they did. Such a correlation suggests that, apart from the subtle or unsubtle intrusion of personal, and especially

of employers', influence, which was much increased in 1868, the heart of the political struggle in Lewes lay in a clash of political temperament, in a conflict of political expectation. Liberalism embodied a confidence in legislative action to relax or extend political parameters: Conservatism demanded a tightening of political and legal structures to withstand assaults from 'popery', from 'democracy', and from the alien in arms. Men who had helped to introduce the new technologies or built up new commercial enterprises were often the most assured Liberals, while men whose upbringing, enterprises and cultural ties were interwoven with agrarian society tended to a pessimistic Toryism. Within the Liberal ranks were mobilized the great bulk of active Protestant dissenters, from whom, however, the leading high Calvinist laymen at Jireh Chapel very publicly deviated. Equally stark was the dissociation from Conservatism of a group of Anglican leading townsmen, augmented from the 1840s by Tory 'deserters'. Culturally, this polarization of temperament was reflected in Liberal permeation of the Mechanics' Institute, in heavy Conservative patronage of the Volunteers and the principal Bonfire Society, and in the initiatives of Liberal artisans. Pessimism seems to have been a growing fashion among younger £10 householders in 1865 and 1868: it took the verbal alchemy of Disraeli to transform it into something more self-confident.

Notes

¹ See such studies as John Vincent, *The Formation of the British Liberal Party 1857-68* (1966), and *Pollbooks: How Victorians Voted* (Cambridge, 1967); F. B. Smith, *The Making of the Second Reform Bill* (Cambridge, 1966); and Maurice Cowling, *Disraeli, Gladstone and Revolution* (Cambridge, 1967).

² *McCalmont's Parliamentary Pollbook: British Election Results 1832-1918*, ed. J. Vincent and M. Stenton (enlarged edition, Hassocks, 1971), pp. 171-2.

³ *S(ussex) E(xpress)*, 5 Oct. 1878, 24 Oct. 1863.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 28 Sept. 1867.

⁵ E(ast) S(ussex) R(ecord) O(ffice), Lewes Borough MS. C5/3/20.

⁶ J. B. Conacher, *The Peelites and the Party System 1846-52* (Newton Abbot, 1972), pp. 14-29.

⁷ E.S.R.O., Lewes Borough MS. C5/3/21.

⁸ *S.E.*, 11 Jan. 1873.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 16 Apr. 1859, 28 May 1859.

¹⁰ Conacher, *The Peelites*, pp. 104-5.

¹¹ *S.E.*, 11 Jan. 1873.

¹² E(ast) S(ussex) N(ews), 19 June 1868.

¹³ *S.E.*, 17, 24 June 1865, 1 July 1865.

¹⁴ *E.S.N.*, 19 June 1868.

¹⁵ *S(ussex) A(dvertiser)*, 17 Mar. 1886.

¹⁶ *S.E.*, 28 May 1859.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 12 June 1860. See also *The Town Book of Lewes 1837–1901*, ed. Verena Smith (Sussex Record Society, 1976), *passim*.

¹⁸ E.S.R.O., Lewes Borough MSS C3/1/6–7.

¹⁹ Since particularity is an essence of micro-history, I have given for each elector details of his voting at the general elections of 1859, 1865, and 1868, and of his political allegiance in 1875–6 as assessed in a Conservative canvass return S(ussex) A(rchaeological) S(ociety), (A1244). The abbreviations used are – *L* Liberal, *C* Conservative, *A* non-voter, *M* cross-voter, *B* Brand, *Bl* Blunt, *P* Pelham, *Ch* Christie. A stop indicates unregistered. I have also given, where known, the elector's religious denomination. The abbreviations used are – *A* Anglican, *J* Jireh, *C* Congregationalist, *W* Wesleyan Methodist, *B* Baptist, *Q* Quaker, *U* Unitarian, *Py* Presbyterian, *Pv* Providence.

