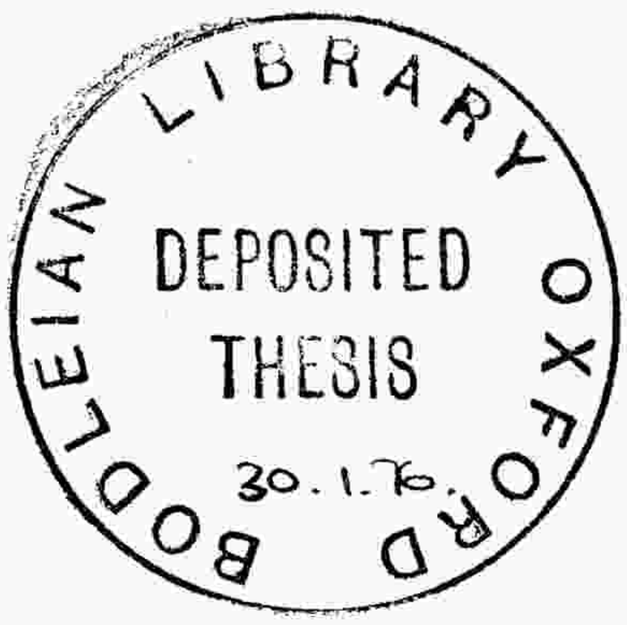
ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ASPECTS OF THE HISTORY OF WINCHESTER

1520 - 1670

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Abbreviations

Acts of P.C.	Acts of the Privy Council
Ag. H.R.	Agricultural History Review
B.I.H.R.	Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research
Bk. Ord.	Book of Ordinances
B.L.	British Library (formerly British Museum)
Black Bk.	Black Book of Winchester, ed. W.H.B. Bird
Bodl.	Bodleian Library, Oxford
Cal. Pat. Rolls	Calendar of Patent Rolls
Cal. S.P. Dom.	Calendar of State Papers, Domestic
Cal. S.P. Spanish	Calendar of State Papers, Spanish
chamb. acct.	chamberlains' accounts
D.N.B.	Dictionary of National Biography
Econ. H.R.	Economic History Review
E.H.R.	English Historical Review
Hants. Rec. Soc.	Hampshire Record Society
H.C.R.O.	Hampshire County Record Office
Hist. MSS. Comm.	Historical Manuscripts Commission
L. & P. Henry VIII	Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII
N.S.	new series
O.S.	old series
P.C.C.	Prerogative Court of Canterbury
Proc. H.F.C.	Papers and Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society
V.C.H.	Victoria County History
W. Cath. MSS.	Winchester Cathedral Manuscripts
W.C.M.	Winchester College Muniments
W.R.O.	Winchester City Record Office

Manuscript references for which no record office is specified come from the Public Record Office.

ABSTRACT

This thesis is the first scholarly study of the city of Winchester in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Much of the information derived from local archives is new, and records in London and Southampton concerning Winchester are used for the first time. In particular, the wills of the city's inhabitants, ecclesiastical court books, and the records of Chancery, Star Chamber, and the Court of Requests have yielded much new social and economic information. The thesis is intended not only as a study of one ancient cathedral and county town, however, but as a contribution to the study of early modern English towns in general. Its approach is close to that used by Professor Hoskins and his successors, and many comparisons are drawn with other towns that have been studied for the early modern period. Few towns as small as Winchester have yet been studied, but one of the conclusions of this thesis is that the complexity of a town's social and administrative structure depended more on its status than its size; though some small market towns were relatively simple and had strong rural links, an equally small town like Winchester, which was the county town, had a cathedral, and had built up a long tradition of self-government, could be almost as complex as one of the provincial capitals.

In this and many other ways, Winchester's character was determined by its past history. Since the twelfth century the city's population had fallen from 7,000 to about 3,000, and its political and economic importance too was far less than in its medieval heyday. A major theme of the thesis is the readjustment of the city to its new reduced status, and the consequent social, topographical, and economic changes. At the same time Winchester's economic role was shifting from that of a manufacturing centre to a social, service, and distribution centre, as the Hampshire woollen cloth industry dwindled and finally disappeared. By 1670 the city had begun to attract local gentlemen, both as residents and visitors, and its economic outlook had improved.

The lay subsidy of 1524-5 is used as the basis of a description of Winchester in the early sixteenth century. The distribution of wealth in the community shows the lack of a substantial 'middle class', though the economic functions of such a group were to some extent fulfilled by religious houses before the Reformation. Population totals for the city, and for its suburbs (the Soke), are carefully estimated from the subsidy, and the numbers, origins, and assimilation of aliens are discussed. Winchester's religious houses and other institutions played an important social and economic role in the city, and the process and consequences of their dissolution are examined; the city did suffer from their removal, but several institutions survived to soften the blow. Though popular religion had not been especially lively before the Reformation, Winchester resisted the advent of Protestantism, and recusancy was strong and socially acceptable among all classes there throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Recusants were even found among the bishop's officials, many of whom had served Bishop Gardiner.

Chapter 4 begins by outlining the structure of government within the city, to which the charter of incorporation granted to Winchester in 1588 added very little. The corporation's income and expenditure is described and tabulated. Each step in the oligarchical hierarchy of power is discussed, showing that power was concentrated in the hands of the small group, principally the ex-mayors, at the top of the pyramid. Using the minutes of assemblies in the Books of Ordinances it is possible to show how both the total number of freemen, and their attendance at meetings, fluctuated over the period, and a striking decline in attendance from about 1590 is revealed. Freemen were only about 12% of the city's adult males, a smaller proportion than in most towns. The 'ruling class' of Winchester, consisting of the 205 men who held the offices of mayor or bailiff between 1520 and 1670, is examined in detail. Their geographical and social origins were diverse, and many had moved to Winchester where they replaced the sons of successful

men who often left the city to be apprenticed elsewhere. Newcomers became less welcome in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, however, as the number of families supplying office-holders contracted and the same men held the mayoralty many times. Office-holding dynasties did not generally last for more than two generations, though there were exceptions, and trading dynasties too were rare. One reason for this was the high rate of failure of a family's male line, for about a third of all office-holders (and other classes) died without surviving sons. The sizeof families increased over the period, but Winchester office-holders' families were significantly smaller than their counterparts in wealthier cities. The marriages of leading citizens' children provide a clue to their social aspirations. The composition of office-holders' estates at death, and the fields in which they chose to invest, are described; property-holding was not generally popular, and the limited resources of most citizens were devoted to their trades and to improving their homes and standard of living. There was little building in Winchester before 1660, but the contents of houses increased in quantity and diversity. The prevalence of violence among all classes is noted, and the differing attitudes to law of the rich and the poor are discussed. The role of women was severely restricted, and independence was possible only as a widow. Immigration to Winchester is examined, using ecclesiastical court records, showing that a majority of deponents moved from their birthplaces. The main drift of migration was from west to east, and the motives behind it fall into the categories of 'betterment' and 'subsistence' as found in Kent.

Chapter 5 is devoted to the economy of Winchester. The processes and craftsmen involved in the manufacture of woollen cloth, the city's main industry, are described in turn. Figures for Winchester cloths sent to Southampton for export are available, but the proportion of production sent to London is not known. In the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries new cloths, particularly serges, ousted the traditional Hampshire

kerseys, but the whole Hampshire cloth industry was declining, and lack of investment due to social pressures towards land-owning and conspicuous consumption is tentatively suggested as a cause. The growing of woad from about 1580 to 1620 is documented, and the other minor industries of Winchester are described. The occupations of office-holders show the trades of the wealthiest class, and an exhaustive list of all the occupations practised in the city and Soke between 1500 and 1700 proves that the number of trades was slightly smaller in Winchester than in larger cities. A comparison of sixteenth-century wage-rates paid by the corporation and by Winchester College shows a rise over the century, but rates often differed between the two employers. Winchester was an important local market and shopping centre, and the organisation of markets and fairs is described. A map of the city's trading area can be constructed from court records. There is not much evidence of private trading in inns, but the number of inns and alehouses increased over the period; but Winchester was not on a major road - the Great West Road to London passed to the north of the city - and it was therefore denied the advantages of a thoroughfare town. Winchester had closer links with the west country than with London, and Hampshire as a whole failed to take advantage of the metropolitan market. The city's efforts to open up navigation to the sea succeeded in the 1660s, but with restrictions which limited its usefulness.

The early seventeenth century was a period of recurrent epidemics and economic crises, and government taxation and military impositions were heavier than ever before. Winchester like other towns experienced a great increase in the number of paupers seeking relief, and the various forms of relief adopted are described. Most relief was given as direct alms, and its volume increased markedly in the 1620s and 1630s. But the corporation lacked constructive ideas on poor relief, a fact which is consistent with the absence of Puritanism from Winchester before the Civil War. The corporation became more exclusive and laid greater stress on ceremonial in the early seventeenth

century, while the gap between rich and poor widened. The beginnings of the city's development as a social centre for the gentry and nobility are described, particularly the beginning of horse-racing. Winchester was Royalist in the 1640s because of the tight control of the oligarchy and the lack of any Puritan tradition. The city suffered much damage during the war, and a contemporary description illustrates the social disorder. An Act of Parliament in 1649 created a new corporation, but its members were as conservative as the old ruling group and had no new policies. The war and Interregnum brought an unusually large number of immigrant craftsmen to Winchester, many of them former soldiers. In the 1660s the city quickly returned to normal, and the Hearth Tax of 1665 provides the basis for an examination of social structure. Among tradesmen, the distributive trades were now more important than manufacture, and the proliferation of grocers is particularly striking. A new class of self-employed professional 'pseudo-gentry' had emerged. A number of gentlemen settled in Winchester after the Restoration and built large houses, and the city's development as a social and service centre continued into the eighteenth century.

NOTE ON WINCHESTER ARCHIVES

Documents formerly kept in the Winchester City Record Office (W.R.O.) and the Winchester City Library are being transferred in June 1975 to the Hampshire County Record Office in Winchester. Readers wishing to follow up references to city documents in this thesis should therefore apply to the County Record Office, bearing in mind that the shelf-numbers will not necessarily remain the same.

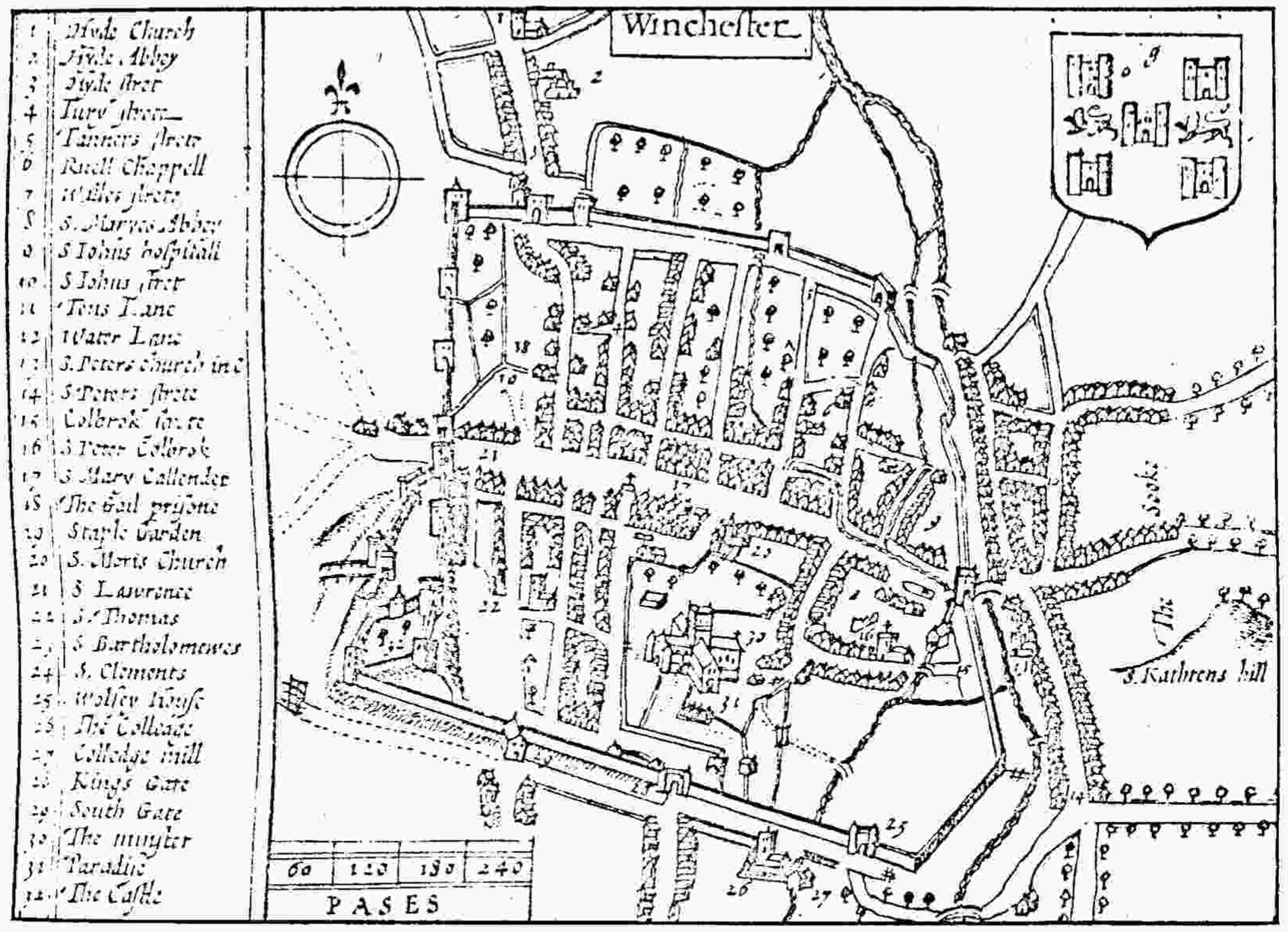


Figure 1. WINCHESTER IN 1611

(*From Speed's Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain*)

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

The most notable achievement of local historians in this country in the last thirty years has been to establish the considerable diversity within the broad outlines of English history. Each region, county, town, and village has its own miniature version of national history, and generalizations once current have undergone substantial revision in the light of local studies. Economic and social history is especially dependent on research into grass-roots local history, for much of it concerns the everyday actions and lives of ordinary people, who can only be studied in depth at a local level. The economic and social history of towns in the early modern period is no exception; a large number of case-studies of individual towns, covering a wide range of topics and problems, is needed before any generalizations about urban experience can be made. This thesis on the city of Winchester is intended as a contribution to the wider study of small towns in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Most of the urban history written so far has concerned large industrial cities, and even in the early modern period it is the provincial capitals which have received most attention. Although certain characteristics were common to all urban communities, most towns were much less prosperous and complex than these. Too few small market towns have yet been systematically studied, although they greatly outnumbered the large centres and played a vital part in the lives of most English men and women. In addition to its market role, Winchester was a county and Assize town and the seat of the richest bishopric in the country; its size makes it comparable with the mere market towns, though the characteristics which emerge from this study suggest that towns declining after medieval prosperity, many of them cathedral towns,

should be treated as a special group within the category of market towns.

Recent studies of towns in the early modern period have benefited greatly from developments in urban history as a whole. In particular there has been fruitful application of ideas from geography, sociology, and anthropology, though the nature of the surviving evidence inevitably limits the ways in which new methods designed for the study of modern societies can be used. Most sources, for example, omit all reference to a submerged and poverty-stricken part of the population which can only be assumed to exist and whose size is a matter of guesswork. The foundations of the present phase in early modern urban history were laid by Professor Hoskins, whose work on Exeter and Leicester, and writings on provincial towns in general, have influenced all his successors[1]. Hoskins' essays on Leicester are especially relevant to the history of Winchester, since the two towns were similar enough in size and function to make close comparison possible. Other small towns recently studied for this period include Lincoln, Stamford, and High Wycombe, all of which showed points of similarity with Winchester[2]. Apart from these examples, however, historians so far have preferred to concentrate on the larger provincial cities, and particularly on those which were expanding. Among the studies of regional capitals which have appeared in print, Professor MacCaffrey's book on Exeter, Dr Dyer's book on Worcester, and the essays in Crisis and Order in English Towns are the most successful[3],

1. W.G. Hoskins, Industry, Trade and People in Exeter 1688-1800; Provincial England: Essays in Social and Economic History; Essays in Leicestershire History.
2. J.W.F. Hill, Tudor and Stuart Lincoln; J. Thirsk, 'Tudor and Stuart Stamford', The Making of Stamford, ed. A. Rogers; L.J. Ashford, The History of the Borough of High Wycombe.
3. W.T. MacCaffrey, Exeter, 1540-1640: The Growth of an English County Town; A.D. Dyer, The City of Worcester in the Sixteenth Century; Crisis and Order in English Towns 1500-1700, ed. P. Clark and P.Slack.

and several others are in progress. Another contribution to the comparison of early modern towns is the publication of town-plans by the Historic Towns project, a contribution all the more valuable for not confining its attention to large and successful towns[1]. Enough examples of towns which failed to maintain their medieval size and wealth and were forced to make a painful economic readjustment have now been discovered to justify some modification of general statements about urban expansion and prosperity in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In this study of the city of Winchester I have tried to relate its experience to that of other towns of different types, in order to identify the characteristics it shared with them as well as those which made the city unique and by which its identity may be defined.

Sources and Historiography

The records surviving from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries at Winchester are as good as those from any English town of comparable size. Sources throwing light on the city's past may be divided into two categories, formal and informal. The 'formal' sources, made as a record for the future, owe their existence to Winchester's long history of self-government; by 1520 the offices of Recorder and town clerk were well established, as were the city's judicial and administrative systems, and the format of records had been evolving for centuries. Chief among these official records are the Books of Ordinances, recording all the decisions of the boromote, or the freemen in assembly. The first book begins in 1552, but the first half of the sixteenth century is covered by a similar document, the Black Book of

1. Ed. M.D. Lobel. Winchester is to be included in a future volume in this series.

Winchester, which was probably compiled in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century but contains matter from the thirteenth century onwards[1]. The first Book of Ordinances is in fact a fair copy of two other documents, both of which survive: a book now known as Proceedings in Boromote covers the period 1552-75, with marks and comments showing that it was written up at or immediately after each meeting, and the third Book of Ordinances succeeds it and covers the period 1575-1616. There is no second Book of Ordinances, probably because the volume of Proceedings in Boromote was thought of as the second Book. From 1609, when the first Book ends, only one copy of the minutes was kept; the fourth Book runs from 1617 to 1647, the fifth from 1648 to 1662, and the sixth from 1662 to 1683.

The other great series of 'formal' records covering the whole period is the Ledger Books, enrolling leases of city property and other important documents to which the city seal had been affixed. This series too begins in 1552, with the second Ledger Book, but like the Books of Ordinances it has a predecessor. Stowe MS. 846 in the British Library is a medieval book of Winchester enrolments, whose last section contains miscellaneous sixteenth-century jottings, including a list of mayors and bailiffs to 1603, and details of grants to the city and property transactions between citizens. The Stowe MS. was kept in the city throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and its existence explains the lack of a first Ledger Book. Winchester also has a good series of chamberlains' accounts[2], extensive though jumbled remains of town court records, accounts of the coffer or petty cash box for the seventeenth century, and an almost complete series of account rolls for St John's Hospital in the city.

1. B.L. Add. MS. 6036; published in 1925, edited by W.H.B. Bird.
2. The Winchester City Library has a complete transcript by J.S. Furley.

The new beginnings in city record-keeping in the 1550s are interesting, and could probably be paralleled by examples from other towns. Winchester College too reorganized its records in the first half of the sixteenth century: the old series of hall books was abandoned in 1520, bursars' accounts and court-rolls were written up in books instead of rolls from the 1550s, and a series of cartularies of College estates was compiled[1]. In both the city and the College the changes were part of a self-conscious advance from the past, in which new and more efficient methods of administration were adopted. The changes coincide with the adoption of English for virtually all series of secular records, and may be seen as a delayed local reaction to the much more far-reaching changes in national government and administration in the earlier sixteenth century.

'Informal' sources are naturally much scarcer. The most revealing of them are the wills of inhabitants of Winchester, kept with other diocesan records in the Hampshire County Record Office. Over 450 Winchester wills and administrations survive for the sixteenth century and over 400 for the seventeenth, and at least 200 have inventories attached to them. No one has used these valuable documents in studying the city before, although they are a mine of miscellaneous information. Though the wills of the most prominent citizens are among the P.C.C. material at the Public Record Office, the city's poverty in the early modern period means that the P.C.C. wills for Winchester are mostly those of cathedral dignitaries, local gentry, and bishops. Other sources in the category of 'informal' records are petitions, and also the descriptions of Winchester written by travellers. The city was already

1. J.H. Harvey, 'The Winchester College Muniments', Archives, v (1961-2), 204.

considered historic, with its cathedral and the Castle which contained King Arthur's Round Table (repainted in 1522 for the visit of the Emperor Charles V[1]), and many travellers visited Winchester and recorded their impressions.

Several institutions in or near Winchester have records which throw light on life in the city. Both county and diocesan records have proved helpful. The dean and chapter, though physically set apart in the cathedral Close, owned town property and employed town people, and their records have been used. Winchester College too has an exceptionally good archive collection, fully catalogued by the National Register of Archives.

The sources lacking for Winchester have affected the directions of this study almost as much as those surviving, and should be mentioned briefly. Most notable is the complete absence of freemen's rolls or registers. There is no evidence that such documents were ever kept in the early modern period; a freemen's book does begin in 1698, accounts for freemen's money existed in 1625[2], and a few lists of freemen in individual years survive, but it seems that no systematic record of admissions was compiled before the late seventeenth century. Modern historians of York, Norwich, and Leicester have gleaned a great deal of economic and social information from freemen's records, especially on occupations. Their use has however been justly criticised by D.M. Woodward, as leading to confusion between the economic composition of the freemen-body and the whole town, when the two may be very different[3], and they are particularly suspect for towns like Winchester where the freemen comprised only a small part of the population. The lack of such records makes it necessary to scour

1. M. Portal, The Great Hall of Winchester Castle, 87-8.
2. Bodl. MS. Top. Hants. c. 5, p.4.
3. D.M. Woodward, 'Sources for Urban History: Freemen's Rolls', Local Historian, ix (2) (1970), 91.

other sources for occupations - the Ledger Books have proved particularly fruitful on this point - and the resulting information covers the whole community, with only a slight bias towards freemen. The lack of freemen's records is therefore no great disadvantage. The lack of a second source, comprehensive parish registers, is more serious. Several registers do survive, one dating from 1538, but there is no period in the sixteenth or seventeenth century during which all six parishes in the city or all six in the Soke, or even a majority of them, are covered. This means that detailed demographic questions must remain unanswered, and it also makes it virtually impossible to deal satisfactorily with questions of family structure and inter-relationships. The third missing source is apprenticeship indentures, normally a useful source on occupations and migration, of which none survive for the city before the late seventeenth century.

That more of the city's records have not disappeared is surprising, in view of the history of their custody. While they were working records during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries most of Winchester's 'formal' documents were kept in boxes and chests in the Guildhall[1]. Between then and the early nineteenth century, possibly when the Guildhall was rebuilt in 1713, the early modern records were transferred to the room over the Westgate, formerly the city prison. One historian described them in 1845 as 'eaten up by rats and damp,....thrown together in an immense chest, in what appears to be a hopeless state of confusion'[2], and he and the inspector from the Historical Manuscripts Commission in 1877 both found the city records meagre and disappointing[3]. General interest in the city's past, which had always been current among individual enthusiasts, was revived in 1884 when Winchester celebrated the 700th anniversary of its mayoralty, despite convincing proof by one local historian that the celebration was premature. The 1880s and 1890s

1. B.L. Stowe MS. 846, ff.200v.-201; Bodl. MS. Top. Hants. c. 5. pp.3-4.
2. T. Wright, 'Report on the Municipal Records of Winchester and Southampton', Trans. British Arch. Assoc. 1845, 28-9.
3. Ibid.; Hist. MSS. Comm., 6th Report, 595.

saw the rearrangement and repair of the archives, principally by Alderman W.H. Jacob[1]. Jacob's confidence in selecting documents for preservation left a great deal to be desired - after 'selection of valuable matter' the 'rubbish' was sent to a paper-mill[2], and he pasted documents into scrapbooks so that only one side can now be read - but he was the city's first thorough archivist, and deserves gratitude for rescuing the archives from neglect.

The poor conditions in which Winchester's records were kept have not deterred historians from writing its history in every century from the seventeenth onwards, for the city has always inspired both affection and antiquarian zeal. The age of Camden and Lambarde produced also John Trussell[3], a lawyer who settled in Winchester about 1600 and between then and his death in 1648 compiled a series of manuscripts concerning the city and its history. His commentaries on city politics and descriptions of Winchester as he knew it are invaluable for the historian of the first half of the seventeenth century, but his statements relating to any period other than the one he knew are extremely suspect. Less concerned to establish truth than to entertain, he confessed to being 'verily persuaded that to believe nothing of antiquity but what is unquestionably proved is but the bare refuge of dull-pated ignorant drones or mechanic plebeians'[4]. His successors unfortunately placed implicit faith in Trussell's pronouncements on the sixteenth and earlier centuries, with the result that one can trace his errors through one publication after another. His manuscripts were sold by a book-collector in 1682, and had apparently left the city by 1715 when Matthew Imber, a Winchester merchant and alderman, attempted to find them for his own history

1. Hants. Notes and Queries, iv. 50; Hants. Antiquary, i. 10.
2. W.H. Jacob, 'The West Gate of Winchester', Proc. H.F.C. iv (1898-1903), 51.
3. For Trussell's biography, see p. 226.
4. W.R.O., John Trussell, 'Origin of Cities', f.10.

of the city[1]. By the 1770s Trussell's manuscripts were in the possession of John Duthy, a Hampshire gentleman[2], who made them available to scholars.

The first to use his work was the anonymous author of the History and Antiquities of Winchester, published in 1773. The author acknowledged his debt to Trussell's manuscript, which he believed to be 'founded on indisputable authority'. Though the book contains a good many errors of detail, it is less biased than John Milner's History and Survey of the Antiquities of Winchester, first published in 1798-1801. Milner was a Catholic priest who ministered in the city from 1779 until his appointment as a bishop in 1803, and he built England's first post-Reformation Catholic chapel at Winchester in 1792[3]. His two-volume work has been recently described as one of 'the best town histories published in the eighteenth century'[4], and it is certainly thorough; but for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Milner perpetuates some of the standard mistakes by copying Trussell, and his understandably Catholic viewpoint on the period after 1540 turns his work into a mere catalogue of martyrs. Milner failed to recognize the difference between the medieval period, when Winchester was frequently a participant in national history, and the centuries after 1400, when the recital of monarchs and their policies does not adequately describe the city's history. The anonymous historian and Milner also demonstrate a curious tendency, shared by nearly all Winchester's historians, to antedate the destruction of ecclesiastical buildings. The cathedral cloisters, for

1. Notes and Queries, 1st ser. vii (1853), 616-17. Imber's work, which was to include 'a faithful collection of all the memorable and useful things' relating to Winchester, was apparently never published.
2. E. Stephens, The Clerks of the Counties 1360-1960, 95.
3. D.N.B.; Hampshire Registers, i (Catholic Rec. Soc. xlii (1942-3)), 13.
4. Crisis and Order in English Towns, ed. Clark and Slack, 41 n.3.

whose demolition Bishop Horne (1560-79) was castigated by Milner and others, were still standing in the 1630s[1]; Hyde Abbey was never totally demolished as alleged, for remnants of it still stand; and the old Wolvesey Palace, said to have been demolished by Parliamentary forces in 1646, actually fell down of its own accord from decay and neglect, during the 1650s and 1660s[2].

Winchester's mid-nineteenth century historian, B.B. Woodward, was perhaps the most successful[3]. He pronounced Trussell to be 'a diligent antiquary (of the class then extant in provincial cities)'[4], and trusted him no further than necessary, thus avoiding most of the eighteenth century's mistakes. Nor was he mesmerised by national events and their impact on the city, like Milner. Woodward's emphasis was very similar to that of the Victoria County History, whose volume on Winchester was published in 1912, concentrating on institutions and charters with only the occasional glance at social and economic history[5]. Woodward possessed the additional advantage of an interest in topography, and his comments on the social distinctions between areas inside the city are excellent[6]. There is an adequate history of Winchester in the Historic Towns series, written by Dean Kitchin and published in 1890, but only two of its fifteen chapters are devoted to the period after 1500 and it concentrates on narrative with little analysis. Since 1912 no major history of Winchester has appeared, although the publications of the Winchester Research Unit, embodying the results of the recent archaeological excavations and much documentary research, are illuminating the medieval city.

1. Diary of John Young S.T.P., ed. F.R. Goodman, 50.
2. See p.250.
3. A General History of Hampshire (1861-9), vol. i.
4. Notes and Queries, 3rd ser. viii (1865), 243.
5. V.C.H. Hants. vol. 5.
6. B.B. Woodward, History of Hampshire, i. 11, 21-2, 24.

The only work on the city devoted exclusively to the early modern period is Elizabethan Winchester, written by the late city archivist, Tom Atkinson, and published in 1963. In spite of its recent date it does not belong to the new school of urban history. The book fulfils its intention of 'presenting a picture ... of the city of Winchester during the reign of Queen Elizabeth', but its occasional inaccuracy, its heavy reliance on a single source (the 1st Book of Ordinances), and its complete disregard of all documents outside the City Record Office impose severe limitations. On some topics my study inevitably overlaps with Atkinson's work, but I have not drawn attention to instances in which our conclusions differ, nor have I quoted his book as a source of information.

Topography and History before 1520

Although small Iron Age settlements were dotted around the site, it was the Romans in the 1st century A.D. who first created a city at Winchester[1]. The site they chose had many natural advantages. The city lies on the west bank of the River Itchen, at a point where gravel beside the river provides a firm footing for a bridge. On either side of the river valley rise the Hampshire chalk downs, and the boundary between the downs and the Hampshire Basin, which consists of clays, sands, and gravels, runs roughly east-west a few miles downstream from the city. Natural lines of communication were thus provided, using the river valley from the south coast northward, and the downs from the west country and Wiltshire to Sussex and Kent in the east. It is worth noting, however, that by the sixteenth century Winchester's position was much less advantageous; several bridges carried main roads over the river well below the city, and the Test valley, which penetrates much further north into

1. This section is based mainly on M. Biddle, 'Winchester', Archaeological Jnl. cxxiii (1966), 182-3, 212-15; see also M. Biddle, 'The Archaeology of Winchester', Scientific American, May 1974, 32-43.

the downs, carried the main road from the west to London[1]. Winchester's geographical position assisted its early growth, but the city could not withstand competition from other Hampshire centres once the county was fully settled.

The Romans laid out the first regular street-plan in Winchester and built the first stone city wall, enclosing an area of 144 acres which made it the fifth largest city in Roman Britain. All subsequent walls followed the same course, and Winchester therefore remained comparatively large in terms of area among English towns; in the sixteenth century it may be compared with Exeter, for example, whose walls enclosed an area only two-thirds that of Winchester while its population was three times as large.

From the 4th century A.D. Winchester fell into decline, and was only revived with the foundation in the mid seventh century of the Old Minster, the first cathedral, by the West Saxons who made the city the royal capital of Wessex. A new street-plan was laid out by the Saxons, and has remained substantially unchanged into modern times[2]; many of the original street-names were changed by the corporation in the eighteenth century as part of the civic improvements then undertaken, but the old names have been used throughout this study. Basically the Saxon street-plan consisted of one main street bisecting the city, running from the Westgate to the Eastgate, with a smaller street parallel to it on either side, and streets at fairly regular intervals running north and south from the main street to the city walls[3].

William I built the Castle on the hill south-west of the town in 1067 and a large new royal palace north-west of the cathedral in 1070, and starting in 1079 the Old Minster was demolished and the Norman cathedral put up on almost the same site. The twelfth and early thirteenth centuries saw

1. See p.195.
2. For a map of the city, see Figure 2, p.34.
3. For a detailed discussion of the development of the street-plan and the topography of the medieval city, see D.J. Keene, 'Some Aspects of the History, Topography and Archaeology of the North Eastern part of the Medieval City of Winchester', (Oxford D. Phil. thesis 1973).

more royal activity and building, with the appearance of Bishop Henry de Blois' magnificent palace of Wolvesey in the south-east corner of the city and Henry III's great hall at the Castle. When the royal palace burned down in the mid twelfth century, however, it was not rebuilt, for by this date London was becoming firmly established as the national capital and the main centre of royal administration.

Winchester's early medieval importance encouraged the development of self-government: a merchant guild existed by the twelfth century, and the thirteenth saw the emergence of the offices of the mayor and bailiffs. The citizens were already responsible for their city to the Crown, to which they paid an annual fee-farm. Royal and episcopal interest and presence in Winchester also fostered the city's economic growth. The Liber Winton, a survey drawn up in the twelfth century, shows the area within the walls as densely built up, with suburbs stretching along all the main roads out of the city, and the population of the whole city at that date was probably about 7,000. The six parishes immediately outside the walls were annexed by the thirteenth-century bishops of Winchester, and became an area of episcopal jurisdiction known collectively as the Soke. The city developed into a centre of the international wool trade - it was a Staple town from 1326 to 1353 - and subsequently acquired an important woollen cloth industry. From the fourteenth century, however, Winchester's prosperity was waning. The cloth industry gradually moved out into the countryside, population fell, and whole streets were deserted. A mid fifteenth-century petition for the reduction of the fee-farm listed seventeen parish churches which had fallen down since the late fourteenth century and claimed that 997 houses were empty[1]; modern research has confirmed the claim with regard to churches, though the

1. Archaeologia, i. 91-5.

number of houses was exaggerated[1], but the economic plight of the city was clearly desperate[2].

By 1520, therefore, Winchester had fallen a long way from the thriving national capital of the tenth century. But the physical shape and a good deal of the status of the city in the sixteenth century was determined by its past history, and its inhabitants were constantly aware of the contrast between the city's present poverty and its former splendour. The space inside the walls had been designed for a much larger population, and gardens and orchards occupied the sites of abandoned houses. The vast cathedral and Castle, the fortified bishop's palace, and the three large abbeys all remained in a city which no longer justified such magnificence. Winchester, not Southampton, was the county town of Hampshire, in spite of the port's greater wize and economic importance, and the Castle hall was therefore the seat of Quarter Sessions and Assizes. The bishopric too remained, and was considered the wealthiest in England - 'Canterbury was said to be the higher rack, but Winchester hath borne the name to be the better manger'; said Bishop Edington[3]. The wealth of the see made it a prize won only by senior members of the episcopate or valued royal servants, and in either case its incumbents were only occasionally resident at Winchester; but the administrative structure of the see remained, and ecclesiastical courts for the whole of Hampshire and Surrey were held in the city. Winchester's early tradition of independent self-government explains the lack of any patron or nobleman with influence in the city in the early modern period. The bishop occasionally exercised his

1. D.J. Keene, 'Aspects...of Medieval Winchester' (Oxford D.Phil. thesis 1973), 73.
2. See for example D. May, 'The Somer Rentals in the Winchester City Archives', Proc. H.F.C. xviii (1953-4), passim.
3. Quoted in W. Harrison, Description of England (1577) (New Shakspere Soc., 6th ser. i), 44.

influence, as in the election of MPs, but it was only in the late seventeenth century when the city needed a political champion and the bishop's power had declined that lay patrons began to appear. Winchester was of course not the only declining cathedral town in England - Chichester, Rochester, Lincoln, and Lichfield could be cited as other examples - but none of these had fallen from such heights, and the contrast in Winchester between past and present was accordingly stronger.

The region of which Winchester was the centre was not likely to re-establish the city's fortunes. Agriculture was mixed in the lowland areas and valleys, but the south-west and north-east of Hampshire were thickly wooded and the chalk downs were suitable mainly for sheep-farming. While England's cloth industry was flourishing the large flocks of downland sheep brought some prosperity, but Hampshire was not a particularly wealthy area and it fell further behind in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by losing most of its cloth industry and failing to take advantage of the London food-market. Hampshire came twentieth out of the thirty-four English counties in terms of lay wealth per thousand acres in 1515[1], and a poor twenty-fifth in 1662 judged on its number of hearths in relation to acreage[2].

A town is however a surprisingly resilient entity, and Winchester like other towns survived and eventually adapted to its new situation. The city's economic transition from manufacturing centre to market town forms a major theme of this study, together with the social change it brought about. The following chapters are an attempt to portray one small community in detail over 150 difficult years, to observe different groups within the community in action, and to examine their reactions to the problems of their time.

1. R.S. Schofield, 'The Geographical Distribution of Wealth in England, 1334-1649', Econ.H.R. xviii (1965), 504.
2. A. Everitt, Change in the Provinces: the 17th century (Occ. Paper, Dept. Eng. Local Hist., Univ. of Leicester, i), 54.

CHAPTER 2

Pre-Reformation Winchester

A picture of Winchester in the early sixteenth century must show the city in two dimensions: firstly, how did Winchester fit into the hierarchy of English towns in terms of size and wealth, and secondly, what were the characteristics of the different geographical areas and social groups within the city? The best source for both purposes is the subsidy levied between 1523 and 1527, much used by historians, which together with other records can be made to yield all kinds of information on the city and its inhabitants in the 1520s. The lists of taxpayers for the city of Winchester are clearly written and dated. The list for the first instalment of the subsidy was written out by Thomas Coke, the town clerk, on 9 July 1524[1], and the second list was compiled on 10 February 1525[2]. The third and fourth instalments, paid by only four men at Winchester, were collected early in 1527[3]. The lists for the suburban area called the Soke, on the other hand, are neither complete nor clearly dated. The first assessment does cover all six parishes normally included within the Soke[4], but it is only possible to date it to 1524 from internal evidence (see Appendix 1, p.49). Parts of the second assessment are missing[5], and a separate document, probably once joined to the main list, covers the household servants of St Cross, Winchester College, and the College of St Elizabeth in 1525[6].

What was the population of Winchester in the 1520s? The 1524 subsidy lists have often been used to estimate population, but there are widely divergent

1. E 179/173/172. The basis of assessment and the method of collection are described in the introduction to Lay Subsidy Rolls for Sussex 1524-5, ed. J. Cornwall (Sussex Rec. Soc. lvi (1956)).
2. E 179/173/176.
3. E 179/173/187; E 179/173/189.
4. E 179/174/287.
5. E 179/173/182; see Appendix 1, p.49.
6. E 179/173/195.

opinions on ways of translating the number of taxpayers into population totals. It is almost certain that every list omitted some people who were too poor to pay any tax at all, but each list was drawn up by local commissioners and there is no reason to assume uniformity in the proportion omitted. The highest estimate of omissions comes from Coventry, where comparison of the 1522 survey of harness with the subsidy lists suggests that 48½% of the adult male population was omitted from the subsidy[1]. It is estimated that a third or more were left out at Leicester[2], while in Buckinghamshire, Rutland, and Sussex only about 9% appear to have been omitted[3]. The Hampshire survey of harness made in 1522 does not survive; there is a second survey of 1523[4], but it cannot be used to check the subsidy since it lists only three-quarters of the taxpayers of 1524.

Once the proportion of paupers has been settled, it must be established whether the number of taxpayers represents adult males, or heads of households. The answer determines the multiplier to be used on the augmented number of taxpayers: if all adult males were included, the multiplier for total population would be about three, whereas if only heads of households were shown, the multiplier could be anything from 4.25 (suggested by Hoskins) to 6.0 (used by Pound, and probably too large)[5]. On this point the Winchester lists provide some assistance. The largest class of adult males who were not heads of households were domestic servants and resident employees. Two men on the list for the city were specifically described as servants, and in many

1. W.G. Hoskins, Provincial England, 83.
2. D. Charman, 'Wealth and Trade in Leicester in the early 16th century', Trans. Leics. Arch. Soc. xxv (1949), 84.
3. J. Cornwall, 'English Country Towns in the 1520s', Econ.H.R. xv (1962-3), 58-60, suggests increasing the number of taxpayers by 10%.
4. E 36/19 ff.27v.-37v., 298; J.J. Goring, 'The General Proscription of 1522', E.H.R. lxxxvi (1971), 688n., 697.
5. Hoskins, Provincial England, 188; J.F. Pound, 'The Social and Trade Structure of Norwich 1525-75', Past and Present, xxxiv (1966), 50.

other cases the name of a wealthy man was followed by two or three assessed on wages, who were probably his employees and lived in his household. The strongest indication that servants were taxed comes from a local subsidy list of 1515-16, which describes 82 of its 334 taxpayers as servants, and brackets each household or workshop[1]; many of the 82 names occur again in the lists of 1524 and 1525 as wage-earners, though they were rarely still serving the same masters. For Winchester, therefore, it is safe to conclude that the subsidy lists show mostly adult males rather than heads of households, though the fifteen women taxpayers were presumably householders.

In 1524, 329 people were assessed in the city, of whom fifteen were women and should be subtracted. Seventy-one new names appeared in 1525; none was a woman, and the six widows who replaced their husbands have not been counted. The two assessments therefore list a total of 385 adult males. Some inhabitants were certainly omitted, for their names occur in other records for 1524 and 1525 but not on the subsidy lists; there is no accurate way of estimating the proportion of the male population too poor for inclusion at Winchester, so 10% has been adopted as the lowest round figure that is credible. On this assumption the adult male population numbered 428. Depending on the proportion of children in the population, estimated at 33% or 40%, there were between 1,250 and 1,450 lay men, women, and children in the city in the 1520s. In the Soke, 266 taxpayers in 1524 were joined in 1525 by 52 more. Two widows replacing their husbands have not been counted, but fifteen women should be subtracted. If the resulting total of 303 adult males is increased by 10%, the result is 337, which gives a total lay population for the Soke of between 1,000 and 1,150.

Both the city and the Soke contained large numbers of clergy, exempt from the lay subsidy, who should be included in any estimate of Winchester's

1. W.R.O., 37/Bx./S.R. 1, nos. 6 and 7.

pre-Reformation population. Within the city there were about twelve parish priests, and the three friaries in 1538 contained twelve friars[1]. The cathedral priory of St Swithun had twenty-five monks at its dissolution, and the inmates of St Mary's Abbey included twenty-six nuns, twenty-six children, five priests, and six lay sisters[2]. The letters of Bishop Fox in the 1520s show that he was frequently in residence at his palace of Wolvesey, and Harpsfield estimated that the bishop had 220 male servants there[3]; most were laymen, eligible for taxation in 1524, but at least twenty should be added for chaplains and other priests attendant on the bishop. There were therefore about 130 clergy and others exempt from the subsidy within the city walls and the ecclesiastical precinct. The Soke had seven parish priests, and the Austin friary outside the Southgate contained three friars before its dissolution[4]. Winchester College was by far the largest ecclesiastical institution in the suburbs, with twenty-two inhabitants in religious orders as well as seventy scholars and sixteen choristers[5]. Hyde Abbey had twenty-one monks in 1539, the College of St Elizabeth had six canons, and the hospital of St Cross in 1522-3 housed five priests and eight children[6], making a total of about 160 people in the Soke who were exempt from the subsidy.