Described as Anglican are those electors who held the office of church-warden (*cw*) between 1865 and 1876, were active in church life, or received an Anglican burial. Electors have been designated members (*m*) of Jireh Calvinistic Chapel, of Tabernacle Congregationalist Chapel, of Eastgate Baptist Chapel, and of the Quaker Meeting, if they were listed as such in E.S.R.O., Nonconformist MSS NB1/1/4, NC2/3, SOF/52/7, and in A2226/16. Wesleyans and Presbyterians have been counted as 'members' if they were reported in the press as active worshippers: for Unitarians subscription lists (E.S.R.O., NU1/2/2) have also been used. Dissenters not awarded an '*m*' have been counted as 'close associates' of their sect if they were buried by its minister or explicitly connected with its worship. A 'probable' associate, denoted by ?, was connected to the sect only through the baptism of a child or the burial of a close relative. Evidence relating to burial has largely been drawn from the interment records preserved at Lewes Cemetery. This material has also been presented in Table 7.

See Table 4 for details of voting and worship by larger employers.

²⁰ *E.S.N.*, 23 Sept. 1881.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 11 Mar. 1870. E.S.R.O., Lewes Borough MS C10/1/2a.

²² *S.E.*, 5 May 1866.

²³ See *S.E.* and *E.S.N.*, 1866–71, *passim*.

²⁴ *S.E.*, 11 May 1901; *E.S.N.*, 28 Sept. 1900, 28 June 1872, 14 May 1871.

²⁵ *S.E.*, 29 Mar. 1884, 21 Nov. 1863.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 9 Apr. 1864, 6 June 1868.

²⁷ E.S.R.O., Lewes Union MS G6/1a/9/72; *S.A.*, 1 Apr. 1873.

²⁸ *S.E.*, 17, 24, 27 June 1865, 1 July 1865.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 4 Mar. 1865; *E.S.N.*, 23 June 1865, 14 July 1865.

³⁰ *S.E.*, 2 Sept. 1865.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 3 June 1865.

³² *E.S.N.*, 19 June 1868, 23 Oct. 1868, 13 Nov. 1868.

³³ *Ibid.*, 23, 30 Oct. 1868, 13, 20 Nov. 1868.

³⁴ Vincent, *Pollbooks*, pp. 13–50.

³⁵ *S.E.*, 21 Apr. 1866, 4 May 1867.

³⁶ *E.S.N.*, 15 May 1874.

³⁷ *S.A.*, 16 Feb. 1891.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 7 May 1872, 20 Mar. 1878.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 29 Feb. 1888.

⁴⁰ *E.S.N.*, 27 Jan. 1893.

⁴¹ *S.A.*, 2 Mar. 1870.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 21 July 1886; E.S.R.O., SOF/52/7/398–9, Land Tax MS D587, Glynde, 1860.

⁴³ *S.E.*, 27 Jan. 1894.

⁴⁴ E.S.R.O., LT D587, Piddinghoe and Laughton, 1868.

⁴⁵ *S.A.*, 3 May 1871, 14 May 1872.

⁴⁶ *S.E.*, 2 Sept. 1876; E.S.R.O., LT D587, St Johns Lewes, 1868.

⁴⁷ *S.A.*, 13 Dec. 1882.