Even if great care is taken at every stage of the calculation, population totals derived from the subsidy lists can be no more than estimates. The city of Winchester together with the cathedral Close and Wolvesey contained a minimum of 1,400 people in the 1520s, and this figure is probably

1. H.C.R.O., Visitation Book 1527; S.C. 12/33/28.
2. E 315/494 p.1; S.C. 12/33/27.
3. Letters of Richard Fox, ed. P.S. and H.M. Allen, 127, 130-8, 145, 150, 156; J. Milner, History...of Winchester, i. 319.
4. H.C.R.O., Visitation Book 1527; S.C. 12/33/28.
5. E 135/3/40.
6. E 315/234; St Cross MSS., day-book 1522-3.

too low. The six parishes of the Soke outside the walls had a slightly smaller population, with a minimum of 1,200 people. Winchester was therefore considerably smaller than other county and cathedral towns such as Worcester (nearly 4,000), Exeter, or Salisbury (both over 8,000)[1], and even lesser towns like Taunton, Northampton, and Leicester were larger than Winchester[2].

Another way of ranking towns is to compare the amount of tax they paid in the subsidy, which provides a rough index of wealth. Hoskins' table based on tax paid 1523-7 places Winchester thirty-seventh, but omits the tax paid by the Soke[3]; the inclusion of the Soke moves Winchester up several places, but how many other towns had suburbs which were an integral part of the urban community? Nonetheless, it is clear that Winchester was not a wealthy town, falling far behind the provincial capitals such as Coventry or York, and it paid less tax than small but flourishing centres such as Hadleigh or Hereford. Winchester together with the Soke paid £85 in 1524, more than any other Hampshire town except Southampton, which was still a prosperous port assessed at £101[4]. The other towns of Hampshire fell far behind: Alton paid £55, Romsey only £38, and Portsmouth, Titchfield, and Ringwood were each assessed at about £25[5].

The subsidy lists for the city and Soke were intended to show the distribution of wealth between the inhabitants, and they therefore provide more reliable evidence for Winchester's internal characteristics than for its status in relation to other towns.

1. A.D. Dyer, The City of Worcester in the 16th century, 27.
2. W.G. Hoskins, Provincial England, 72, 88.
3. W.G. Hoskins, Local History in England, 177.
4. E 179/173/175.
5. E 179/174/287; E 179/174/291.

Table 1

The distribution of taxable wealth in the city and Soke of Winchester, 1524-5

	Assessment	Taxpayers	% taxpayers	Taxable wealth	% taxable wealth
CITY	less than £2	207	51.75	£210 3s 4d	12.0
	£2	98	24.5	£196	11.2
	3½ mks. - £5	42	10.5	£142 13s 4d	8.1
	£6 - £9	8	2.0	£54 13s 4d	3.1
	£10 - £19	24	6.0	£290 6s 8d	16.5
	£20 - £39	8	2.0	£180	10.3
	£40 - £99	12	3.0	£580	33.1
	£100 +	1	0.25	£100	5.7
	Total	400		£1,753 16s 8d	
SOKE	less than £2	144	45.3	£143 13s 4d	14.0
	£2	62	19.5	£124	12.1
	3½ mks. - £5	76	23.9	£283 6s 8d	27.6
	£6 - £9	14	4.4	£105 6s 8d	10.3
	£10 - £19	13	4.1	£148 6s 8d	14.5
	£20 - £39	8	2.5	£181	17.6
	£40 - £99	1	0.3	£40	3.9
	£100 +	0	-	-	-
	Total	318		£1,025 13s 4d	

Table 1 shows the distribution of taxable wealth in the city and Soke. Both the 1524 and 1525 lists have been used, including all taxpayers who were assessed only once except widows who replaced their husbands. Where the assessment was changed in 1525 the earlier figure has been taken.

Taxpayers assessed at less than £2 in goods or wages were nearly always the largest group in a town, but Winchester's 51.75% was an unusually high proportion; the same group formed about 40% of the total at Norwich, and 34% at Chichester, for example[1]. Even without the paupers who were too poor to be taxed at all, half of Winchester's population possessed goods or earned annual wages worth less than £2. In some cases other evidence implies that a very low assessment did not accurately represent a taxpayer's wealth; Joan Hunter, for example, who was assessed at 20s in the High Street aldermanry, had been left her late husband's house for life and therefore lived rent-free, while his bequests of silver spoons and a feather bed suggest that the residue left to Joan was worth more than 20s[2]. But there were other testators who mentioned no goods at all in their wills, leaving only a few pence to the cathedral and their parish church, and the residue left to their families may well have been worth as little as 20s[3]. The taxpayers assessed at 40s were hardly better off and constituted another large group in both city and Soke. Together these two categories made up three-quarters of the taxpayers inside the city, though they owned less than a quarter of its taxable wealth. In the Soke the group was smaller, but its share of taxable wealth was slightly greater.

By national standards, Winchester had no really rich inhabitants. Norwich

1. J.F. Pound, 'The Social and Trade Structure of Norwich 1525-75', Past and Present, xxxiv (1966), 51 ; J. Cornwall, 'English Country Towns in the 1520s', Econ.H.R. xv (1962-3), 62-3.
2. H.C.R.O. wills U 1522 (will of John Hunter).
3. E.g. H.C.R.O. wills B 1523 (will of Walter Wigmore).

had four men in 1525 worth £300 or more[1], and Leicester, which was not a major city, had one taxpayer assessed at £600[2]. Apart from one landowning lawyer who was assessed at £100 in the city in 1525, Winchester's richest inhabitants were four men worth £60, and the Soke had no one worth more than £40. The terms 'middle class' and 'wealthy' can therefore be used only in relation to other Winchester taxpayers. The 'middle class', in the restricted sense of the people between the poor and the rich, was smaller at Winchester than in any other town for which comparable figures have been published. In both the city and the Soke those owning goods worth between £5 and £20 formed only 8% of the taxpaying population, as compared with 11% at Nottingham, 13% at Leicester[3], 14% at Chichester, 17% at Exeter[4], 18% at Norwich, and about 22% at Totnes[5]. This group, together with the wealthy elite, played an important economic role by providing much of the employment and the custom in any town, and their small numbers at Winchester were symptomatic of the city's poverty. The religious houses in and around the city contributed to its economy as both employers and consumers before the Reformation, but their fall left a gap which was not immediately filled by prosperous lay citizens.

Though Winchester's top men were of merely local importance, they accounted for a sizeable proportion of the city's wealth. Taxpayers assessed at £20 or more owned 50% of the city's wealth though they formed only 5% of its taxpayers, while in the Soke the much smaller group of wealthy men (only 3%

1. J.F. Pound, 'The Social and Trade Structure of Norwich', Past and Present, xxxiv (1966), 51.
2. D. Charman, 'Wealth and Trade in Leicester', Trans. Leics. Arch. Soc. xxv (1949), 94.
3. Ibid.
4. W.T. MacCaffrey, Exeter 1540-1640, 250.
5. L.M. Nicholls, 'The Lay Subsidy of 1523', Univ. Birmingham Hist.Jnl. ix (1964), 120.

of taxpayers) owned 21.5% of its assets. Wealth in the Soke was more evenly spread than in the city, and both the poorest and the richest groups were smaller.

In the absence of a freemen's register as a source for occupations, it would be difficult to produce a complete occupational analysis of Winchester based on the subsidy, but from various other sources most of the city's leading inhabitants can be identified. Fifty-three people were assessed in one or both lists at more than £5; seven were widows and four more cannot be identified, but the occupations of the remaining forty-two were as follows:

	Occupations	Assessments
Cloth:	draper, clothier, mercer	£60, £45, £45, £40, £40, £40, £16, £14, 20 marks, £10.
	fuller	£8
Clothing:	capper	£60, £30
Drink:	innkeeper, vintner, brewer	£40, £20, £20, 20 marks, £12, £10, £10, £10, 10 marks, £6
	tippler	20 marks, £10
Food:	fishmonger	£20
	grocer and apothecary	£10
	butcher	£10
Crafts:	waxchandler, chandler	£20, £8
	fletcher	£15
	smith	£8
	carpenter	£6, £6
Officials:	bishop's official, lawyer, town clerk, gentleman	£100, £60, £60, £50, £17, 20 marks, £10, £10

This list shows which occupations were likely to produce wealthy men, but it does not give any information on the proportion of the city's work-force employed in each trade: the building industry, for example, is represented only by two carpenters, because its members were mostly unskilled and poor,

though masons, heliers, daubers, plumbers, and glaziers all appear in other records. Similarly, one fuller is the sole representative of the craftsmen who manufactured and finished cloth, because few clothworkers acquired much wealth, the profits being reserved for clothiers and the drapers and mercers who sold the finished article. Cloth-making was still the city's main industry, though it had declined from the pre-eminent position it had enjoyed in the Middle Ages. The drink trade was important in all towns, and enjoyed special prominence in Winchester in the absence of other profitable occupations. No fewer than six of the men assessed at more than £5 were innkeepers, and three of them were past or future mayors, despite an ordinance which prohibited mayors from living in inns or selling drink[1]. A man with both wealth and social standing - and innkeepers were in a good position to acquire both - became mayor almost automatically. Each town had its own brewers because ale could not easily be transported, but vintners operated over a wider area, and Winchester vintners were close enough to Southampton and even to Bristol to do business at the ports[2]. Among the dealers in food the absence of wealthy bakers is surprising, for they could control supplies of grain and bread, and in some towns such as Canterbury bakers were prominent among the city elite[3].

The category of 'officials' included three of the city's five richest men, and the group formed an important element in the economic and social structure of Winchester. Most had some legal knowledge, and they were employed mainly by the bishop and the larger religious houses. Little of the wealth of such men was derived from the city, but some of it was spent at

1. Black Bk. 157.
2. E.g. Req. 2/10/42: John Jamys, a Winchester vintner, rode to Bristol in 1522 'with merchandise there to be sold'.
3. A.F. Butcher, 'The Decline of Canterbury, 1300-1500' (paper read at Urban History Group conference, University of York, 1969), p.29.

Winchester when they were in residence. William Hawles was assessed at £100 of income from his lands in 1525, though in 1524 he had been taxed on £60 in goods at Lincoln's Inn. He had been Recorder of Winchester since at least 1516 and was one of its MPs in 1529, and his daughter married Thomas Coke, the town clerk[1]. Like most other members of the gentry in Winchester, Hawles held office from the bishop, as bailiff of the bishop's liberty from 1522 to 1536[2]. The two officials assessed at £60 were John Wintershull, who held offices from Hyde Abbey and the bishop, and John Lichfield, formerly Master of St John's Hospital in Winchester, Master of St Cross Hospital, and possibly mayor of the city 1505-6. It was unusual for such men to hold city offices, but most of them leased large houses in the city from the corporation or the bishop and spent some of their time at Winchester.

Among those who engaged in trade, on the other hand, office-holding and wealth were closely linked. Nineteen of those assessed at more than £5 were to become mayors, and eight more reached the office of bailiff. The nine men who had already served as mayor had an average assessment of almost £40 in 1524. These were members of the elite which dominated every aspect of the city's life, a tightly-knit group connected by business, friendship, intermarriage, and participation in government. Social contact between them was reinforced by the smallness of the city, for within the walls it was impossible for any inhabitant to live more than half a mile from any other, and the richer families were concentrated even more closely in the centre of the city along the High Street. The close social links between the wealthiest men are attested by the witnessing of wills: the will of Peter Byrd, a draper who died in 1531, for instance, was witnessed by John Lawrence (waxchandler, £20),

1. W.R.O., 31/Bx./Q.S. 1 (document in red folder); C 1/125/39-40. I am grateful to the History of Parliament Trust for permission to look at the biographies of Winchester MPs, 1509-58, 1558-1603, and 1660-88.
2. H.C.R.O., Eccl. 2/155868-79.

Thomas Lorkyn (mercer, £16), and Walter Chaundeler (mercer, £45)[1], while John Bellingham, a vintner and brewer whose widow was assessed at £15, had his will witnessed in 1522 by John Butteler (mercer, £40), Thomas Webbe (capper, £60), and Thomas Bedham (grocer and apothecary, £10)[2].

Wage-earners in the city were 25% of the taxpayers, and in the Soke they were 30%; the two figures look much the same, but the average assessment on wages in the city was just over 30s, whereas in the Soke it was almost 45s. The city's wage-earners were domestic servants and employees of large households or of St Mary's Abbey, the poorest of the religious houses in Winchester, but in the Soke wage-earners included permanent officials of Winchester College, St Cross, the bishop, and the cathedral priory. Two of the taxpayers assessed at 10 marks in wages in the parish of St John in the Soke were 'Thomas Sandes esq.', possibly the eldest son of William, Baron Sandys of The Vyne, and 'Harry Seymor', probably Sir Henry Seymour, younger brother of the future Duke of Somerset, who later lived at Twyford just outside Winchester. The names of both are among those identifiable as servants and officials of the bishop, and they may have been living in his household.

The subsidy of 1524-5 also yields information on the aliens resident in England, who were concentrated in the southern counties. Many Bretons had settled in the Cornish towns[3], Exeter counted twenty-eight aliens in 1524-5[4], Dartmouth had thirty-nine and Totnes fourteen[5]. Chichester had twenty-eight aliens and Lewes thirty-eight[6]. In the north, however, there were very few: York had only three aliens in 1524-25[7], Nottingham had three, and Leicester

1. H.C.R.O. wills A 1531.
2. H.C.R.O. wills U 1522.
3. A.L. Rowse, Tudor Cornwall, 95-6.
4. W.T. MacCaffrey, Exeter 1540-1640, 257 n.30.
5. L.M. Nicholls, 'The Lay Subsidy of 1523', Univ. Birmingham Hist. Jnl. ix (1964), 117-8.
6. J. Cornwall, 'English Country Towns in the 1520s', Econ.H.R.xv (1962-3), 61.
7. D.M. Palliser, 'Some Aspects of the Social and Economic History of York' (Oxford D.Phil. thesis 1968), 72.

had none at all[1]. Being close to the south coast, Winchester had a relatively high proportion of aliens. In 1524 twenty-seven were taxed in the city and seven in the Soke, and the second assessment introduced eleven more in the city and two more in the suburbs; over both years, aliens formed 9.5% of all taxpayers in the city and 2.8% in the Soke. Their presence was not a temporary phenomenon, for most subsidy lists of the first half of the sixteenth century show some alien residents. In 1515-16 forty-three had been taxed in the city alone[2], and thirteen were listed in 1544, fifteen in 1550-1, and five in 1563[3]. Judging by their names the aliens in Winchester were mostly from northern Europe. Some had Breton and Norman names, such as Cosyn, and others were French, such as Mychell de la Fett or John Frencheman. Several had names similar to those of Antwerp merchants, such as Gylles, Nicholas, and Cornelis. For the most part the Winchester aliens were probably 'Doche', a general label covering Flemings, Dutch, and Germans[4]; this was the description of George Dalphough, for instance, a shoemaker's servant accused of heresy in 1528[5].

Most of the aliens taxed were extremely poor - they included the only two 'nil' assessments at Winchester - and they were clearly not foreign merchants or their representatives. Those aliens whose occupations are known were nearly all craftsmen, particularly shoemakers and brewers, and they included a baker, a dyer, a locksmith, and a surgeon, all common alien occupations in England at this period[6]. The wealthiest alien in the subsidy was James Peterson, a beerbrewer assessed at £40, whose son John 'called

1. D. Charman, 'Wealth and Trade in Leicester', Trans.Leics.Arch.Soc. xxv (1949), 82.
2. W.R.O., 37/Bx./S.R. 1, nos. 6 and 7.
3. E 179/173/229B; E 179/174/313; E 179/174/358; E 179/174/373.
4. S.L. Thrupp, 'Aliens in and around London in the 15th century', Studies in London History presented to P.E. Jones, ed. A.E.J. Hollaender and W. Kellaway, 259.
5. See p. 55.
6. T. Wyatt, 'Aliens in England before the Huguenots', Proc. of the Huguenot Society, xix (1953), 83-91.

Bereman' continued the business on James' death in 1524-5. Another alien beerbrewer who settled in Winchester was Arnold Bilson, whose family achieved unusual success. Arnold's father was said to be a German who had married the daughter of the Duke of Bavaria and settled in Berkshire, but Arnold himself lived in Winchester where his goods were valued at £3 in 1524. His elder son Harman followed him in the brewing trade and entered city government in Winchester, while the younger son Leonard went into the church and became a canon of Salisbury and Winchester. Harman had five children, of whom the eldest son was Thomas Bilson, who became Warden of Winchester College in 1580, bishop of Worcester in 1595, and finally bishop of Winchester from 1597 until his death in 1616. His descendants settled at Mapledurham in Hampshire as country gentlemen, where they presumably forgot their foreign beerbrewing antecedents[1]. Aliens had introduced beerbrewing into England in the fifteenth century and had a long-established connection with the industry. They also held a prominent position in the distribution of drink in Winchester, through inns and alehouses. One of the two aliens assessed at £10 was Edward Helyer, who leased the Star in the High Street from the corporation, and his successor there was Anthony Lovell, another alien. English innkeepers often employed alien tapsters and servants: the name of one innkeeper, William Gryme, for example, is followed in the 1524 subsidy list by three aliens.

Once settled in Winchester, aliens apparently met with little antagonism, and some even prospered. Anthony Lovell and Paul Huson, an alien assessed at £10, became freemen of the city in 1526, though the sureties and unusually high entrance fees demanded of them show that their case was regarded as special[2].

1. W.H. Challen, 'Thomas Bilson, bishop of Winchester, his family, and their Hampshire, Sussex, and other connections', Proc. H.F.C.xix (1955-7), 35-8, 253, 262-3.
2. Black Bk. 142.

They were followed in 1538 by Cornelius Cornelisson, an alien beerbrewer, and by another alien, Garret Harrison, in 1548[1]. But no alien ever became mayor or bailiff of Winchester, and James Peterson was the only taxpayer assessed as high as £40 in 1524 who never held city office, with the exception of the gentry. On a personal level, the numbers of aliens who settled in the city, and the absence of any evidence of friction, suggest that antagonism against them was rare.

At the same time the aliens remained a distinct group with strong ties to other foreigners. Statutes of 1484 and 1523 prohibited aliens in England from employing other aliens[2], but it is clear that those in Winchester often had several foreigners in their households. Of the twenty-five aliens who paid tax on wages in the subsidy of 1515-16, thirteen were employed by aliens and two more lived in households where other aliens were employed. This practice persisted into the first generation of children born in England: John Peterson was employing at least one alien in 1525, and Harman Bilson employed a German, Laurence Trelondon, who later set up as a beerbrewer in Winchester[3]. Their choice of witnesses for wills is also revealing, for most of the surviving Winchester aliens' wills were witnessed by other aliens, and John Peterson, though native-born himself, had three alien witnesses[4]. Only two of these wills mention property overseas, one in Germany and one in Jersey[5]. Although the leading alien families at Winchester seemed to have made the city their permanent home, none but the Bilson family lasted. Trelondon and Cornelisson each had only one daughter,

1. Ibid. 161, 174.
2. 1 Ric. III, c.9; 14 & 15 Henry VIII, c.2.
3. E 179/174/250; H.C.R.O. wills U 1551 (will of Laurence Trelondon).
4. H.C.R.O. wills B 1539 (the will actually dates from 1529).
5. H.C.R.O. wills U 1551 (will of Laurence Trelondon); H.C.R.O. wills B 1545 (will of Clement Cornelisson).

and Huson had one son who entered the church and was curate in Winchester in the 1570s, of whom no descendants are known. John Peterson left two sons as well as two daughters, but the surname disappeared after John's death and the sons must have left the city or died young. Aliens were far less common at Winchester in the later sixteenth century than they had been earlier. In 1567 there was some discussion of dispersing a group of Protestant refugee Walloons and Channel Islanders between Southampton, Salisbury, and Winchester, but the immigrants preferred to remain within reach of their own church at Southampton[1]. Thus Winchester missed the chance to receive an influx of skilled alien craftsmen, which did much to revitalise the economies of towns in Kent and East Anglia.

There was another non-English group living in Winchester in the sixteenth century, though its members were not technically aliens. The number of Welshmen in the city is difficult to explain, unless there was a general influx from Wales into all parts of England under the Tudors. David Ellis, a Welshman, held the lease of the George Inn from 1568 until his death in 1583; in his will he made bequests to people named Powell, Edwards, Griffith, and Price, and the will was drawn up by Evan Johns, rector of St Swithun upon Kingsgate and later of St Michael in Kingsgate Street[2]. A servant of the bishop, John Appowell, asked four months later to be buried near David Ellis[3]. Another family of Appowells flourished as blacksmiths in St Bartholomew throughout the sixteenth century. The 1524 subsidy listed three Appowells, three men called Williams, and a David Welshman. William Agully, keeper of the county gaol and twice bailiff of the city, acquired that version of his name through a progression leading from William ap William to William Ap Gillm, William Ap Gully, and eventually William Agully[4].