- ⁴⁸ S.E., 9 Apr. 1859, 10 Mar. 1860, 10 July 1875.
- ⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 23 Jan. 1866, 13 Apr. 1866.
- ⁵⁰ S.A., 31 May 1876.
- ⁵¹ E.S.N., 19 Jan. 1872, 9 June 1899, 2 Oct. 1908.
- ⁵² *Ibid.*, 21 Apr. 1882. See Maude Robinson, *A South Down Farm in the Sixties* (1947), pp. 73–8.
- ⁵³ E.S.N., 10 Sept. 1870.
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 16 Feb. 1872, 29 Mar. 1872.
- ⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 11 July 1873.
- ⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 24 Mar. 1865.
- ⁵⁷ S.E., 30 May 1874, 13 Nov. 1888.
- ⁵⁸ E.S.N., 15 May 1868.
- ⁵⁹ S.E., 16 Nov. 1900; E.S.N., 5 Jan. 1872.
- ⁶⁰ Harry Browne, *Joseph Chamberlain, Radical and Imperialist* (1974), p. 24.
- ⁶¹ Asa Briggs, *Victorian Cities* (1963), pp. 197–205.
- ⁶² E.S.N., 23 Aug. 1872, 21 Feb. 1868.
- ⁶³ S.A., 6, 13 Dec. 1876.
- ⁶⁴ So did his successor, A. F. Macdonald, who in 1878 chaired a meeting in the hall of the Mechanics' Institute at which Joseph Arch spoke on 'Land, Labour and the County Franchise', S.A., 13 Feb. 1878.
- ⁶⁵ S.E., 2 July 1878.
- ⁶⁶ E.S.N., 4 Dec. 1914, 3 Apr. 1874.
- ⁶⁷ S.E., 26 May 1866.
- ⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 14 Nov. 1885, 3 May 1881.
- ⁶⁹ E.S.N., 3 Aug. 1866; S.E., 6 Dec. 1873.
- ⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 20 Jan. 1866, 21 July 1866; S.A., 11 Oct. 1876; E.S.N., 15 Nov. 1872.
- ⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 20 Jan. 1865; S.E., 1 July 1865.
- ⁷² *Ibid.*, 15 Feb. 1887.
- ⁷³ *Ibid.*, 22 Feb. 1862; E.S.N., 6 Mar. 1903.
- ⁷⁴ S.E., 6 Apr. 1878; S.A., 10 Apr. 1878.
- ⁷⁵ S.E., 20 Mar. 1877.
- ⁷⁶ E.S.N., 29 Nov. 1907.
- ⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 31 Dec. 1886; George Holman, *Some Lewes Men of Note* (Lewes, 1905), pp. 61–4.
- ⁷⁸ E.S.N., 20 Jan. 1893.
- ⁷⁹ *Lewes and East Sussex Church Magazine*, vol. III (May, 1868); E.S.R.O., SOF/52/8/81–2.
- ⁸⁰ E.S.R.O., NC2/3.
- ⁸¹ S.A., 13 Dec. 1882; E.S.N., 24 Feb. 1888; S.E., 26 Feb. 1859.
- ⁸² S.E., 27 May 1876.
- ⁸³ E.S.N., 23 June 1865.
- ⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 19 June 1868.
- ⁸⁵ E.S.R.O., Monk Bretton MS 174.
- ⁸⁶ S.E., 10 Apr. 1866.
- ⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 12, 16 Aug. 1873.
- ⁸⁸ S.A., 28 Jan. 1877, 13 Dec. 1882; E.S.R.O., NU1/7/10.
- ⁸⁹ E.S.N., 14 Aug. 1869, 5 Aug. 1870, 4 Aug. 1871, 9 Aug. 1872, 4 Mar. 1870, 1 Apr. 1881.
- ⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 11 Mar. 1865, 4 Oct. 1872.
- ⁹¹ S.A., 1 Jan. 1873; S.E., 6 Aug. 1861; E.S.N., 4 Nov. 1870.
- ⁹² *Lewes and East Sussex Church Magazine*, vol. III (May, 1868).
- ⁹³ *Ibid.*
- ⁹⁴ S.E., 31 Mar. 1894, 26 Nov. 1904; E.S.N., 9 May 1913.
- ⁹⁵ S.E., 3 Nov. 1888.
- ⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 27 May 1882.
- ⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 30 July 1872.

- ⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 3 Sept. 1867, 21 Dec. 1867.
- ⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 7 Apr. 1867.
- ¹⁰⁰ *E.S.N.*, 28 Feb. 1868.
- ¹⁰¹ *S.E.*, 26 May 1866.
- ¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 14 Oct. 1876.
- ¹⁰³ *E.S.N.*, 26 Apr. 1867, 10 Nov. 1871, 23 Mar. 1877.
- ¹⁰⁴ *S.E.*, 23 Dec. 1884, 24 Sept. 1887, 14 Dec. 1889.
- ¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 8 Mar. 1864.
- ¹⁰⁶ *E.S.N.*, 16 May 1873.
- ¹⁰⁷ *S.E.*, 14 Jan. 1890.
- ¹⁰⁸ *E.S.N.*, 16 Oct. 1869. For the combat, see *S.E.* and *E.S.N.*, 1866–71, *passim*.
- ¹⁰⁹ *S.E.*, 2 Sept. 1876.
- ¹¹⁰ *E.S.N.*, 6 May 1921.
- ¹¹¹ *S.E.*, 10 Apr. 1866, 30 Apr. 1895.
- ¹¹² *E.S.N.*, 4 Mar. 1887.
- ¹¹³ *S.E.*, 5 Feb. 1876.
- ¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 15 Jan. 1875, 10 June 1879, 6 June 1891.
- ¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 2 Sept. 1865, 11 Jan. 1873.
- ¹¹⁶ *E.S.N.*, 15 May 1868, 13 May 1870.
- ¹¹⁷ *S.E.*, 6 Nov. 1868.
- ¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 19 Aug. 1884.
- ¹¹⁹ *E.S.N.*, 29 Apr. 1870.
- ¹²⁰ *S.E.*, 1 July 1865; *E.S.N.*, 12 Oct. 1888.
- ¹²¹ *S.E.*, 10 Apr. 1866; *E.S.N.*, 2 Oct. 1908.
- ¹²² *Ibid.*, 23 Oct. 1868.
- ¹²³ *S.E.*, 21 June 1859, 6 Mar. 1860.
- ¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 13 Feb. 1866, 16 Apr. 1881, 29 Dec. 1894.
- ¹²⁵ *E.S.N.*, 24 Feb. 1899.
- ¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 19 May 1871; *S.E.*, 9 Apr. 1867, 8 May 1880. See Ebenezer Vinall, *God's Gracious Dealings with Ebenezer Vinall* (Lewes, 1847), *passim*.
- ¹²⁷ *S.E.*, 24 Sept. 1872.
- ¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 28 Dec. 1872.
- ¹²⁹ *E.S.R.O.*, PAR 412/30/1/29, PAR 414/30/1/51, PAR 415/30/7, LT D587.
- ¹³⁰ *E.S.N.*, 5 Aug. 1870.
- ¹³¹ *S.E.*, 15 Jan. 1875.
- ¹³² *Ibid.*, 26 Dec. 1868; *E.S.N.*, 22 Dec. 1871.
- ¹³³ *E.S.R.O.*, LT D587.
- ¹³⁴ *E.S.R.O.*, MOB 178b.
- ¹³⁵ Alan Everitt, *The Pattern of Rural Dissent: the Nineteenth Century* (Leicester, 1972), *passim*.
- ¹³⁶ *E.S.R.O.*, MOB 174.
- ¹³⁷ *S.A.*, 4 Mar. 1873.
- ¹³⁸ *E.S.R.O.*, G6/1a/7–9, Lewes Prison MSS, QAP/2/4.
- ¹³⁹ The material in Table 6 is mainly drawn from a register of licences (*E.S.R.O.*, Lewes Petty Sessions MS, Accession 1593) made in 1871–2, supplemented by incidental newspaper reference.
- ¹⁴⁰ *E.S.N.*, 19 Dec. 1890.
- ¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 20 Oct. 1899.
- ¹⁴² *S.A.*, 3 Mar. 1869, 1 June 1870.
- ¹⁴³ *S.E.*, 8 Dec. 1863; *E.S.N.*, 10 May 1867, 22 May 1868.
- ¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 24 Jan. 1868, 3 July 1868.
- ¹⁴⁵ *S.E.*, 4 May 1872.
- ¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 12 Aug. 1868.
- ¹⁴⁷ *E.S.N.*, 12 May 1899.
- ¹⁴⁸ *S.A.*, 9 Dec. 1868, 7 Apr. 1869; *E.S.N.*, 8 Apr. 1870.