1. Cal. S.P. Dom., Addenda, 1566-79, 32; B.L. Cotton MS. Vesp. F. ix, f.230.
2. H.C.R.O. wills B 1583.
3. H.C.R.O. wills B 1583 (will of John Appowell).
4. L. & P. Henry VIII, iv (3), 5293; H.C.R.O., Eccl. 2/155876.

Several officials of the bishop and the cathedral had Welsh names, such as Ellis Wynn. Winchester College too had a surprising number of Welshmen, including a Welsh head master, in the mid sixteenth century[1]. The institution with the strongest Welsh connection was Hyde Abbey: a monk who died in 1524 was called Lewis Appowell[2], in 1536 Hugh Roberts was appointed schoolmaster at the abbey, and four men who were granted the next presentation to an abbey living included Thomas Aprice, gentleman, and William Ap Robert, clerk[3]. Richard Bethell (Ap Ithell) moved from North Wales to Hampshire about 1520 in the service of the abbot[4], and in 1554 the new vicar of St Bartholomew, a Hyde presentation, was Robert Aprice. Hyde Abbey had no Welsh lands, nor did the bishop or the College. The Welshmen in Winchester were probably less conspicuous than aliens, for they never formed as tightly-knit a social group as the aliens had done.

The subsidy lists for the city were divided between the five intra-mural aldermanries of the High Street, Colebrook Street, Tanner Street, Jewry Street, and Gold Street. Some taxes, both before and after 1524, were apportioned by parishes, and there was no obvious reason for the selection of either parish or aldermanry. The position and extent of each area is shown on Figure 2.

1. A.F. Leach, A History of Winchester College, 315.
2. Prob. 11/21 (P.C.C. 26 Bodfelde).
3. E 315/240 ff. 58, 87.
4. See p. 70.

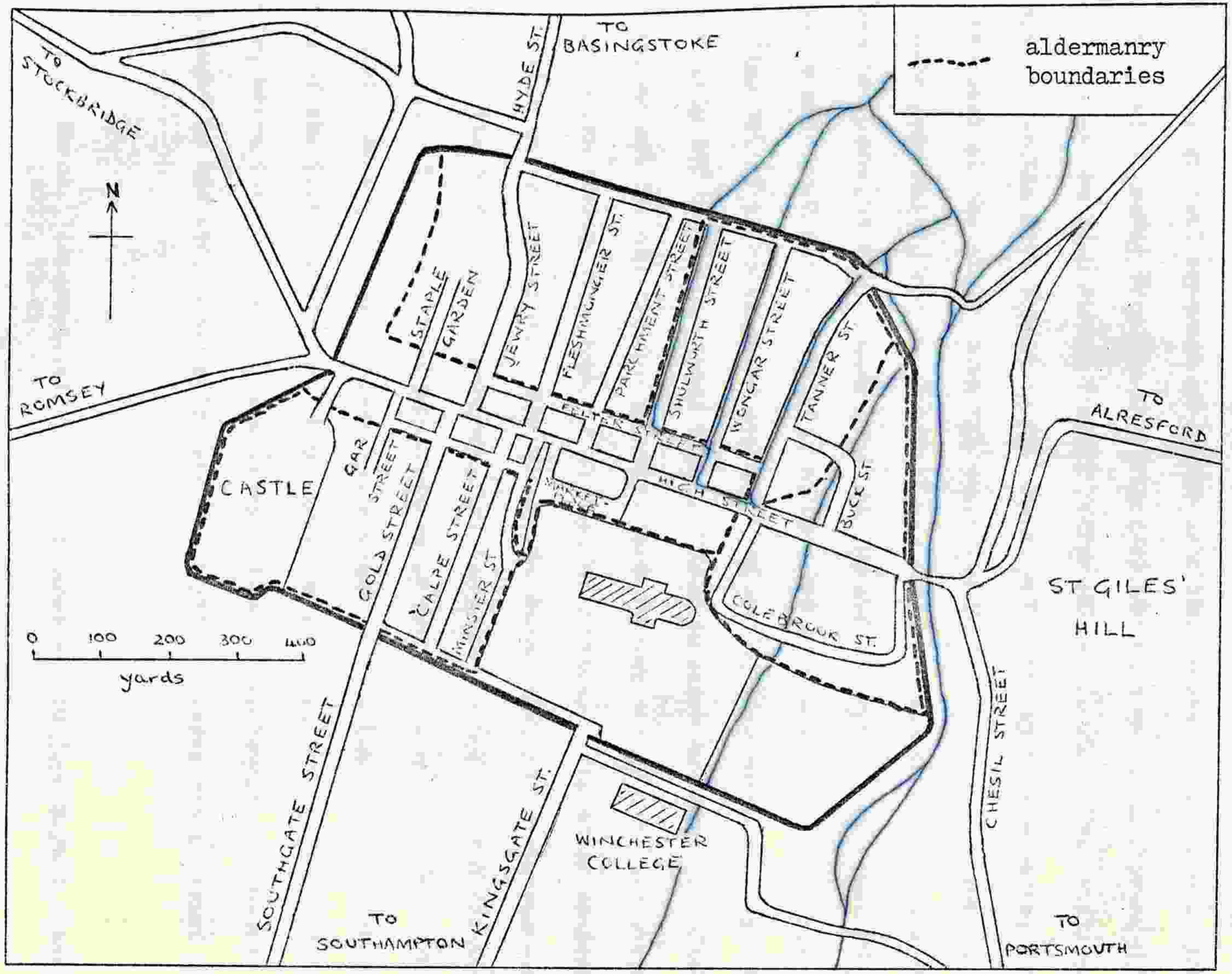


Figure 2. Winchester: streets and aldermanries in 1524

The aldermanry of the High Street was the smallest in area but the most populous and the richest. In the fourteenth century, by contrast, the High Street had been the poorest aldermanry in the city because the rich tended to live in the side-streets, but during the fifteenth century there had been a gradual movement of wealth into the centre of the city[1]. The aldermanry extended from the Westgate down the hill as far as Tanner Street, and covered the High Street itself, Felter Street to the north, and the lanes parallel to the High Street on the south, with the empty area in the extreme north-west of the city. With 222 taxpayers it contained 55% of the city's taxable population, who owned 59% of its wealth. Twenty-seven of the forty-five people worth £10 or more lived in the aldermanry; since these were the people who could afford to employ workmen and servants, it is not surprising to find 74% of those taxed on wages listed in the High Street, though they were only 34% of the taxpayers there. The aldermanry was not a manufacturing area, except for the final - and therefore cleaner - stages of industries such as the making of gloves, or arrows, or clothing. Its chief economic function was retail trade. Almost all the shops mentioned in inventories were in the High Street aldermanry, and the great majority faced the High Street itself, concentrated particularly in the centre of the city. The richest area of all was the Pentice, a block of nine tenements on the south side of the High Street, extending eastwards from the market cross at the point where the hill became less steep. Some of the Pentice tenements belonged to the city, and their tenants in 1524 included men assessed at £45,

1. D.J. Keene, 'Aspects...of Medieval Winchester' (Oxford D.Phil. thesis 1973), 78-81.

£40, £16, 20 marks, and £10. Rents in the Pentice were often 15s or more, higher than any other tenements in Winchester[1]. Since the High Street was the most important road and thoroughfare in the city, it was the one most often 'paved' or cobbled, but its surface was always poor, and rubbish thrown into the street and water running down the cannel were additional hazards to traffic. Speed's map of Winchester in 1611 (Figure 1, p.1) shows clearly that the greatest density of housing lay along the High Street, which was by then the only fully built-up street in the city, and it is quite possible that more than half of the actual population as well as the taxable population lived in the aldermanry. The dangers and discomforts of living in such a crowded area are illustrated by a letter written in 1611, when one of the county JPs heard of his colleagues' proposal to rent a house immediately behind the High Street tenements for a House of Correction:

> I have thought good hereby to signify unto you my opinion as well concerning the place as of the house you have made choice of, which I hold to be very unfitting and to stand very inconveniently for the purpose you intend it, the same being situate in the heart and midst of the city where both the passage of the king's majesty as also the daily concourse of people and often resort of yourselves in all services is usual; besides, it is much straitened, being placed in a very narrow lane and little roomth [sic] of backside belonging thereunto... further I know of my own knowledge that this house abutteth on divers houses and tenements of the inhabitants in the High Street, which have upon the one side no benefit of air but the small backside of this house; what hazard and peril may come to the whole city by fire and infection of sickness, if it should be attempted or happen amongst those kind of people, which may well be feared, you can best judge hereof[2].

Every aspect of the city's communal life was concentrated in the High Street or the areas just behind it. Private trade was carried on in shops and from stalls or bulks erected against the house-fronts. The fish-shambles in an alleyway off the High Street were the official standing-place for fishmongers coming into the city, and the flesh-shambles against St Maurice

1. W.R.O., chamb. acct. 14-15 Henry VIII.
2. H.C.R.O., 4M53/140, f.53.

church, also in the High Street, served the same purpose for butchers. The largest space devoted to selling was the market-place, between the back of the Pentice and the cathedral churchyard. At one end of it stood the market house, and the market-place was also the site after 1529 of the cage, pillory, and stocks, so as to expose their occupants to the maximum publicity[1]. Entertainment was to be found in alehouses and inns, most of which were in the High Street, at bull-baiting which was held either in front of the mayor's house or at the bull-ring in the High Street[2], and at plays performed by actors in the Guildhall or in inns[3].

Like retail trade, both administration and public facilities were concentrated in the High Street aldermanry. Proclamations were read out by the mayor from the steps of the cross[4]. Meetings of the boromote and the town court were held in the 'Counsel House' on the first floor of the Guildhall, and in St John's Hospital at the opposite end of the High Street. Much city business was discussed and decided informally in the houses of the mayor and his brethren, and because these were the city's wealthiest men their houses were often in or near the High Street. The room over the Westgate at the top of the hill served as the city's prison, and the city bell for ringing curfews hung in the tower of St Peter in Macellis opposite the Guildhall. The town well and pump stood beside the cross[5]. From the Westgate down to Tanner Street, the High Street was the hub of the whole city, and by the sixteenth century it was the only area in the city whichwas densely used.

1. Black Bk. 146; W.R.O., chamb. acct. 14-15 Henry VIII.
2. Black Bk. 161.
3. W.R.O., chamb. acct. 35-6 Henry VIII, 2 & 3 P. & M. - 3 & 4 P. & M.
4. 1st Bk. Ord., f.252v.
5. W.R.O., chamb. acct. 33-4 Henry VIII.

No other street or aldermanry could approach it in wealth or importance.

The second most populous aldermanry in the subsidy was Colebrook Street, with 23% of the city's taxpayers and 24% of its wealth. Both these figures are too high, for the aldermanry was the last on the list of 1524 and the clerk included there all his omissions from the aldermanries he had already completed, including five men of the High Street whose assessments added up to £178 13s 4d. Even without these men, however, Colebrook Street was the second wealthiest aldermanry. It covered the area south of the High Street squeezed between the walls of the Close and Wolvesey on one side and the city wall on the other, with the triangle north of the High Street between the city wall and Buck Street. Although it was part of the city, Colebrook Street aldermanry was dominated by St Mary's Abbey. The buildings of the abbey covered most of the ground between the two arms of Colebrook Street - a church, a house for the abbess, a frater, buttery, pantry, kitchen, and larder, the gatehouse, bakehouse, brewhouse, and stables, with a graveyard and gardens and orchards[1]. The abbey had its own corn-mill on the stream running through the precinct. North of the abbey buildings were the Charnel Chapel, a chantry foundation, and the Sistern House, a refuge for poor women maintained by the nuns. The Eastgate of the city was in the custody of St Mary's Abbey until its dissolution[2]. On the other side of the High Street, the Colebrook Street aldermanry contained the Hospital of St John, a large medieval almshouse controlled by the corporation and used for meetings as well as poor relief. Otherwise this piece of land north of the High Street was almost empty by the sixteenth century and was leased as meadows and pasture.

1. E 315/212 f.133.
2. Black Bk. 187-8.

Only eight men in the aldermanry were taxed on wages, but many more are identifiable as servants of the abbey. Several of the houses along Colebrook Street belonged to the abbey and were given to the city with other monastic property in 1554[1], and other houses there belonged to the cathedral priory, later the dean and chapter.

Both the Colebrook Street and Tanner Street aldermanries, lying at the eastern and lower end of the town, were intersected by the streams which divided from the Itchen to the north and flowed through the city, to rejoin the river half a mile to the south[2]. Shulworth, Wongar, and Tanner Streets each had a stream running beside the road, and stone-lined channels were built in front of the larger houses to divert water for domestic use. Another stream ran between Tanner Street and Buck Street, and joined others to emerge in the grounds of St Mary's Abbey where it drove the abbey mill. All the traffic in the High Street had to cross the Newbridge at the point where the Tanner Street brook flowed across the road. Visitors frequently commented on the number of streams in Winchester: Camden remarked that the city had 'water plenty, by reason of the river turned and conveyed divers ways into it'[3], and a travelling lieutenant in 1635 described how 'in the lowest part of [the city] eastward (almost through every street) runs a pleasant river or small stream'[4]. As a potential hazard to health, the brooks had to be cleaned out every year, an unpleasant job for which the city government eventually assumed responsibility. The abundant water-supply made the area ideal for industry, and in the Middle Ages it had been densely settled with merchants, cloth-finishers, and their employees. By the beginning of the fifteenth century the cloth industry, and therefore the area, was declining, and by the sixteenth century many of the tenements in the Tanner

1. See p.74.
2. B.B. Woodward, History of Hampshire, i.10.
3. W. Camden, Britannia (1610 edn.), 265.
4. Camden Misc. xvi (Camden Soc. 3rd ser. lii), 43.

Street area had been replaced by gardens and meadows, particularly at the northern end under the city wall. Throughout the first half of the sixteenth century the chamberlains' accounts refer to the demolition of decayed houses in the Brooks area (the Tanner Street aldermanry)[1], until by 1600 it had reached the almost rural state depicted on Speed's map of Winchester (see Figure 1). The ground just inside Durngate, at the north-east corner of the city, was all meadow leased out for pasture, and several gardens in Tanner Street had racks in them for stretching cloths as they dried.

The decline of the aldermanry was faithfully reflected in its contribution to the subsidy in 1524; it contained fifty-five taxpayers, 14% of the city's total, and was therefore the third most populous, but it owned only 6% of the taxable wealth. Only six people in Tanner Street were assessed at more than 40s. Thomas Baker, a draper and clothier who was one of the subsidy commissioners, owned a large house on the west side of Wongar Street where he was taxed in 1525[2]. The only other wealthy inhabitant was Joan Anderson, assessed at £20, the widow of a former bailiff of the city. Only eight men were taxed on wages, and they were probably workmen. The industry still carried on in Winchester was concentrated in the Brooks are, both because of the water-supply and because the unpleasant waste and smells created by crafts such as dyeing and leather-working could thus be kept away from the residential areas. An ordinance of 1507 restricted the currying of leather to the houses on the brooks[3], and the aldermanry's taxpayers included cappers, weavers, and fullers.

The remaining streets north of the High Street - Parchment Street, Fleshmonger Street, Jewry Street, and Bridney or Bridlin Street - were all in the aldermanry of Jewry Street. The rest of the aldermanry was outside the

1. E.g. W.R.O., chamb. acct. 13-14 Henry VIII, 38 Henry VIII - 1 Edw. VI.
2. H.C.R.O. wills A 1539 (will of Thomas Baker).
3. 1st Bk. Ord., f.7.

Northgate in the extra-mural city liberty. Jewry Street had the lowest number of taxpayers (twenty-four, 6% of the city) as well as the lowest percentage of wealth (4%). The aldermanry was as under-populated as Tanner Street; most of its taxpayers were described elsewhere as of the parish of St Bartholomew, outside the walls, and very few came from the north-west corner of the city. The visiting lieutenant noted in 1635 that 'some part of the ground within [the city] is unbuilt, especially on the north and west sides, which is converted into orchards, and gardens, and little pastures'[1]. This part of the city had once contained the Staple where wool sales took place, but Staple Garden in Bridney Street was now no more than an empty piece of ground used as the town's rubbish dump[2]. The county gaol, presided over by the Welshman William Agully, was in Jewry Street. Fleshmonger Street, as its name implies, was the centre of the butchering trade; most occupational street-names had lost all connection with the trades of their inhabitants by the sixteenth century, but the few tenements and many gardens in Fleshmonger street were leased by the wealthier butchers. Parchment Street too was nearly all garden plots by the sixteenth century.

The exact boundary between the city liberty and the Soke was not entirely clear, and occasioned disputes in this period[3]. As drawn by William Godson in 1750 on his map of Winchester, the liberty lay to the west of Winchester and did not cover any part of Hyde Street. The main roads outside Westgate had once been lined with houses, but few remained by 1520. One inn, the Cock, still stood there to serve travellers[4]. The Arbour, a large piece of ground between the two main roads, was leased out to butchers for pasture, and it was

1. Camden Misc. xvi (Camden Soc. 3rd ser. lii), 43.
2. Black Bk. 175-6.
3. E.g. E 134/7 Chas. I/Trin. 4, over the contribution of Hyde Street tenements to the city fee-farm.
4. H.C.R.O. wills B 1623 (will of Robert Clerke).

also used for the city musters. The city ditch too was used for grazing; horses, cows, and pigs were allowed inside the walls[1], but the pastures just outside were the only large spaces available for sheep or large numbers of animals. Close to the north-west boundary of the liberty steod the city gallows.

The fifth aldermanry in the city was Gold Street, which had 9% of the taxpayers (thirty-six) and 8% of the wealth. It covered the south-west quarter of Winchester, from the Castle on its hill down to the wall of the Close. This too was a sparsely populated area by 1520, though there were fewer gardens here than to the north of the High Street. The county Quarter Sessions and Assizes were held in the thirteenth-century Great Hall of the Castle, which was in the custody of the city from 1559 until the early seventeenth century. East of the Castle and about twenty feet below it was the Castle Ditch, used for pasture. Further down the hill, Gar Street was almost entirely gardens, and had been little occupied since the fourteenth century[2]. East of Gar Street was the space known as the Castle Green or Bewmondes, used by the citizens after 1559 for archery practice. Gold Street was the main road from the High Street to the Southgate, outside which the road was called Southgate Street. This whole area was devoid of industry, but it did house some of Winchester's wealthiest families. The Bagger family, who amassed wealth and influence as brewers, had a 'mansion house' on the eastern side of Gold Street[3], and Robert Bagger was assessed at £20 in 1524. Richard Burton moved into the area later and acquired a large house in Minster Street, with nine rooms, two cellars, lofts, stables, and a courtyard with outhouses[4].

1. Black Bk. 128.
2. M. Biddle, 'Excavations at Winchester 1962-3: 2nd Interim Report', Antiquaries Jnl. xliv (1964), 194-6.
3. W.R.O., 2nd Ledger Book, f.9.
4. H.C.R.O. wills B 1574 (inventory of Richard Burton).

The remaining quarter of the area inside the walls was occupied by the bishop's palace of Wolvesey and the cathedral Close. No townsmen lived in this area, and it was not included in the subsidy, but it played its part in the life of the city. The cathedral was the only church in Winchester with a graveyard, so all the citizens were buried there except the small number interred inside their parish church. Part of the churchyard was leased out for grazing; a citizen held a lease of 'pastura vocat. St Swithun's litton' in 1521, and the bishop issued injunctions against the keeping of horses and cattle in the churchyard in 1562 and 1571[1]. The bishop's Consistory Court was often held inside the cathedral, and the building was also used as a short-cut between the High Street and Kingsgate, until Bishop Curle blocked up the south door and made a passage through the south-west buttress in 1634[2]. The citizens even used the cathedral for secular transactions: a lease drawn up in the 1580s, and a trade agreement of 1616, both required payment at the cathedral font[3].

Though Wolvesey and the Close were sometimes described as part of the Soke, that term was more usually used to denote the suburbs around the city. Leland referred to 'a suburb at the Eastgate of some called the Soken'[4], but this was only the east part of the Soke, while the suburbs south and west of Winchester were often called the west part of the Soke, and the portion of St Bartholomew not in the city liberty was included as well. The Soke was a collection of separate settlements, controlled by the bishop and treated together for administrative convenience. Each suburb had grown up along one of the main roads out of Winchester, but by the sixteenth century the different parts of the Soke were almost independent communities.

1. W.R.O., Town Court Roll 54/Bk., undated volume temp. Henry VIII, f33; H.C.R.O., Register of Bp. Horne, ff.16, 82.
2. The Diary of John Young S.T.P. ed. F.R. Goodman, 26.
3. Req. 2/186/161; C 2/Jas. I/C. 13/64.
4. Itinerary of John Leland, ed. L. Toulmin Smith, i. 271.

The parishes of St Peter Chesil and St John in the Soke outside the East-gate were the largest and richest in the Soke. St John contained 31% of the suburbs' taxpayers (ninety-seven) and 34% of their wealth, while St Peter Chesil had thirty-three taxpayers, 10% of the total, and 15% of the wealth. Lying along the eastern bank of the River Itchen, the two parishes were naturally the most industrial area in the Soke. Two of St Peter Chesil's wealthiest taxpayers, assessed at £20 13s 4d and £20, were a father and son who were both parchment-makers. St John also had at least one parchment-maker, but more people were engaged in the finishing of cloth, particularly fulling and dyeing for which water was essential. John Alen, assessed at £21 13s 4d in 1524 and the richest man in St John in the Soke, was a fuller and dyer, and he was the only really wealthy cloth-finisher anywhere in Winchester. John Thomas, worth £16, was a clothier, and the parish always had a little group of prosperous clothiers throughout the sixteenth century. There were two active fulling-mills in the eastern Soke, one at Durngate and the other at Southmill. The main stream of the river was also used to drive the bishop's corn-mills at Segrimes Mill, Durngate, and St Cross, and the College too had its own mill (built or rebuilt in 1539[1]).