- ¹⁴⁹ E.S.R.O., NB1/1/4.
- ¹⁵⁰ E.S.N., 1 Aug. 1890, 11 Mar. 1898.
- ¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 17 June 1887; S.E., 2 Mar. 1900; E.S.N., 13 June 1892.
- ¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 14 Aug. 1868.
- ¹⁵³ S.A., 31 Dec. 1890; E.S.N., 24 Apr. 1903, 23 Sept. 1881, 15 Mar. 1878; S.A., 16 Oct. 1889; S.E., 12 Aug. 1902.
- ¹⁵⁴ S.A., 29 Dec. 1880.
- ¹⁵⁵ E.S.N., 19 May 1871.
- ¹⁵⁶ S.E., 14 Feb. 1903; E.S.N., 5 Mar. 1915; S.E., 21 Apr. 1877.
- ¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 20 Sept. 1884.
- ¹⁵⁸ E.S.N., 7 Apr. 1899, 20 Jan. 1890, 30 Sept. 1904; S.E., 5 Dec. 1874.
- ¹⁵⁹ E.S.N., 23 May 1890; S.E., 1 Mar. 1879; E.S.N., 13 Aug. 1897. *Lewes and East Sussex Church Magazine*, vol. III (May, 1868).
- ¹⁶⁰ S.E., 13 Sept. 1879.
- ¹⁶¹ E.S.N., 18 June 1886; S.E., 8 Sept. 1877, 7 Dec. 1872.
- ¹⁶² E.S.N., 14 Apr. 1871.
- ¹⁶³ S.E., 1 July 1884; E.S.N., 5 Sept. 1902.
- ¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 10 June 1870, 4 Mar. 1870.
- ¹⁶⁵ S.A.S., Lewes Mechanics' Institute MSS (uncatalogued).
- ¹⁶⁶ S.A., 26 Jan. 1876.
- ¹⁶⁷ S.E., 11 Jan. 1873.
- ¹⁶⁸ E.S.N., 8 Apr. 1904.
- ¹⁶⁹ S.A.S., Lewes Mechanics' Institute MS, draft address, Jan. 1863.
- ¹⁷⁰ E.S.N., 20 Jan. 1871.
- ¹⁷¹ For a general discussion of the history, aims, and facilities of the Mechanics' Institute, see Alethea Tynan, 'Lewes Mechanics' Institute', *Rewley House Papers*, III (4), (1955-6).
- ¹⁷² S.E., 28 May 1859, 22 Nov. 1859.
- ¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 4 June 1859. Nationally 'the Nonconformist churches dissociated themselves' from the Volunteers, according to Hugh Cunningham, *The Volunteer Force* (1975), p. 74.
- ¹⁷⁴ S.E., 22 May 1874, 20 Mar. 1877; E.S.N., 15 Sept. 1893.
- ¹⁷⁵ S.E., 10 Oct. 1865, 14 Dec. 1889, 25 Nov. 1876, 19 June 1868; E.S.N., 4 Sept. 1874.
- ¹⁷⁶ S.E., 10 June 1876.
- ¹⁷⁷ E.S.N., 30 Sept. 1904.
- ¹⁷⁸ S.E., 24 Feb. 1866.
- ¹⁷⁹ Cunningham, *Volunteer Force*, pp. 70, 85, 89, 94, 119.
- ¹⁸⁰ S.E., 14 Nov. 1868; E.S.N., 11 Oct. 1872.
- ¹⁸¹ S.E., 25 May 1868.
- ¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 8 Nov. 1870.
- ¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 17 Nov. 1866, 4 Dec. 1869; E.S.N., 16 Nov. 1866.
- ¹⁸⁴ S.E., 26 Nov. 1870, 4 Dec. 1869.
- ¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 9 Nov. 1861, 8 Nov. 1862, 7 Nov. 1863.
- ¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 11 Nov. 1865, 1 May 1868.
- ¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 6 Nov. 1868.
- ¹⁸⁸ The evidence linking employee and employer in this and in subsequent discussion rests on specific newspaper references extending over forty years which are too numerous to cite individually.
- ¹⁸⁹ S.E., 23 Aug. 1875; E.S.N., 8 Jan. 1897, 8 Apr. 1892.
- ¹⁹⁰ S.E., 14 Jan. 1860; S.A., 12 Apr. 1871; E.S.N., 1 Apr. 1881.
- ¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 14 June 1867.
- ¹⁹² *Ibid.*, 21 Apr. 1871.
- ¹⁹³ S.E., 23 Oct. 1868.
- ¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 28 Apr. 1885; E.S.N., 3 Aug. 1900; S.E., 12 May 1888.
- ¹⁹⁵ S.A.S., HC 328.