The main bridge carrying traffic from the city over the river was East-gate Bridge, from which travellers turned north towards Alresford or south towards Portsmouth. The Itchen was also bridged further up at Durngate, and further down at Black Bridge. Immediately east of the river the ground rose steeply to St Giles' Hill, the site of St Giles' Fair which had once attracted merchants from all over Europe. The fair was still held, but it

1. W.C.M. 803a.

was now much smaller than in its medieval heyday, and the rents for shops on the hill had almost lapsed. The churchyard of the chapel of St Giles on the hill was the main burial ground for the Soke, but no parish was attached to it. Beyond St Giles' Hill was St Mary Magdalen Hill, the site of the almshouse of St Mary Magdalen. The parish of St John in the Soke had close ties with the bishop, who owned much of the housing there. Thirty-one of the taxpayers were taxed on wages, 32% of the total for the parish and a third of all the Soke's wage-earners; eight of them had been described as servants of the bishop on the 1523 survey of harness, and at least two more are known to have been in his service. It seems likely, therefore, that most of the thirty-one wage-earners, as well as some of those taxed on goods, were employed by the bishop. St Peter Chesil, on the other hand, had only one wage-earning taxpayer. This parish also housed the only man in the Soke assessed on land, but his income was only £4 and he was not a great landowner.

The parishes of St Swithun upon Kingsgate and St Michael in Kingsgate Street formed another natural unit, covering the settlement along Kingsgate Street and College Street south of the city. St Swithun was the smallest parish with only twenty-seven taxpayers, but St Michael had seventy-four; together they accounted for 32% of the taxable population of the Soke and 31% of its wealth. St Swithun was dominated by the cathedral priory close by, where at least fifteen of the parish's taxpayers were household servants. Winchester College and St Elizabeth's College also provided employment principally for the inhabitants of the two Kingsgate parishes. Most of the tenements on each side of Kingsgate Street belonged to the College and the priory, and many of their senior officials lived in large houses there. Kingsgate Street's inhabitants included skilled craftsmen - tailors were particularly numerous - and people providing services for the gentry and the institutions, such as notaries, barbers, and a scrivener. John Palington, assessed at £20, was the innkeeper at the Catherine Wheel in Kingsgate Street,

which was the social centre of the southern suburb. The richest man in the Soke was Harry Knight of St Michael in Kingsgate Street, gentleman, who leased Painter's Field just outside Southgate, part of the bishop's demesne at Wolvesey[1]. His descendant John Knight left an estate worth £426 on his death in 1553; John's house had sixteen rooms and many storehouses and barns, and he was clearly a wealthy farmer. Knight owned over 1,000 sheep, forty head of cattle, and forty-three pigs, besides workhorses and oxen, and he had 117 acres under cultivation, growing mainly wheat with some oats and vetches[2]. Kingsgate Street was not primarily a farming suburb, but like all the parishes in the Soke it had closer ties with the countryside than did the city.

Half a mile south of Winchester, Kingsgate Street and Southgate Street joined and became the main road down the Itchen valley to Southampton. The first settlement along the road was St Cross. Lying so far outside the city, it was not a natural adjunct to it, but St Cross was usually included with the other Soke parishes for administration, and like all the villages in the area it looked to Winchester for the trading and service functions provided by towns. The village had grown up around the medieval hospital of St Cross, founded in the thirteenth century by Bishop Henry de Blois and re-endowed by Cardinal Beaufort. The settlement's fifty-two taxpayers in 1524-5 formed 16% of the Soke's total, but they possessed only 9% of its wealth. Exactly half of them were taxed on wages, as employees of the hospital where they worked as household servants and farm-labourers on its lands. The only farm-inventory from the parish shows an establishment considerably smaller than that of John Knight, growing wheat and barley, with sheep as the main livestock[3].

1. W. Cath. MSS., Register of the Common Seal III, f.15.
2. H.C.R.O. wills B 1554 (inventory of John Knight).
3. H.C.R.O. wills B 1585 (inventory of Agnes Roofe).

The sixth Soke parish was that part of St Bartholomew which was not in the city liberty. The suburb stretched along Hyde Street, which ran north out of Winchester from the Northgate. St Bartholomew was quite separate from the rest of the Soke, lying far from either the eastern or the southern suburbs. In 1524-5 it had thirty-five taxpayers, 11% of the total for the Soke, and they owned 11% of the wealth there. Like St Cross, St Bartholomew had a high proportion of wage-earners (46%) because until the Reformation it was dominated by one eccesiastical institution, Hyde Abbey. Many of its inhabitants, especially those who had prospered, entered into confraternity with the abbey and left money and property to it in their wills. Wheat, barley, oats, and peas were grown around the suburb[1], but most references to farming there emphasise the keeping of sheep. A muster list of 1557 showed at least five shepherds around Hyde Street[2], and both large and small farms in the suburb kept large flocks[3].

Whichever of the many defininitions of 'a town' is applied, there can be no doubt that Winchester was urban, despite its small population. The four distinguishing characteristics of a town, as recently suggested in Crisis and Order in English Towns[4], were all present: Winchester had a specialised economy, a marked concentration of population, well-developed political institutions, and an identifiable impact on the surrounding region. It has sometimes been implied that small provincial towns like Winchester were half rural, always conscious of their links with the countryside; Dr Dyer wrote of sixteenth-century Worcester, for instance, that 'certainly any gulf between the interests and preoccupations of country and town lay far in the future[5]'.

1. Prob. 11/47 (P.C.C. 17 Stevenson, will of Thomas Chaundeler); H.C.R.O. wills B 1593 (inventory of Hugh Poore).
2. W.R.O., W.H. Jacob scrapbook no. 3, p.54.
3. C 1/954/42-3; Prob. 11/47 (P.C.C. 17 Stevenson, will of Thomas Chaundeler).
4. Crisis and Order in English Towns, ed. Clark and Slack, 4.
5. A.D. Dyer, The City of Worcester in the 16th century, 47.

Yet Winchester, a much smaller town than Worcester, did not show much identification with country matters - there is not a single reference to the citizens taking part in the harvest, for example. A knowledge of wool-clips and livestock was essential to some citizens in their occupations, but the urban environment, industry, and the preservation of the city's corporate interests played more part in most inhabitants' lives than did rural pre-occupations with agriculture and the land. The suburbs of the Soke showed a mixture of urban and rural characteristics, but the city itself had far more complex social and economic structures than any rural community.

Appendix 1

The dating of lay subsidy lists for the Soke, 1524-5.

E179/173/182

Dated in the P.R.O. list (though not on the document itself) as '16 Henry VIII (1525)'. This date is confirmed by internal evidence. William Egerton of St Michael in Kingsgate Street was taxed on the goods of 'Richard Benyon defunct', whose will (H.C.R.O. wills B 1524) was made in July 1524. The list must be earlier than March 1526, since Richard Parker of St John in the Soke was taxed, and probate was granted on his will on 9 March 1526 (H.C.R.O. wills A 1526). This places the list somewhere between July 1524 and March 1526, and the only full list drawn up during that period was the second instalment of the subsidy in 1525. Confirmation of the date comes from the fact that two men (John Rogers of St Peter Chesil and John Alen of St John in the Soke) had their assessments on this list reduced from those of the 'ultimo subsedio'.

E179/173/195

Dated in the P.R.O. list as '(15-16 Henry VIII?)'. The document covers the parish of St Bartholomew and the household servants of St Cross, Winchester College, and St Elizabeth's College. Richard Boteler was listed in St Bartholomew but was not taxed there because he had moved into the city of Winchester. In the subsidy list of 1525 for the city (E179/173/176) he appeared for the first time in the aldermanry of Jewry Street, thus dating this list as 1525. Since this document and the one discussed above cover different parts of the Soke and are of the same date, it seems probable that they were originally joined, but the last parish listed on E179/173/182 is incomplete and there must originally have been another sheet between these two.

E179/174/287

Dated in the P.R.O. list as 'temp. Henry VIII, before 1530'. This subsidy list must be later than the survey of harness for the Soke (E36/19 f.298) of

18 March 1523, because Richard Flewet of St Bartholomew appeared on the harness list but his widow Alice was taxed on the subsidy list. The list must be earlier than E179/173/182 (1525, see above), because Richard Boteler (St Bartholomew), John Wilmot (St Michael in Kingsgate Street), and Richard Bokle (St Peter Chesil) were all listed and taxed, whereas in the list of 1525 they were all said to have moved away from the Soke. This document therefore lies between March 1523 and 1525, and must be the first instalment of the subsidy, made in the first half of 1524. Further confirmation comes from its being the fullest list for the Soke, with the highest total of tax paid.

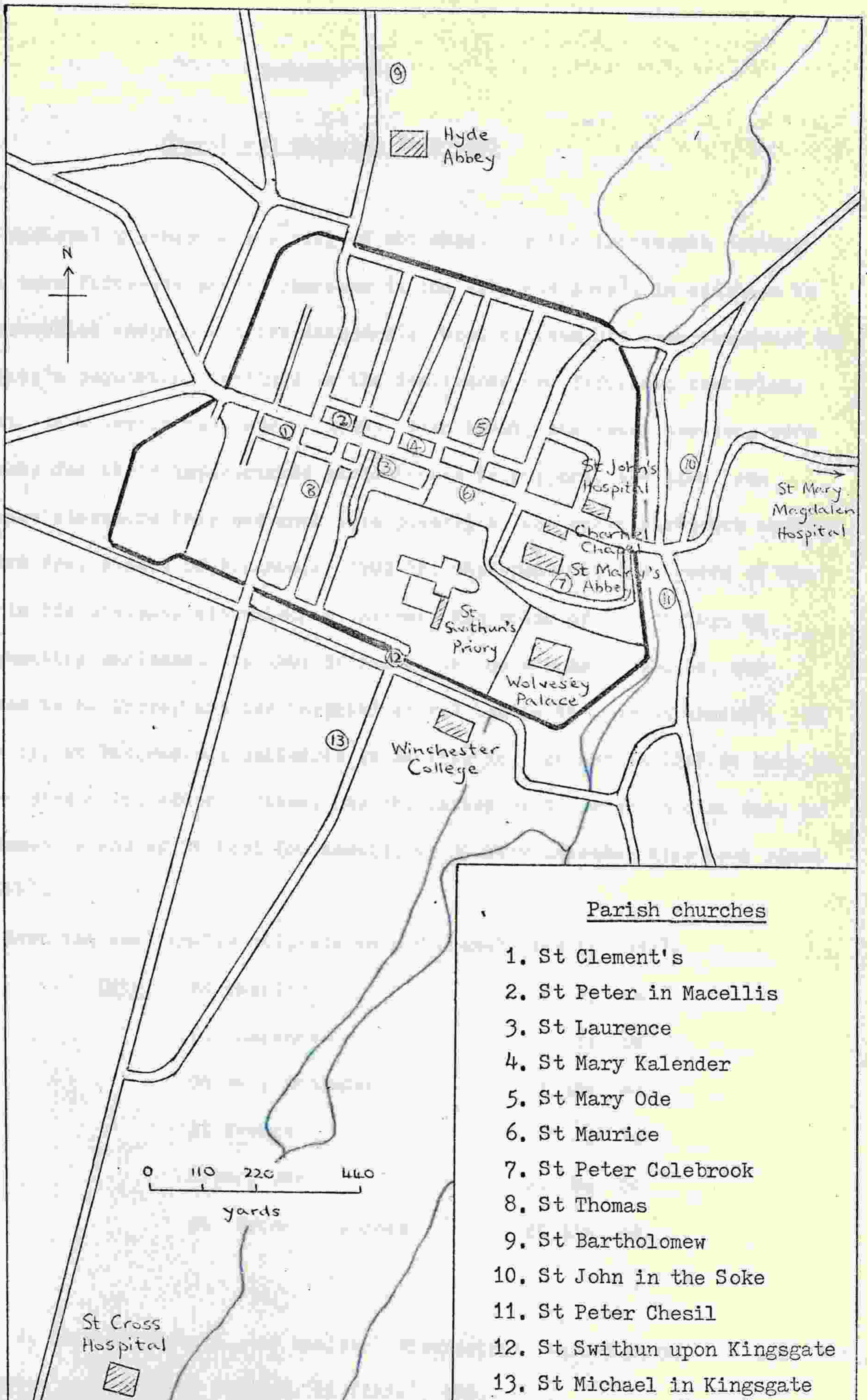


Figure 3. Winchester: parish churches and religious institutions in 1535

CHAPTER 3

Church and Religion 1520-1603

Medieval Winchester was a city of churches. In the thirteenth century there were fifty-six parish churches in the city and Soke[1], in addition to non-parochial chapels and the cathedral; most of them had been abandoned as the city's population declined in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but at least twenty remained in 1520. Even twenty churches, however, were too many for their impoverished parishioners to support, and like town churches elsewhere they had sunk into poverty by the early sixteenth century. Richard Fox, bishop of Winchester 1501-28, who spent the last years of his life in his diocese, attempted to increase the value of the livings by amalgamating parishes. In 1507 St Faith, in the southern suburbs, was annexed to St Cross, and the hospital chapel became the parish church[2]. In the city, St Pancras was united to St Maurice in 1526 and in 1528 St Mary in Tanner Street was added to them, and the unions of St Peter de albo pane to St Clement's and of St Ruel (or Rowald) to St Mary Kalender also took place in 1528[3].

Even the amalgamated stipends were extremely low in 1535[4]:

City	St Maurice	£6 7s 6d
	St Laurence	£6 5s 0d
	St Mary Kalender	£6 18s 6d
	St George	£3 6s 8d
	St Mary Ode	£2 0s 0d
	St Peter Colebrook	£3 13s 4d

1. D.J. Keene, 'Aspects...of Medieval Winchester' (Oxford D.Phil. thesis 1973), 54.
2. Notes and Queries, 2nd ser. ii (1856), 450.
3. H.C.R.O., Register of Bp. Fox, v, ff.39v., 40, 151, 166.
4. Valor Ecclesiasticus (Record Commission), ii. 5-6. The parish of St Cross was omitted.

City	St Peter in Macellis	£3	4s	0d
	St Clement's	£6	13s	4d
	St Thomas with All Saints	£7	4s	3d
Soke	St Peter Chesil, held with the vicarage of St John	£14	9s	8½d
	St Michael in Kingsgate Street	£5	17s	10d
	St Swithun upon Kingsgate	£6	6s	9d
	St Bartholomew	£5	6s	8d

The small incomes of Winchester's parish clergy cannot be attributed to appropriations, for only St Bartholomew (appropriated to Hyde Abbey) and St John in the Soke were served by vicars, and all the city parishes without exception were rectories. Tithes on urban property were calculated according to rental value; in 1538 parishioners also paid tithes in kind on fruit and other produce grown in gardens and orchards, but by 1580 this custom was long forgotten[1]. Decaying property and stationary rents kept tithe income low, and urban parishioners were in any case increasingly reluctant to pay tithes[2]. The real value of clerical incomes was reduced even further by inflation in the sixteenth century.

Low stipends led inevitably to pluralism, though curates or stipendiary priests were sometimes maintained by incumbents. In 1535 the rector of St Maurice also held the vicarage of Twyford with the chapelry of Owslebury, giving him an additional income of £12 12s 6½d. Gilbert Fraunces held the rectory of St George and the vicarage of St Bartholomew, and Dominic Cyny was rector of both St Clement's and St Thomas. Fellows of the College sometimes held benefices in the Soke: Richard Phillips, for example, was rector of St Swithun

1. H.C.R.O., Consistory Court Bk. 7 (loose documents); Bk. 50, f.139; Bk. 67, ff.219-24, 233.
2. C. Hill, Economic Problems of the Church, 90, 107.

upon Kingsgate from at least 1520 to 1555, while deriving an extra £6 13s 4d a year from his position as chaplain of Fromond's chantry in the College from about 1524 until its suppression in 1547[1]. Members of the College were conspicuously better educated than the other parish clergy, among whom university degrees were rare and ownership of books even rarer. Despite their shortcomings, Winchester's parish clergy were respected members of society. A majority of wills made in the 1520s and 1530s left small sums for the testator's parish church, and many bequeathed money, clothing, or other items to the parish priest. Many wills were witnessed by priests (who had presumably written them), and it was especially common for widows to make their priest an executor.

Evidence for the intensity of religious belief in Winchester before the Reformation is naturally sparse. Belief in the efficacy of obits and masses for the soul was still widely held, and a substantial minority of testators left money to a parish priest or the four orders of friars in Winchester for prayers. John Thomas of St John in the Soke left seventeen messuages in 1527 to a fraternity in his parish church for masses[2]. St Swithun's Priory was maintaining its numbers, at least in the 1520s - there were thirty monks in the priory in 1524, and twenty-five monks plus four scholar-priests at Oxford at the dissolution in 1539[3] - though as a large and wealthy house it may have attracted more applicants than the smaller monasteries. But there were also signs of the religious apathy and decline of observance found elsewhere. The shrine of St Swithun in Winchester cathedral, once the object of great medieval pilgrimages (Henry VIII visited the shrine in 1516 and made a donation[4]), had

1. Notes and Queries, 12th ser. ii (1916), 224.
2. B.B. Woodward, History of Hampshire, i. 253: the date 1577 is a misprint for 1527.
3. B.L. Add. MS. 39,975, f.123; E 315/494 p.2.
4. L. & P. Henry VIII, ii (2), 1472.

ceased to attract any offerings at all by 1536[1]. Bequests to religious houses between 1480 and 1540 by Hampshire benefactors were far smaller than in many other counties, and less than 2% of the county's charitable wealth (compared with an average of over 10% elsewhere) was given to them[2]. None of Winchester's parish churches were rebuilt or extensively altered in the early sixteenth century, though several had received attention in the fifteenth, and the only major expenditure in this period was the casting or recasting of bells in two churches in the Soke[3]. The procession and feast on Corpus Christi Day, once one of the most colourful festivals in Winchester, was losing support, and in 1520 and again in 1543 the fifteenth-century ordinances imposing fines for failure to provide a torch were re-issued[4].

This lack of vitality in popular Catholicism was not linked with the spread of Protestant ideas, which received little or no support in Winchester. By their nature as ecclesiastical offences, cases of people holding new and heretical beliefs were recorded, while orthodoxy was not, but even so, such cases were rare. The first occurred in 1528, when George Dalphough, an alien who had settled in Winchester as servant to a shoemaker, was summoned before the Consistory Court as 'a heretic and misbelieving man'. He was accused of possessing a copy of the Gospels and New Testament translated into 'Doche' with heretical additions, and of denying the validity of Purgatory, confession, fasting, the intercession of saints, and clerical celibacy. Dalphough maintained that he had heard these doctrines preached by Lutherans in his own country but had never spread them in England, but he was nonetheless forced to abjure his alleged opinions and perform an elaborate penance, which included burning his book in the market-place at the time of the market[5]. William Forde,

1. Obedientiary Rolls of St. Swithun's, ed. Kitchin (Hants. Rec. Soc.), 110.
2. W.K. Jordan, The Charities of Rural England, 374 n.2.
3. W.E. Colchester, Hampshire Church Bells, 9, 11.
4. Black Bk. 131, 170.
5. H.C.R.O. Consistory Court Bk. 4, f.169; H.C.R.O., Register of Bp.Fox, v, f.165. I owe these references to Dr Ralph Houlbrooke.

an usher at Winchester College and a convert to Protestantism, provoked such hostility when he pulled down the images in the College in the 1530s that his enemies lay in wait for him one dark night and attacked him[1]. Support for the prior of the Black Friars in Winchester, who was arrested in 1536 for preaching against holy water, confession, and penance, might suggest that the city was receptive to the new ideas, for testimonials by the prior of St Swithun's and leading citizens induced Cromwell to release him[2]; but in the case of Friar Wygg, who preached sedition three years later, the mayor co-operated with Wriothesley and the county JPs and imprisoned him[3]. The personal and circumstantial details of each case were obviously more important than religious doctrine in determining the citizens' reaction. The rarity of references to such cases shows clearly that Winchester was not a centre of early Protestantism - nor indeed had Lollardy been strong there, nor did the city ever completely reject Catholicism after the Reformation. An analysis of the wills of inhabitants of Winchester shows that very few testators in the 1530s were prepared to omit the Virgin and Saints from the conventional formula for dedication of the soul: in the twenty-three wills proved 1535-9, only two did so, and one of them played safe - and also left money for masses for his soul (see Table 4).

Winchester owed its large number of religious houses and institutions to the city's former position as capital of both kingdom and diocese (see figure 3). There were three large and wealthy monasteries there: St. Mary's Abbey for Benedictine nuns, founded by Alfred's queen in the ninth century, St Swithun's Benedictine priory of even earlier origin, and Hyde Abbey, re-founded

1. Narratives of the Days of the Reformation (Camden Soc. 1st ser. lxxvii), 29.
2. L. & P. Henry VIII, x. 357, 512-13, 588, 723.
3. Ibid. xiv (1), 775; Req. 2/17/85.

as the New Minster in the tenth century and moved to its site just outside the city walls in 1110. The Franciscan, Dominican, Carmelite, and Augustinian orders of friars each had a house in the city or suburbs. The almshouses of St Cross, St John's Hospital, and St Mary Magdalen were also religious foundations, as was Winchester College (the College of the Blessed Virgin Mary nigh Winchester) which had been founded by Bishop William of Wykeham in the fourteenth century. The city had only two chantry foundations (the Charnel Chapel and the college or fraternity of St Mary Kalender), while in the Soke there were the College of St Elizabeth of Hungary in the southern suburb and Fromond's chantry in Winchester College. For such a small and impoverished town, Winchester had an exceptionally large number of ecclesiastical neighbours and inhabitants, and they were bound to play an important part in city life.

Their effect in augmenting and employing the population alone was considerable. As well as the religious themselves, each institution had its lay servants. At the dissolution St Swithun's had thirty-seven employees described as singing-men, bellringers, officers of the household, and servants, and St Mary's Abbey had twenty[1]; no detailed surrender certificate survives for Hyde Abbey, but an episcopal injunction of 1522 alleged that servants were becoming so numerous that the monastery's alms were diminished[2]. The numbers for St Swithun's and St Mary's show only servants given pensions in 1539, and are probably smaller than the true total. The College was the largest institution of all, with at least 130 residents[3]. In a city of only 2,500 inhabitants, the provision of employment on such a scale was of major economic importance.

1. E 315/494 pp.2-4, 14.
2. Liber Monasterii de Hyda (Rolls Ser. xlv (1866)), p.lxiii.
3. E 135/3/40.

At a higher social level, the bishop and monastic houses attracted gentlemen and noblemen to Winchester. Men such as William Pound, William Paulet, John Wintershull, Thomas Wriothesley, and Thomas Tichborne, members of the Hampshire gentry, were granted offices and pensions by the monasteries[1], and in return they exerted their influence on behalf of their ecclesiastical friends. Although the more important office-holders lived in London they visited Winchester on business, and subsidy lists show that some stayed long enough to be taxed there. Such influential visitors benefited the city, and the corporation was quick to take advantage of the presence of men with legal training and friends in high places: in 1529-30, for example, the chamberlains paid 20s each to Wintershull and John Paulet for counsel. The monasteries also brought lesser men to Winchester, as tenants, petitioners, and minor local officials, all of whom brought life and trade to the city.

The larger establishments - Winchester College, St Cross, St Swithun's, St Mary's, and Hyde - could have bought out Winchester's twice-weekly markets on their own if they had bought all their supplies locally. Being wealthy and landed institutions, however, most of them could afford to purchase further afield and their lands produced a large proportion of their needs. St Swithun's had forty manors in Hampshire and Wiltshire and an annual income of over £1,500, and therefore was well able to import from Southampton and London the goods which its tenants could not supply[2]. The priory did however buy some items in Winchester, for it owed money to several local merchants in 1539. Hyde Abbey was less wealthy, with an income of £865, and the abbey's debts paid off in 1540 were not to Winchester men[3]. Both these monasteries farmed lands close to the city themselves. St Mary's Abbey received £330 a year from its seven

1. E.g. W. Cath. MSS., Register of Common Seal II, ff.95, 108v.; ibid. III, f.29.
2. J. Kennedy, 'The Dissolution of the Monasteries in Hampshire' (London M.A. thesis 1953), 79-80.
3. E 323/2A mm. 64d.-5.

manors and rectories (though the abbey's lay officials deliberately concealed £150 of this income when the Valor Ecclesiasticus was drawn up[1]), and the nuns were entirely dependent on local supplies, having 'no demesnes whereby they may make any provision' so that they had to 'live only by their lands, making their provision in the market'[2]. The smallest and poorest of these large ihstitutions was St Cross, with an annual income of £84; in 1522-3 between thirty and thirty-five people lived in the hospital, and some of the food bought in that year came from the Soke and the city market[3]. Provisioning the 130 members of the College was a major undertaking. Its estates produced an income of over £600 a year; some College leases stipulated the part-payment of rent in kind[4], and as prices rose this condition became standard, but all kinds of foodstuffs and livestock were still bought in and around Winchester[5]. The quantities involved were large enough to make an appreciable contribution to the trade of the city and Soke, and it was fortunate for Winchester that the College survived the Reformation.

It was, then, as wealthy consumers and employers that the religious houses of Winchester were most beneficial to the economic life of the city, but they rarely appear in this light in the city records. When the mayor and corporation concerned themselves with their ecclesiastical neighbours, it was usually as the holders of rights and property. The amount of housing in the city held by religious institutions had once been much greater, but in the sixteenth century they still owned just over a third of all the properties in the city and its liberty[6]. In the eastern parishes of the Soke the bishop owned the majority of houses and plots, and many tenements in St Swithun upon Kingsgate and Kingsgate

1. S.C. 12/33/27.
2. E 315/400 p.26.
3. St Cross MSS., day-book 1522-3.
4. Select Cases concerning the Law Merchant, ii (Selden Soc. xlvi (1929)), p.xli.
5. Lord Beveridge, Prices and Wages in England, i. 9-10.
6. See p.75.

Street belonged to the priory and College. Hyde Abbey owned much of St Bartholomew parish, and the hospital of St Cross dominated the little suburb which lay round it. There were minor disputes with the religious houses over such matters as rights of way through the cathedral Close, or affrays between the priory servants and the citizens, but the greatest source of friction was ecclesiastical jurisdiction over important areas inside the city. The most irritating to the citizens was the prior's jurisdiction over the manor of Godbegot, a block of tenements in the middle of the city on the High Street. The manor had been left by Queen Emma to the priory in the eleventh century, and was exempt from all other authority, even that of the king. If felons could reach the liberty before the officers of the city they could not be arrested, and the priory upheld its rights with vigour in the sixteenth century. In 1535 violence broke out when a crowd of prominent city men - who included the mayor, one of the bailiffs, all four serjeants, and six past mayors - broke into a house in the liberty, attacked a shoemaker and his servant, and carried the master off to the gaol in the Westgate where they kept him for two days[1].

The bishop too exercised an unpopular jurisdiction affecting the city. Each year in September St Giles' Fair was held for sixteen days on St Giles' Hill outside the Eastgate, and despite its decline the bishop's privileges during the period of the fair were still enforced. The mayor of Winchester was replaced by an official appointed by the bishop, and suits normally heard in the city court were transferred to the bishop's Pavilion Court at the fair. All trade in the city and within seven miles of it was in abeyance. The bishop's powers led to many disputes, especially when his officers entered the city as they were entitled to do, and an attempt by the city in the 1440s to escape from the bishop's rule had been soundly defeated[2]. In 1535 when the king and Cromwell

1. A.W. Goodman, The Manor of Goodbegot, 5, 26, 31-4.
2. Hist. MSS. Comm., 6th Report, 603-4.

were both at Winchester the corporation seized the chance to make two requests, both of which involved an attack on the privileges of the bishop. One was the removal from the River Itchen of mills and weirs belonging to the bishop[1], and the other was the abolition of the Pavilion Court's exclusive jurisdiction during St Giles' Fair. Cromwell granted both requests, but by August 1536 he had been overruled, and he asked the city to submit to the court for one more year[2]. Nothing further was done until Gardiner's fall, the bishop still being strong enough to protect his interests against the Lord Privy Seal. When Poynet became bishop of Winchester in 1551 his position was much weaker - he had already surrendered many of the see's manors to the king in exchange for a pension - and the city received its exemption from the Pavilion Court soon after his installation, at the direction of the king[3].

In spite of these grievances, the city's relations with each bishop were generally good. Three years after the struggle against Gardiner the chamberlain spent 3s 8d on wine and apples to welcome him, and similar gifts appeared frequently in accounts throughout the sixteenth century. Some bishops used their influence on the city's behalf, as in 1516 when Bishop Fox spent more than £20 obtaining a writ of dedimus potestatem from the king to relieve the newly elected mayor each year from his obligation to be sworn in before the Barons of the Exchequer in London[4]. Relations with the monastic and other religious establishments too were usually peaceful. There were minor grievances on both sides, but Winchester showed less animosity in this respect than Bodmin or Peterborough in the early sixteenth century[5], and there were no major lawsuits against religious houses. Such unusual harmony was probably the result of the city's weakness: the citizens derived too many political

1. See p.196.
2. L. & P. Henry VIII, x. 67; S.P. 1/105 ff.264-5.
3. W. Cath. MSS., Register of Common Seal IV, ff.85v.-6.
4. B.L. Stowe MS.846, f.163v.
5. A.L. Rowse, Tudor Cornwall, 88-9; A.G. Dickens, The English Reformation, 86.

and economic advantages from the presence of ecclesiastical institutions to risk antagonising them.

The dissolution of the four friaries and three monasteries in Winchester was accomplished within eighteen months, between May 1538 and November 1539, though their fate had been foreseen several years earlier. While the king was at Winchester in 1535, Cromwell visited religious houses in the area and made inventories of their possessions[1], and St Swithun's prudently granted an annuity of £10 to Cromwell and his son Gregory[2]. In March 1536 the cathedral priory was visited by Cromwell's commissioners, who forcibly retired the prior and appointed one of the monks, William Basing or Kingsmill, in his place. Their letters to Cromwell reveal that some of the monks had sold jewels belonging to the priory to a London jeweller, hoping to avoid their confiscation[3]. Both St Swithun's and Hyde Abbey, foreseeing their downfall, granted leases of their home farms in 1537; Hyde Barton was leased for forty-four years in June, and the 400-acre manor of Priors Barton was leased to Wriothesley in September[4].

Because of its false declaration of income in 1535, St Mary's Abbey came within the scope of the Act of 1536 for dissolving houses worth less than £200 a year; it was surveyed in May[5], and in June 1536 Viscount Lisle's agent advised him to apply for some of its property[6]. Two manors were actually granted to Sir Edward Seymour and his wife, but in August the abbey was reprieved at the cost of £333 6s 8d and the two manors[7], possibly through the influence of the abbess' brother Sir William Shelley, a judge of the Common

1. Cal. S.P. Spanish, 1534-5, 542.
2. L. & P. Henry VIII, ix. 438.
3. Ibid., x. 472, 480, 485, 511.
4. H.C.R.O., 5M53/313; 5M53/988.
5. E 315/400 pp.26-31; S.C. 12/33/27.
6. L. & P. Henry VIII, x. 1058.
7. Ibid., x. 1256 (6); xi. 385 (20); xiii (2), 457 (i) 3.

Pleas[1].

In 1538 came the turn of the friaries. The suffragan bishop of Dover visited Winchester on his tour of inspection in May and reported that there were now no White Friars left[2]. He returned in July to take the surrender of the other houses, which he justified on the grounds of 'certain misorders', and because all the friars were employed in other churches and therefore sang only one mass in each house on holy days. The surrender was taken by the mayor and four aldermen, 'yet after all was done, ye prior of the Black Friars, a servant of my lord of Winchester's, and also ye mayor came and desired that ye prior might have that house and he would keep there four friars without celebration abroad[3]'. The bishop of Dover left the house in secular hands and licensed only the prior to say mass, while he consulted Cromwell; but the house was being valued for its lead by September[4]. All the friars had asked to be assigned to other houses, but it was difficult to find friaries rich enough - and free from the threat of dissolution - to take them in. The bishop of Dover recommended that capacities for friars to hold benefices should be made cheaper so that ordinary friars could buy them, for he said that at current prices only priors who sold their houses' goods could afford them[5].

In November 1538 the shrine of St Swithun in the cathedral was destroyed by Thomas Wriothesley and his fellow-commissioners. They found the prior and monks 'very conformable', and the mayor, eight or nine senior members of the corporation, the bishop's chancellor, and 'a good appearance of honest personages' came to watch, but the commissioners must have feared opposition for their work was done at three o'clock in the morning. After dismantling the shrine and altar they moved on to St Mary's and Hyde, to 'sweep away all the rotten

1. J.E. Paul, 'The Last Abbess of St Mary's Abbey, Dame Elizabeth Shelley', Proc. H.F.C. xxiii (1965), 63, 68.
2. L. & P. Henry VIII, xiii (1), 1052.
3. S.P. 1/134 pp.221, 242-4.
4. L. & P. Henry VIII, xiii (1), 1484; xiii (2), 489.
5. S.P. 1/134 p.244.

bones which be called relics, which we may not omit lest it should be thought we came more for the treasure than for avoiding of the abomination of idolatry' - a high-minded statement at odds with a note on the letter's contents, written on the back: 'Mr Pollard and others advertising the defacing of the shrine at St Swithun's at Winchester and the rich jewels...thereof and certain rich crosses there had'[1]. The three monasteries were finally dissolved in 1539, Hyde in April and St Mary's and the cathedral priory in November. Immediately after its dissolution St Swithun's became a 'new college', as at Ely, with a guardian, twelve seniors, twelve commoners, and four priests, but in March 1541 it was converted to the more usual dean and chapter with a dean, twelve prebendaries, and twelve minor canons[2]. St Elizabeth's College in the Soke fell in 1544[3], and the Charnel Chapel, the fraternity of St Mary Kalender, and the chantry in Winchester College were dissolved under the Act of 1547. The incumbent of the Charnel Chapel was a scholar at Oxford, and St Mary Kalender's fraternity was served by the 78-year-old parish priest[4], so their demise at least was no great loss to the spiritual life of the city.

Unlike towns in which the dissolution of monasteries, friaries, and chantries was the occasion of rioting and violence against the royal commissioners, Winchester showed no sign of popular opposition. Successive mayors of the city were officially involved through their inclusion on the commissions for drawing up the Valor Ecclesiasticus and taking the surrenders of the friaries. In 1536 the mayor and commonalty as well as 'the most worshipful and honest persons of the county' testified to the good character and usefulness of St Mary's Abbey[5], and again in 1538 the mayor led the request for the

1. S.P. 1/136 ff.212-13.
2. M.D. Knowles, The Religious Orders in England, iii. 390.
3. L. & P. Henry VIII, xix (1), 209.
4. E 301/52.
5. E 315/400 p. 26.

reprieve of the Black Friars, but neither plea was successful. The city appreciated the existence of its religious houses, but it accepted the inevitability of their disappearance easily enough. Winchester's inhabitants rarely felt strongly against the central government's policy, and when they did their opposition took the form of obstinate passive resistance rather than open revolt.

More important to the corporation than the monasteries was St John's Hospital, which was threatened by the Chantries Act of 1547. Quite apart from its value to the city as hospital, almshouse, and place of assembly, the hospital's lands, which included more than fifty properties in Winchester and the Soke, brought in an annual income of £30 or more in the 1530s. Separate accounts were kept for the corporation and for St John's, and the offices of chamberlain and steward of St John's were not automatically held together until about 1530, but by the early sixteenth century the city already had complete control over the hospital. Officials of the hospital (including its master) were appointed by the corporation, repairs to its buildings were carried out by the city, and, most important, leases of its property were granted by the boromote exactly like the city's property[1]. It was therefore important to the corporation to prevent the hospital's dissolution, or at least to keep control of its lands. A 'supplication to the king for the weal of the city' in January 1547, and an unsuccessful bill in Parliament in December, may have concerned the hospital[2]. In 1548 the chantry commissioners surveyed St John's and reported that the chaplain maintained there by the mayor might be a chantry priest[3]. Several past mayors and bailiffs testified in 1549 and again in 1550 that the chaplain was appointed to minister to the poor and sick

1. E.g. Black Bk. 137, 146.
2. B.L. Stowe MS. 846, ff.201-2; Commons' Journal, i. 2-3.
3. E 301/52.

people in the hospital[1], and the corporation took its case to the Court of Augmentations[2]. John Trussell, writing in the seventeenth century, stated that the hospital had been granted by the Crown to the corporation of Winchester[3]. His assertion of a specific grant has often been repeated, but evidence of it is completely lacking. The patent rolls do not record such a grant; unlike later grants it was not enrolled by the city[4]; no copy of letters patent concerning St John's Hospital survives ih the city archives, and none was listed by Trussell himself in his inventory of official documents in the seventeenth century. None of these points by itself is conclusive, but taken together they strongly suggest that no grant of the hospital or its lands was ever made to the city, which simply assumed the right to use and administer both as it had done before the Reformation. The post of mayor's chaplain in the hospital was abolished, but otherwise nothing changed. Queen Elizabeth's charter to Winchester in 1588 confirmed corporation control of St John's, but when the city's title was questioned in 1620 the Augmentations documents were regarded as better proof[5].

The adverse effects of the dissolution on Winchester were softened by the fact that several institutions besides St John's Hospital survived. Winchester College was specifically exempted from the Chantries Act of 1547[6]. The almshouses of St Cross and St Mary Magdalen survived, because they were primarily hospitals providing poor relief, not chantries, and perhaps also due to Bishop Gardiner's letter on their behalf to Paget[7]. From the city's point of view, too, the change from cathedral priory to dean and chapter made very little

1. E 315/115 ff.101-3; E 321/39/25.
2. E 321/24/75.
3. W.R.O., John Trussell, 'Origin of Cities', f.110; for Trussell, see p. 226.
4. I.e. it does not appear in B.L. Stowe MS. 846.
5. W.R.O., Coffer Accounts 1589-1627, 15 June 1620.
6. 1 Edw. VI, c.14, s.19.
7. Letters of Stephen Gardiner, ed. J.A. Muller, 218-19.

difference. Because of their use of two different surnames the monks cannot always be traced after 1539, but enough are identifiable to show that all but perhaps half a dozen remained at the cathedral, mostly as minor canons, and the prior William Kingsmill became the first dean. The servants of the priory were retained to look after them as before. Henry VIII granted the new body nearly all the lands formerly held by St Swithun's - including all the priory's property in Winchester and the Soke - with some additions from the lands of other Hampshire houses[1]. The new dean and chapter therefore continued to act as employers, consumers, and landlords; the city had however made one important gain in 1539 with the lapse of the prior's jurisdiction over Godbegot, which was not revived[2].

The dissolution of the Winchester houses did not lead to great hardship in most cases among their clerical inmates. The abbot of Hyde, John Capon or Salcot, had been bishop of Bangor since 1534 and was translated to Salisbury in 1539. The twenty monks from Hyde all received pensions of £6 or more, equal to the stipend of an urban benefice. Of those who can be traced, two became curates in Winchester city parishes in the 1540s, one became vicar of St Bartholomew (formerly in the presentation of the abbey), and another served as his curate. A fifth was keeper of the Charnel Chapel until his death in 1544, and another was a minor canon of the cathedral in 1555-6. Five more were appointed to benefices elsewhere in Hampshire. The majority of the Hyde monks therefore found positions without great difficulty. The thirteen members of St Elizabeth's College were less easily fitted into benefices, since the college was not dissolved uhtil 1544 by which time the former monks and friars had filled most of the vacant livings. The provost, Thomas Runcorn, had been one of the

1. Documents relating to the Foundation of the Chapter of Winchester 1541-7 (Hants. Rec. Soc.), 65-81.
2. A.W. Goodman, The Manor of Goodbegot, 17.

first canons of the cathedral since 1541, and he stayed until 1554. Two other priests from St Elizabeth's became minor canons in the 1550s, one of them also acting as curate in the parishes of St Peter Chesil and St John in the Soke and the other in St Peter Colebrook. The wills of another two were proved at Winchester, showing that they stayed in the diocese. The nuns of St Mary's Abbey received pensions of only £2 13s 4d a year, with an extra grant of £2 each 'of the king's reward'[1], but many were of gentle birth and were unlikely to be left destitute by their families. The wills of several ex-nuns in the 1540s and 1550s show that a small group continued to live close to the abbey, probably as a small independent religious community, for they mention their former chaplain who had stayed with them, and all died devout Catholics[2].

The lay servants of Hyde and St Mary's were the group most badly affected by the dissolution. At St Mary's Abbey servants received even smaller pensions than those of the nuns. In a large town with a thriving economy they might have found new employment easily enough, but Winchester was small and declining and unemployment was already a problem there. How many servants remained out of work, and for how long, is impossible to tell, but the dissolution of two large houses removed two important employers from the city.

The buildings of the dissolved foundations gradually fell into ruin and their stone was used from time to time for repairs and new buildings. Thomas Wriothesley, the first owner of the site of Hyde Abbey, may have demolished some of its buildings[3], but in 1546 there remained the abbot's and prior's lodgings, the cloisters, chapter house, dormitory, gatehouse, and other buildings, with quantities of lead, timber, glass, iron, stones, and slate[4], and John Speed marked the remains on his map in 1611 (see figure 1). St Mary's

1. E 315/494 pp. 11-12, 14.
2. J.E. Paul, 'The Last Abbess of St Mary's Abbey, Dame Elizabeth Shelley', Proc. H.F.C. xxiii (1965), 69-70.
3. Cf. Liber Monasterii de Hyda (Rolls Ser. xlv (1866)), p.lxxiii, which states erroneously that 'Wriothesley pulled the abbey down with amazing expedition, and sold the rich materials'.
4. L. & P. Henry VIII, xxi (1), 149 (14).

Abbey too decayed slowly, and apart from the mill its buildings had almost disappeared by 1617[1]. Stone and other materials were taken from both sites by the city, the College, and parish churchwardens[2]. Winchester had already been included in a statute for rebuilding decayed towns in 1540[3], and such prominent buildings in a state of disrepair added to the city's dilapidated appearance. Bishop Gardiner wrote in 1546 that the surviving hospitals 'somewhat garnish the town, which, by reason of friars, monks, and nuns, whose houses stand all to-torn, with the decay of the inhabitants, is now much defaced[4].