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- ¹⁹⁶ *S.E.*, 23 Jan. 1892, 22 Nov. 1879, 13 June 1871, 16 Sept. 1876; *S.A.*, 15 Feb. 1882.
- ¹⁹⁷ *S.E.*, 24 June 1865.
- ¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 24 Sept. 1881; *E.S.N.*, 24 Apr. 1903.
- ¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 17 July 1908.
- ²⁰⁰ *S.E.*, 2 Sept. 1865.
- ²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 8 July 1865, 13 Jan. 1866, 14 Nov. 1882; *E.S.N.*, 17 Nov. 1882.
- ²⁰² *S.E.*, 18 Oct. 1864; *E.S.N.*, 2 Feb. 1866.
- ²⁰³ *S.E.*, 21 Oct. 1865.
- ²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 23 Sept. 1876.
- ²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 12 Apr. 1879; *Lewes and East Sussex Church Magazine*, vol. III (May, 1868).
- ²⁰⁶ *E.S.N.*, 10 June 1870; *S.E.*, 8 Oct. 1872; *E.S.N.*, 26 Dec. 1913.
- ²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 20 Jan. 1865.
- ²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 24 Mar. 1865.
- ²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 9 June 1865, 2 Feb. 1866, 1 Feb. 1867; *S.E.*, 27 Mar. 1868; *E.S.N.*, 5 Feb. 1869, 4 Mar. 1870.
- ²¹⁰ *S.E.*, 20 Nov. 1886; *S.A.*, 3 Mar. 1869.
- ²¹¹ *E.S.N.*, 12 Oct. 1888, 17 July 1908, 14 Dec. 1900, 25 Aug. 1871, 17 Jan. 1908.
- ²¹² *Ibid.*, 26 Dec. 1913, 20 Mar. 1891.
- ²¹³ *S.E.*, 27 June 1865.
- ²¹⁴ *E.S.N.*, 9 June 1865.
- ²¹⁵ *S.E.*, 12 Mar. 1870; *E.S.N.*, 19 Aug. 1870.
- ²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 10, 17 May 1867.
- ²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 2 Aug. 1872.
- ²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 25 Nov. 1892.
- ²¹⁹ *S.E.*, 28 Apr. 1866; *E.S.N.*, 11 May 1866.
- ²²⁰ *S.E.*, 27 June 1874.
- ²²¹ *E.S.N.*, 14 Apr. 1871, 2 Nov. 1906.
- ²²² *Ibid.*, 8 Apr. 1892, 25 July 1890; *S.E.*, 23 Aug. 1875.
- ²²³ *Ibid.*, 30 Nov. 1872, 21 Nov. 1874.
- ²²⁴ *E.S.N.*, 28 Jan. 1870; *S.E.*, 5 Feb. 1870.
- ²²⁵ *Ibid.*, 30 Nov. 1872, 21 Dec. 1878; *E.S.N.*, 18 July 1913.
- ²²⁶ *S.E.*, 22 Nov. 1879; *E.S.N.*, 28 Oct. 1910.