The greatest beneficiaries of the dissolution were the new owners of monastic property. Almost all the recipients of Hampshire monastic lands already had connections with the county, and there was no influx of new gentry families[5]. The dissolution did however enable men who were already rising in society to establish their families securely in the gentry class. The best example of this process in Winchester was Walter Chaundeler. His father John Chaundeler had been mayor in 1503, and Walter held the bailiwicks of the city in 1521 and 1524 and the mayoralty in 1530. His wealth (assessed at £45 in 1524) was derived from his occupation as a mercer, but his activities were not confined to the usual combination of trade and city office-holding. By 1531 Chaundeler was the lessee of the manor of Segensworth from Viscount Lisle, from whom he also held property in Titchfield[6]. He was connected with Hyde Abbey by 1536, when he and two others were granted the next presentation to the vicarage of St Bartholomew[7]. In 1537 the abbey leased out Hyde (or Abbot's) Barton,

1. E 134/15 Jas. I/Hil. 16.
2. E.g. W.R.O., chamb. acct. 5 & 6 P. & M. - 1 Eliz., 20-1 Eliz.
3. 32 Henry VIII, c.18.
4. Letters of Stephen Gardiner, ed. J.A. Muller, 219.
5. J. Kennedy, 'The Dissolution of the Monasteries in Hampshire' (London M.A. thesis 1953), 227-8.
6. H.C.R.O., 5M53/319; L. & P. Henry VIII, viii. 1089.
7. E 315/240 f.63v.

its home farm close by; three years later Chaundeler sold his rights in Lisle's manors to Thomas Wriothesley, with the stipulation that Wriothesley should help him to obtain the Hyde Barton lease from the king[1]. The manoeuvre was successful and in April 1540 Chaundeler bought Hyde Barton at twenty years' purchase[2], and moved his household from the city out to the farmhouse. He probably sat in the Commons for Winchester in the 1530s and in 1542-4[3], he was described as 'gentleman' in 1544, and his only son married a niece of the marquis of Winchester - all signs of the status consolidated by his purchase of the Hyde Barton estate.

The purchaser of the site of Hyde Abbey itself was also a man rising in society, but he did not come from Winchester. Richard Bethell was born in Northop, Flintshire, moved to Hampshire about 1520 in the service of the abbot of Hyde, and moved again six years later to the suburb near the abbey[4]. At the dissolution the seven-acre site of Hyde Abbey and over seventy acres of meadows around it were leased to Wriothesley[5], who sub-let to Bethell, but in 1546 the whole estate was sold to Richard Bethell by the Crown at twenty years' purchase, together with all the abbey's property in the suburbs and city of Winchester at only seven years' purchase, an unusually low price which is explained by the ruinous condition of many of the tenements[6]. Described as 'a man of great substance, [who] hath many great friends'[7], Bethell took up local government only after his purchase of the Hyde Abbey property had brought him influence in the city. At the personal request of the mayor, Robert Hodson,

1. H.C.R.O., 5M53/313.
2. L. & P. Henry VIII, xv. 613 (2); E 318/261.
3. W.R.O., 3/Bx./S.J. 13, no. 120; W.R.O., chamb. acct. 35-6 Henry VIII.
4. H.C.R.O., Consistory Court Bk. 19, p.173; Bk. 24, p.130.
5. E 315/212 f.150v.
6. E 318/133.
7. C 1/954/42.

he agreed to become a freeman - without payment - in September 1552, and was immediately elected mayor[1]. As the city had foreseen, his contacts and knowledge of the procedures for obtaining ex-monastic lands proved useful, and it was under his aegis that Edward VI's abortive grant to the city was made, as described below[2]. Bethell also sat for Winchester in the Parliaments of March and October 1553. Like Walter Chaundeler he took up residence in a large house in the suburb of Hyde[3], which became a fashionable area where other gentlemen settled in the seventeenth century, and where former servants of the abbey probably entered the service of the new large households. Richard Bethell was succeeded by his son William and grandson Zachary, who sold Hyde Abbey in the 1590s[4] to Thomas Clerke, the younger brother of a clerk of the privy seal[5], whose family retained the estate throughout the seventeenth century.

The most important recipient of monastic lands in Hampshire was Thomas Wriothesley, the rising royal official and protege of Thomas Cromwell. He was not new to the county, but the extensive grants of land made to him may represent a deliberate attempt by the Crown to create a powerful lay magnate in Hampshire to focus the loyalty of the lesser gentry[6]. Wriothesley held some of his newly acquired lands for only a short time, like the site of Hyde Abbey. In March 1544 he bought the site of St Elizabeth's College, but sold it a month later to Winchester College of which he was steward[7]. The College had already received a large number of monastic manors and lands in 1543, including all four Winchester friaries, in exchange for lands given up to the Crown. Thus Wriothesley did not keep any of his Winchester property; his new home at

1. W.C.M. 1008; 1st Bk. Ord., f.98.
2. See p. 73.
3. R.F. Pennell, An Account of the Parish of Hyde, 32.
4. E 134/8 Jas. I/Hil. 10; H.C.R.O., Consistory Court Bk. 67, f.78.
5. B.B. Woodward, History of Hampshire, i.78 n.4; Req. 2/192/31.
6. J.Kennedy, 'The Dissolution of the Monasteries in Hampshire' (London M.A. thesis 1953), 195.
7. L. & P. Henry VIII, xix (1), 278 (74), 442 (34).
8. Ibid., xviii (1), 981 (46).

Titchfield became his family's chief residence, and his connections with Winchester were limited to occasional visits on county business.

The site of St Mary's Abbey passed through several hands after 1539. The whole site, with buildings, mill, graveyard, and gardens, was leased in May 1540 to Thomas Tichborne, formerly clerk of the abbey[1]. In 1546 it was bought by two Augmentations officials acting as agents, John Bellow and John Broxholme, who resold it two months later to Thomas White[2], a Crown clerk of King's Bench and later Master of the Court of Requests. The White family still held the abbey site in the seventeenth century, leasing it with the abbey mill to local gentlemen and inhabitants of Winchester[3].

The buildings of the monastic houses and the areas they occupied were the largest single properties in Winchester which changed hands after the dissolution, but they were too large to interest any but the most ambitious inhabitants of the city. The monasteries' tenements and gardens in the city and Soke would have been within the reach of the wealthier citizens, but in Winchester there was little immediate opportunity for rising families to buy up small properties as they did in other towns. By 1546 all of St Swithun's property was in the hands of the dean and chapter, the College had the friaries, and all Hyde Abbey's tenements had been sold to Richard Bethell. The dissolutions of 1547 brought another substantial block of Winchester properties into Crown hands. Most extensive were the possessions of the Charnel Chapel, which in 1417 had owned thirty houses and gardens in the city and its liberty[4]. The whole of the Charnel Chapel's property was surveyed in March 1549 for Sir Henry Seymour, a younger brother of Protector Somerset and uncle to Edward VI[5].

1. E 315/212 f.133.
2. L. & P. Henry VIII, xxi (2), 476 (96), 771 (37).
3. Req. 2/250/41; Prob. 11/168 (P.C.C. 61 Sadler, will of Lancelot Thorpe); C 5/27/86.
4. See Table 2, p.75.
5. E 318/33/1866 (note).

Sir Henry naturally became a figure of some local importance in Winchester after the accession of his nephew, but his connection with the city was already long-established. His inclusion among the servants or household of Bishop Fox in 1524 has already been noted[1], and he received a fee or annuity from St Swithun's before its dissolution[2]. Whether the Charnel Chapel's lands were granted to Sir Henry Seymour in 1549 is not clear; the property was included later in the same year in a general sale of ex-monastic lands, but was deleted after the document had been drawn up[3], and the same tenements were listed in a survey of unsold monastic property in 1553[4]. The descents of individual tenements, however, show that the whole estate did pass to Seymour, who later sold some of it to Sir Walter Sandys[5]. Sir Henry Seymour settled at Twyford, just outside Winchester, and outlived his famous elder brothers by twenty years, having chosen the quieter but safer life of a country gentleman.

The corporation's campaign for continued control of St John's Hospital's lands had succeeded, but had not added any new properties to the city lands. In September 1552, however, an opportunity for a direct approach to the Crown was presented by the visit to Winchester of Edward VI on his last progress. The city presented a petition to the king with several requests, including a grant of all the ex-monastic property in the city and suburbs remaining to the Crown[6]. The petition was successful. In March and April 1553 a list of ex-monastic property in Winchester was authorised and prepared[7], and the mayor Richard Bethell, signed a formal request for it on 28 June. The wording of the

1. See p.28.
2. E 315/389.
3. E 318/33/1866. The deletion was apparently not made on the patent roll: Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1549-51, 13-14, 18.
4. E 318/39/2086.
5. E.g. D.J. Keene, 'Aspects...of Medieval Winchester' (Oxford D.Phil.thesis 1973), 477; B.L.Stowe MS. 846, f.189.
6. C. Bailey, Transcripts from the Municipal Archives of Winchester, 85.
7. Acts of P.C. 1552-4, 241; E 318/39/2086.

grant showed a joint concern for poor relief and for the preservation of order that was typical of its date:

> The king's majesty, meaning the relief of the city of Winchester, being sore charged with a multitude of very poor inhabitants, is well pleased at the humble suit of the citizens of the same to grant unto the use of the said city, for the relief of the poor thereof and for the maintenance of good order to the expelling of all manner of idle vagabonds, all such houses, gardens, and lands as his majesty hath within the said city and Soke of the same...[1]

The transaction was almost complete, needing only the royal seal, when Edward died on 6 July and the whole complicated process was undone[2]. However, Queen Mary's wedding in the cathedral in 1554 provided a favourable opportunity for a second petition, and this time all the city's requests were granted and came into effect, with slightly different wording to stress the city's expenditure for the wedding rather than poor relief. On 8 September 1554, the fee-farm was reduced from 100 marks to 90 marks for ten years, and to 50 marks for the following fifty years[3], ahd on 17 September all the Winchester property of St Mary's Abbey, Southwick Priory, Wherwell Abbey, and the fraternity of St Mary Kalender was granted to the city[4]. In 1557-8, the first year in which the chamberlains' account includes details of income from the monastic property, it amounted to ninety plots and tenements and produced £18 9s in rent.

1. E 318/39/2086.
2. C. Bailey, Transcripts from the Municipal Archives of Winchester, 85.
3. Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1554-5, 200.
4. Ibid., 186-7.

Table 2

Ownership in 1604 of properties in the city and its liberty held by religious institutions in 1417

Institution	Owner in 1604			Total
	Same institution	Corporation	Other	
Hyde Abbey	0	6	62	68
St John's Hospital	48	5	5	58
St Swithun's Priory	42*	2	1	45
Charnel Chapel	0	4	26	30
Fraternity of St Mary Kalender	0	20	3	23
St Mary's Abbey	0	19	0	19
Mottisfont Priory	0	2	6	8
Southwick Priory	0	7	0	7
Wintney Priory	0	2	4	6
Hospital of St Mary Magdalen	4	0	1	5
Hospital of St Cross	2	0	1	3
Wherwell Abbey	0	3	0	3
Titchfield Abbey	0	0	1	1
Hayling Priory	0	0	1	1
Christchurch Twyneham Priory	0	1	0	1
Selborne Priory	0	0	1	1
Durford Abbey (Sussex)	0	1	0	1
Nuneaton Priory (Warwicks.)	0	1	0	1
Total	96	73	112	281

* dean and chapter 1604

Table 2, based on the tarrage surveys of 1417 and 1604, shows the effects of the redistribution of monastic property at Winchester. By 1604 small property-owners held about 40% of the ex-religious tenements, mainly from Richard Bethell's sale of the Hyde property in the city (though he kept the property in St Bartholomew) and from the break-up and sale of the Charnel Chapel's lands. Apart from these two blocks, however, the benefits of the redistribution were confined to institutions. About 35% of the tenements remained in effectively the same ownership. The corporation had acquired about 25% of the ex-religious property, principally through the grant of 1554, but it had also kept control of St John's Hospital and its lands and thus received income from more than 40% of the ex-religious property, comprising nearly 20% of all the property in the city and its liberty.

Some English monasteries before their dissolution had played an important role in the provision of education for laymen . Several of the Winchester houses had maintained schools: the cathedral priory had two, one for the novices and one for the choristers, twenty-six children were being educated at St Mary's Abbey in 1536, Hyde Abbey paid a resident schoolmaster[1], and poor boys were taught at St Cross and in St Elizabeth's College. But none of these schools was very large and few were intended primarily for children from Winchester, and the dissolution of monasteries and chantries therefore had little effect on education in the city. The only school run for the city was the grammar school, which had existed since the twelfth century or earlier. The master, a secular priest, was appointed by the bishop, and the school was held just outside the Close in a tenement belonging to the priory. The school was open in 1488, when a master was licensed to teach grammar and literature there[2], but the tenement 'lately called the high school house' was vacant in 1529-30 and 1544[3], and there are no further references to the school. A merchant who left instructions in 1522 for a child to be kept at school 'until

1. V.C.H. Hants. ii.257-60; S.C. 12/33/27 (St Mary's Abbey); E 315/240 f.87 (Hyde).
2. V.C.H. Hants. ii. 256.
3. Ibid.; W. Cath. MSS., Register of Common Seal IV, f.37.

he be fourteen years of age, that he may understand what he readeth' probably had the grammar school in mind[1].

Winchester also had one of the most famous schools in the country. Winchester College was an ancient educational foundation drawing pupils from all over England, but it also made an important contribution to education in the city. Twenty-eight boys from the city and Soke attended the College as scholars in the first half of the sixteenth century, and thirty-one in the second half. The number of local scholars rose dramatically in the seventeenth century, augmented by the sons of married College Fellows and cathedral canons. In addition to the scholars there were two categories of commoners: the first group were paying pupils who were lodged outside the College, in the Soke or the city, where debts for their 'batlinges' or board and lodging occasionally appear in inventories[2], while the second group, referred to as 'oppidans' in 1571, were day-boys from the city. The commoners rarely appear in College records, but in 1653 there were sixty-nine commoners and the same number of scholars[3]. Where College pupils from Winchester can be identified, they were often the younger sons of successful urban families; in these cases the eldest son was trained to follow his father in trade, while a younger son received an education and then entered the church.

Besides the grammar school and the College, there may have been small private schools in Winchester: two wills of the 1540s, for example, left money for a child 'for to find him to school'[4]. Whether or not formal schooling was available, the level of literacy in Winchester was not especially high. Between 1566 and 1600 182 Winchester people appeared as witnesses in the bishop's Consistory Court and signed their depositions if they could. Sixty-nine people, 38% of the total and 45% of males, managed to produce an intelligible signature.

1. H.C.R.O. wills B 1522 (will of John Bellingham).
2. E.g. H.C.R.O. wills A 1596 (inventory of Robert Rolfe); T.F. Kirby, Annals of Winchester College, 109-10, 121.
3. T.F. Kirby, Annals of Winchester College, 122, 130.
4. H.C.R.O. wills B 1542 (will of Matthew Blech); ibid. B 1547 (will of Agnes Chalcroft).

No women were able to write their names. All the clergy and notaries in the group signed, and two-thirds of the mercers, clothiers, and haberdashers could sign, but no husbandmen. Although in general witnesses in the more skilled occupations could sign, while the unskilled could not, there were some exceptions: a fishmerchant and innkeeper made his mark, for example, while a day-labourer signed. At Worcester in the late sixteenth century 60% of men could sign their names[1], while in rural southern England the proportion was about 30%[2], so Winchester's literacy-rate was higher than in the countryside but fairly low for a town. People who could sign their names were usually able to read, but they were not necessarily fluent writers.

Poor relief, like education, has sometimes been seen as a casualty of the dissolution of the monasteries. In Winchester the main charitable institutions were the hospitals, which survived the Reformation, but the fall of the large abbeys removed another source of alms in the city. Alms had been distributed by Hyde Abbey in the 1520s[3], and St Swithun's Priory supported seventeen poor women in the 'Sustern Spital' just outside Kingsgate until 1539. St Mary's Abbey was described by the commissioners in 1536 as 'environed with many poor households which have their only living of the said monastery'[4], and the abbey supported twelve poor women who received alms of 6s 8d each a year. The 'Sistern House' in which these women lived was granted to the city in 1554 and continued to house poor women[5]. The disappearance of two large religious houses did increase the problem of poverty in the city, but it did so more by removing custom and employment than by cutting off a source of charity.

Many of Winchester's religious foundations did survive the Reformation: the cathedral priory was replaced by the dean and chapter, Winchester College

1. A.D. Dyer, The City of Worcester in the 16th century, 248-9.
2. Ex inf. Dr David Cressy.
3. Liber Monasterii de Hyda (Rolls Ser. xlv (1866)),. p.lxiii.
4. E 315/400 p.26.
5. E 315/494; 1st Bk. Ord., f.254v.

and St Cross and St Mary Magdalen Hospitals remained, and the corporation managed to save St John's Hospital. The only major losses, therefore, were the complete disappearance of the abbeys of Hyde and St Mary's. Winchester had not been a town like Bury St Edmund's, completely dependent on a large religious house, but it had derived wealth, trade, employment, and influence from its abbeys and these were diminished by the abbeys' dissolution. To a small town already suffering economic hardship, the Reformation was an added blow.

The religious changes ordered by Edward VI and Mary were carried out dutifully, if slowly, by the city and parish authorities in Winchester. The commissioners for church goods, one of whom was the mayor, reported in 1552 that all the city parishes had sold some of their Catholic plate and vestments and had provided communion cups, and some had bought a copy of the English Bible. The richer parishes had naturally done more than the poorer ones. Instead of selling unwanted church plate, St Laurence and St Mary Kalender gave chalices to the corporation as a contribution towards the costs of paving the streets and repairing the city walls[1]. The corporation was also taking advantage of religious changes to appropriate church property. The city entered a cottage belonging to the decayed parish church of St George[2], and in 1554-5 it demolished the parish rectory. In 1550-1 it had taken down and sold the roof of St Mary Ode, another decayed church[3], although neither of these parishes was officially united to St Maurice until the late seventeenth century. The bishop's consent for these actions was neither sought nor received. The corporation simply assumed ownership of abandoned churches: St Ruel became a storehouse for building materials, and the tower of St Peter in Macellis was

1. 'Church Goods in Hampshire 1552', Proc. H.F.C. viii (1917-19), 26, 30.
2. Ibid., 22.
3. W.R.O., chamb. acct. 4-5 Edw. VI, 1 & 2 P. & M. - 2 & 3 P. & M.

used briefly as a House of Correction[1].

Though Bishop Gardiner's officials insisted at his trial that all religious innovations had been observed in the diocese[2], there were signs that, at least in Winchester itself, new ideas and practices were less than popular. Until Gardiner's deprivation in 1551, the presence of a recalcitrant Catholic bishop and his household lent unofficial support to resistance. Disturbances in the city in 1548 were blamed on the bishop's servants[3], and the Protestant archdeacon of Winchester, John Philpot, was harrassed and even attacked by Gardiner and his registrar John Cooke[4]. The cathedral still cherished its Catholic statues, and paid for repairs - apparently in Edward's reign - to Joseph, the Holy Ghost, the Virgin Mary, the Child, and the Devil[5].

Far more serious was the potential support of the cathedral clergy for armed rebellion against the government. In the summer of 1549 riots in Hampshire formed part of the network of dangerous revolt which broke out all over southern England. Enclosures were thrown down near the city, and a Winchester carpenter and his friends laid plans to raise 10,000 men and march westward to join the rebels in Devon and Cornwall. He boasted that 'we shall have all the bishop's tenants full and whole, and...there is not one of the bishop's servants but if he have 12d we shall have 6d of it'. As for money, the carpenter declared, 'We shall have all the aid of the priests in the Close, and we shall have money enough'. He was confident of contributions from John White (Warden of Winchester College), Edmund Steward (the bishop's chancellor), and Peter Langridge, all three of them cathedral canons, and he even claimed to have asked them already. The

1. Ibid. 12-13 Eliz., 8-9 Jas. I.
2. J. Foxe, Acts and Monuments, vi. 210.
3. Acts of P.C. 1547-50, 550.
4. Narratives of the Days of the Reformation (Camden Soc. 1st ser. lxxvii),47-9.
5. H.W. Chapman, The Last Tudor King, 158.

money was to be conveyed secretly to the rebels in two beer-barrels[1]. The carpenter's grandiose plans were discovered before they could be put into effect, and there is no way of knowing how dangerous a threat he represented. He was at least correct in identifying leading Catholics, for John White was sent to the Tower in 1551 for receiving books and letters from the king's enemies abroad[2], and Steward became dean under Mary and was deprived in 1559.

The return to Catholicism under Mary was followed in Winchester as Edward VI's changes had been, without great speed. The parish of St John in the Soke sold its Bible in 1554, but did not set up a holy water stoup until 1557[3]. Two Winchester incumbents were deprived in 1553-4[4]; their livings were quickly filled, though St Maurice was vacated again in 1556 when Thomas Cooke, a former canon of Christchurch Twyneham, became a monk in the refounded abbey at Westminster[5]. The ex-religious were still present in the city in sufficient numbers to fill any vacancy which might occur there, and in 1552 the parishioners of St George hired a pensioner (probably William Bartilmewe, an ex-monk of Hyde Abbey) to serve the parish[6]. The two Winchester deprivations were for minor offences, and the only man in the whole diocese deprived specifically for heresy was Philpot, the Protestant archdeacon, who was burnt at London in 1557[7]. Bishop Poynet fled abroad, and Gardiner was reinstated. Only one person was burnt at Winchester in Mary's reign, a gentleman named Thomas Benbridge, and he was not from the city. Fifty years later two old men

1. S.P. 10/8 (41); W.K. Jordan, Edward VI: the Young King, 450-1. Jordan's summary of this document is inaccurate on several points.
2. Acts of P.C. 1550-2, 242.
3. W.A. Fearon and J.F. Williams, The Parish Registers and Parochial Documents in the Archdeaconry of Winchester, 164.
4. Reg. Gardiner (Canterbury & York Soc.), p. xxxiii.
5. Reg. White (Canterbury & York Soc.), 18.
6. H.C.R.O., Visitation Books 1545, 1551; 'Church Goods in Hampshire 1552', Proc. H.F.C. viii (1917-19), 23.
7. Reg. Poynet (Canterbury & York Soc.), p. xxxiii.

still remembered seeing him burnt on the Castle Green[1]. There is no evidence of lay opposition to Mary's religious policy in the city, and Winchester's reputation as a conformable and Catholic city attracted a group of friars from abroad who settled there by 1556[2].

The marriage of Queen Mary to Philip II of Spain, which took place in Winchester cathedral in July 1554, placed national politics briefly in a local setting[3]. According to the Spanish ambassador, the queen chose Winchester because the people round about were Catholic and obedient, unlike the citizens of London[4], and the fact that Gardiner held the see was an added advantage. The queen stayed in Wolvesey Palace for ten days, and Philip was housed in the deanery. Contemporary accounts vary wildly in their estimates of the numbers of attendants brought by the king, but the crowds in Winchester must have been greater than anything the city had seen since its days as a capital city. Besides Philip's retinue, the visitors included Mary's household, at least five bishops with their attendants, many ambassadors, and the Court which had been summoned by proclamation, as well as crowds of local people from miles around who always gathered to watch a state event. The mayor and Twenty-Four in new scarlet gowns welcomed the king and queen to Winchester on their arrival, and the chamberlains' account reveals their frenzied activity in preparation. The streets had to be repaired and piles of rubbish carted away, the market cross was mended, wine was bought to present to the Spaniards, and a kersey was specially fulled for the women to stand on to greet the queen, though someone stole part of it and it had to be replaced at the last minute. In

1. J. Foxe, Acts and Monuments, viii. 490-2; C 85/158 no. 6; E 134/7 Jas.I/ Mich. 39.
2. Original Letters relative to the English Reformation (Parker Soc. 1846), i. 177.
3. The event is described by R. Hilton, 'The Marriage of Queen Mary and Philip of Spain', Proc. H.F.C.xiv (1938-40), 46-62; several contemporary Spanish accounts are printed in S.Himsworth, 'The Marriage of Philip II of Spain with Mary Tudor', Proc. H.F.C. xxii (1961-3), 82-100.
4. Cal. S.P. Spanish, 1554, 239.

spite of all this activity the city played little or no part in the celebrations and was simply used as a setting. After their first few days in Winchester, the Spaniards began to complain of hostility from the English. The Spanish friars accompanying Philip had been lodged in the College for safety, but they were hated by the local people who complained when the friars said mass in the cathedral. Winchester may have been Catholic in sympathy, but xenophobia was stronger than religion. The city eventually profited from all the ceremony when the queen made her parting gift of the monastic lands.

The accession of Elizabeth brought changes less to Winchester's liking, and, as in Edward's reign, there was opposition among both the cathedral establishment and the citizens. Bishop White, who had succeeded Gardiner in 1555, was deprived in 1559 and retired to the country. His successor, Robert Horne, was not consecrated until 1561; he had been in exile in Frankfurt under Mary, and brought to Winchester his own brand of fiery anti-Catholic Puritanism, an outlook totally alien to the recalcitrant diocese with which he battled for nearly twenty years. The marquis of Winchester reported in alarm in 1559 that the dean, all the cathedral canons, the Warden and Fellows of the College, and the Master of St Cross had all resigned[1]; his fears proved to be exaggerated, but some of the city's prominent clergy did resign rather than continue under the new regime. Dean Steward was deprived and died a few months later, to be replaced by John Warner, a more conformable canon. Six canons had been dismissed by 1560, and another resigned[2]. At least two of the parish clergy, James Lunt of St Maurice and Edmund Karcas of St Michael in Kingsgate Street, died in the

1. Cal. S.P. Dom. 1547-80, 133.
2. A.W. Goodman, 'The Cathedral Church and the Archdeaconry of Winchester in 1562' Proc. H.F.C. xiv (1938-40), 65-6.

epidemics of 1558-60, but no deprivations were recorded, and by 1564 all the livings were filled.

The citizens needed no lead from their parish clergy before showing their opposition to Elizabeth's changes[1]. In 1559 there were reports that congregations around Winchester were disturbed because mass was no longer said, and that they refused to accept the new Prayer Book[2]. Services had not been frequented 'since the massing time', wrote Horne in 1562, and the citizens resisted the teaching of 'good and sound doctrine'[3]. Winchester College was another centre of opposition; the boys rioted when summoned to a sermon in 1561, and the headmaster, Thomas Hyde, was imprisoned and later fled abroad[4]. The Privy Council's enquiry ih 1564 revealed that Winchester was still conservative, and Horne recommended the inclusion of known Protestant gentlemen in the city's commission of the peace, 'because the city of Winchester is most noted in Hampshire either for good example or evil (all that bear authority there except one or two being addict to the old superstition)'[5]. The chief 'mislikers of religion' in 1564 included the mayor Robert Hodson, Richard Bethell of Hyde and his son Richard[6], William Lawrence, Giles White, and the town clerk John Potinger. The only 'favourers' listed were Roger Corham (who was wrongly named, for he was expelled from Lincoln's Inn in 1569 for recusancy[7]), and John Skinner, to whom Cecil added the names of Thomas Colly and one 'Brantor'.

1. I am grateful to Dr. J.E. Paul for permission to make extensive use of his thesis on 'The Hampshire Recusants in the Reign of Elizabeth I, with some reference to the Problem of the Church-Papists' (Southampton Ph.D. thesis 1958) in the following account of Elizabethan recusancy in Winchester.
2. Cal. S.P. Spanish, 1558-67, 79.
3. S.P. 12/21 (7).
4. P. Caraman, Henry Garnet 1555-1606, 4.
5. Camden Misc. ix (Camden Soc. N.S. liii), 54-6.
6. Robert Bethell cannot be meant because he had died early in 1564: C 3/9/89.
7. J.E. Paul, 'Hampshire Recusants' (Southampton Ph.D. thesis 1958), 146-7.

One of Horne's first ideas for the improvement of conformity in the city was to reduce the number of parishes, and thereby to increase the value of each living to encourage able men to accept them; in particular he hoped to appoint parish clergy who were independent of the cathedral, for which he felt profound distrust[1]. The mayor and ex-mayors supported the idea, but the 'common sort', who formed the congregations, were opposed to it. In 1562 the controversy became so heated that a special note was taken of the names of the seventeen members of the Twenty-Four who favoured the union of churches[2]. Under Horne's scheme, the nine remaining city parishes were to be reduced to four: St Laurence, St Maurice, St Mary Kalender, and St Thomas[3]. A bill to effect the unions at Winchester was introduced into the House of Lords in 1563, but it reached only a second reading before being superseded by a general bill 'for the uniting and annexing of churches' which never became law[4]. Though it was typical of Horne's vigour, the idea of uniting small parishes was not peculiar to him or to Winchester, for Lincoln had successfully undergone a major rearrangement of its parishes in 1549-50[5], York reduced its forty parishes to twenty-three between 1547 and 1586[6], and similar measures were proposed or executed at Exeter, Bedford, Stamford, and Rochester.

In 1570 Horne purged Winchester College, attempting to sever its links with Catholics in the city and in Oxford, and many scholars left as a result[7]. In 1571 he turned his attention to the cathedral, where he ordered the removal of the stone cross in the cathedral churchyard, the destruction of all

1. S.P. 12/21 (7).
2. W.R.O., Proceedings in Boromote, f.47.
3. 1st Bk. Ord., f.134.
4. Lords' Journal, i. 597-8, 600, 602-4; Commons' Journal, i. 69-70, 72.
5. J.W.F. Hill, Tudor and Stuart Lincoln, 56-8.
6. D.M. Palliser, 'The Unions of Parishes at York, 1547-86', Yorkshire Arch. Jnl. xlvi (1974), 87-102.
7. P. Caraman, Henry Garnet 1555-1606, 6-7.

images of the Trinity in glass windows, and the revival of the weekly divinity lecture which had been abandoned for lack of funds[1]. Both the College and the cathedral resisted Horne's efforts, and in 1576 Winchester was recommended by a Jesuit as a Catholic town where priests might do well[2]. Horne died disillusioned in 1579, leaving a diocese notably backward in religion. Two priests were executed at Winchester in 1583, and the Master of St Cross reported to Burghley that the crowd had shown them great sympathy; there was, he said, 'general contempt of the preaching of the Word, especially in this town, above all probability of report'[3]. Five more Catholics were put to death in Winchester, three in 1591 and two in 1593. One of the latter two was a native of the city, James Byrd, whose father Anthony Byrd was an alderman and ex-mayor of Winchester[4]. James had been converted to Catholicism as a child, and was arrested during a search of the house of Lady Mary West, a leading recusant. He was tried in 1592, aged only nineteen, and was executed the following year outside the Westgate, probably on the Castle Green[5].

By the end of the sixteenth century equilibrium had been reached. Certain families, especially among the country gentry, were firmly committed to Catholicism, but the great majority of ordinary people were content to conform to the established church. Winchester itself was predominantly Anglican like any other town, with a small permanent minority of recusants. Some idea of their numbers can be gained from a list entitled 'Processus contra Recusantes' dating from 1598[6], and from the ecclesiastical census of 1603[7], summarised in Table 3.

1.
H.C.R.O. , Register of Bp. Horne, f.82.
2. Miscellanea, vii (Catholic Rec. Soc. ix (1909-10)), 63.
3. J.E. Paul, 'Hampshire Recusants' (Southampton PhD. thesis 1958), 84-5.
4. S.P. 12/160 (26).
5. P. Caraman, Henry Garnet 1555-1606, 159; J.E. Paul, 'Hampshire Recusants' (Southampton Ph.D. thesis 1958), 365-6.
6. H.C.R.O., Consistory Court Bk. 66A. Names listed twice or more have been counted only once.
7. B.L. Harl. MS. 595, ff. 214-15. For total numbers, see p. 145.

Table 3

Recusants in Winchester and the Soke 1598 - 1603

Parish	1598	1603
St Peter Colebrook	3	4
St Maurice	11	11
St Clement's	18	11
St Mary Kalender	10	11
St Thomas	5	5
St Laurence	-	-
'Winchester'	1	-
Total city	48	42
St Cross	3	2
St Bartholomew	14	15
St Michael in Kingsgate Street,	2	2
St Swithun upon Kingsgate	4	-
St John in the Soke	4	2
St Peter Chesil	-	3
Total Soke	27	24

In 1603 known recusants comprised 4% of the adult population in the city and 3% in the Soke. The lists show that the majority were women, 45 out of 75 in 1598 and 39 out of 66 in 1603. Women could be penalised for recusancy by means of fines, but they were less vulnerable than men to official penalties such as exclusion from public office, and it may be that the apparent preponderance of women is misleading. Bishop Watson in 1580 was perplexed by the problem of recusant women whose husbands conformed; when he summoned the husbands, 'they thought it something strange, that they shall be punished for

their wives' faults, but in the end we have taken bonds of divers of them to keep their wives from conference all manner of ways with such as are backward in matters of religion, and also have imposed a mulct upon every of them weekly, till their wives shall come to church[1]. Winchester's recusants were drawn from every social class from the gentry to the poor. Six of the thirty men listed in 1598 were described as gentlemen: many were members of recusant families from outside the city, such as the Tichbornes, the Nortons of West Meon, and the Halls of Easton, who appeared in Winchester lists when they were in prison there. Sir Walter Sandys' wife and Lady Mary West were the main recusants of high social standing who lived permanently in the city, while the Corham family and their household in St Bartholomew gave that suburb its recusant reputation. There were also recusant craftsmen and tradesmen at Winchester. Richard Cooke, keeper of the White Horse, used his inn to shelter Catholic priests[2], and a Winchester joiner left money to the Catholic prisoners in the county gaol in 1586[3]. The recusancy of the poor is obscure, for few could afford the fines and the church courts were more interested in recusants with influence; but one observer in the 1580s thought that prisoners at Winchester were 'for the most part very poor men that live by spinning and such base trades, and alms...in Hampshire three prisons full of Catholics to the number of eighty at least, but most poor men'. In 1584 recusants too poor to pay fines were publicly flogged, and a city wool-winder and his wife each owed £240 in recusancy fines in 1594-5[4].

1. S.P. 12/144 (36).
2. J.E. Paul, 'Hampshire Recusants' (Southampton Ph.D. thesis 1958), 101, 112.
3. H.C.R.O. wills A 1586 (will of Brysingam Collins).
4. J.E. Paul, 'Hampshire Recusants' (Southampton Ph.D. thesis 1958), 90, 211, 386.

The number of recusants among the bishop of Winchester's officials and those holding lands and minor offices from him suggests a local factor in addition to the usual reasons for recusancy. In particular there was a strong connection between holding office under Bishop Gardiner and recusancy in the later sixteenth century. Richard Hampden, in Gardiner's service from about 1535, was accused of recusancy in 1577[1]; William Lawrence and Giles White were citizens who held minor legal offices from Gardiner and his successors, and both were listed as papists; John Potinger, an official of the Consistory Court in 1551, was presented in 1572 and three recusants were found at his house after his death; and in 1576 a search in the house of Alexander Dering, deputy registrar to the bishop, revealed Catholic books and vestments[2]. Other examples from the city, and many instances among the county gentry, could be given. The presence of officials with Catholic sympathies in the cathedral and episcopal administration, some of whom held office throughout the 1560s, must have hindered Horne's attempts to stamp out recusancy. These were older men, unlikely to welcome change, but they were probably influenced too by personal devotion to Gardiner, who spent more time than his successors at Winchester. The evidence given at his trial revealed strong support for the bishop from his servants and officials, and a clerk wrote inside one of the pipe rolls after Gardiner's death, 'With the blessing of God, the voice of the Lord light on the good Stephen Winchester and all that loved him'[3].

The penalties for recusancy were not generally severe. Those willing to

1. Miscellanea, xii (Catholic Rec. Soc. xxii (1921)), 41. Information on officials comes from the report of Gardiner's trial in J. Foxe, Acts and Monuments, vi. 192 sqq.
2. S.P. 12/108(40).
3. H.C.R.O., Eccl. 2/155888B.

attend the Anglican church occasionally and to conform temporarily and under pressure suffered little, and it was only those committed Catholics who refused all conformity who were liable to the more extreme penalties of flogging or even martyrdom. In theory fines were very high, but churchwardens often neglected to collect them. Imprisonment could be both unpleasant and dangerous, for the prisons were overcrowded and unhealthy, but the administration of this penalty too was far from rigorous. An enquiry in 1599 revealed that the hereditary position of keeper of the county gaol at Winchester belonged to a recusant family, whose employees took prisoners into the town to drink, let them visit their friends, brought them priests, and took no precautions against their escape. One prisoner was allowed to live at home as long as he returned for each meeting of the Sessions and Assizes, and another had been omitted from the Assize calendar for the last seven years[1]. Certainly there was no social stigma attached to recusancy at Winchester. Robert Hodson was barred from election to the mayoralty in 1562 because he had been excommunicate for a year, yet he was elected two years later[2]. A list of recusants at Winchester in 1583 included, among many others, two clothiers' wives from the Soke, an innkeeper, the mayor's son (James Byrd), a physician and his family, and six gentlemen[3]. Horne complained in 1570 that no one would identify Catholics to the bishop 'for neighbourhood's sake'[4], and the concept of 'neighbourhood', observed by conformists as well as recusants, protected many offenders. Catholicism was so easily accepted at Winchester that the city even had the only known Catholic cemetery in England, at St James, a former parish church

1. S.P. 12/273 (23).
2. 1st Bk. Ord., ff.132v., 140v.
3. S.P. 12/160 (26).
4. B.L. Lansd. MS. 12, f.75.

outside the Westgate long ruined by the sixteenth century. A stone bearing the date 1555 in the graveyard suggests at least one Marian burial at the chapel. When Nicholas Tichborne, a Catholic gentleman, died in Winchester gaol in 1589, Bishop Cooper refused him burial, and an old man who remembered burials at St James in his youth suggested the graveyard there[1]. No other sixteenth-century graves there are known, but in the seventeenth century St James became a recognised Catholic burial ground.

Such colourful examples of non-conformity were always untypical, however, for the majority of people in Winchester, like their contemporaries throughout England, peaceably accepted the government religious policy of their day.

1. Hampshire Registers, i (Catholic Rec. Soc. xlii (1942-3), 146-9.

Table 4

Will formulae 1535-69

	Catholic	Neutral	Protestant	Total	% Catholic
1535-9	21	2	0	23	89.3
1540-6	46	6	0	52	
1547-8	16	1	0	17	57.8
1549	3	4	0	7	
1550	4	0	2	6	
1551	2	1	1	4	
1552-June 1553	1	8	2	11	
July 1553-1554	5	0	0	5	84.4
1555-6	11	3	0	14	
1557	8	1	2	11	
1558 (before 17 Nov.)	14	0	1	15	
1559	1	2	0	3	24.1
1560	3	0	0	3	
1561-4	1	5	3	9	
1565	1	2	3	6	
1566-9	1	5	2	8	

Table 4 shows the formulae for the dedication of their souls used by Winchester testators at different periods. The use of this kind of evidence was pioneered by Professor Dickens[1]; as he made clear, will formulae have their limitations, but there is no other source providing numerical information about the opinions of laymen. Small variations in the figures are therefore of doubtful significance, but the general trend is nonetheless valid. Under Edward VI, Winchester testators were slow to abandon the traditional dedication to the Virgin and Saints, but the first Protestant wills appeared from 1550; under Mary, they returned thankfully to the Catholic wording, though there were exceptions; and from 1558 the majority adopted the neutral dedication to God alone. In the first eleven years of Elizabeth's reign a quarter of the testators still used the traditional medieval formula. The Catholic will made by an ex-nun of St Mary's Abbey in 1565, for example, was witnessed by three ex-monks, one of whom was a minor canon and rector of St Thomas and St Clement's[2]: Bishop Horne's suspicions of the cathedral clergy were not without foundation. The influence of Winchester's parish clergy was waning, however. In wills made in the 1580s, about half the testators still left money for their parish church, but hardly any left bequests for the incumbent, and parish priests rarely witnessed wills and were never nominated as executors.

True Anglicanism grew slowly at Winchester, for it depended on the rise of a new generation less committed to the familiar ways of the past. The idea of the Reformation as a disruption of custom has recently been discussed for Coventry[3], and a similar erosion of familiar patterns occurred at Winchester.

1. A.G. Dickens, Lollards and Protestants in the Diocese of York 1509-58, 171-2.
2. H.C.R.O. wills B 1565 (will of Jane Wayte).
3. C. Phythian-Adams, 'Ceremony and the Citizen: the Communal Year at Coventry 1450-1550', Crisis and Order in English Towns, ed. Clark and Slack.

The city's ceremonial life in the early sixteenth century was already far less intricate than that of Coventry, and some of the remaining customs disappeared at the Reformation. The Corpus Christi procession in May or June, for example, was already losing support in 1520, but it was held in every year until 1546[1]; it lapsed between 1547 and 1553, but in 1554 St John's Hospital once more paid for a canopy, bread, wine, and torches[2], and the procession only disappeared for good after 1559[3]. The feast on the Sunday after the Nativity of St John the Baptist (24 June), originally held by the fraternity attached to St John's Hospital, was officially abolished in 1539[4], but it proved too popular to lose and reappeared in 1546[5], to become an annual corporation feast surviving well into the eighteenth century. But the procession of the mayor with his brethren and the Twenty-Four on St Swithun's Day was lost, there were fewer dinners after 1539, and in 1551 the mayor was discharged of his Easter Monday breakfast and his banquet on St John's Eve[6]. Catholic observances died only slowly: the churchwardens of St Bartholomew were presented in 1567 for ringing the bells on the vigil of the Feast of All Saints, for instance[7]. Winchester's inhabitants rarely welcomed innovation, and the deeper social and psychological changes brought about by the Reformation were not fully worked out until late in the sixteenth century.

1. Black Bk. 131; W.R.O., chamb. accts. to 38 Henry VIII.
2. W.R.O., 3/Bx./S.J. 13, no. 137.
3. Ibid., nos. 140-1; W.R.O., chamb. acct. 5& 6 P. & M. - 1 Eliz.
4. Black Bk. 163; W.R.O., chamb. acct. 31-2 Henry VIII.
5. W.R.O., chamb. acct. 37-8 Henry VIII.
6. Black Bk. 163, 165, 188-9.
7. J.E. Paul, 'Hampshire Recusants' (Southampton Ph.D. thesis 1958), 32.

CHAPTER 4

Government and Society

The later sixteenth century in Winchester was not a period of exuberant growth, prosperity, or expansion. The new wealth and vigour of Elizabethan England, so noticeable in London and the countryside, appeared only faintly in the smaller old-established country towns, which saw little social or administrative change before the Civil War. This stability makes the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries a convenient period over which to survey the structure and working of the city's government and the characteristics of its ruling class; and it is also the first extended period covered by the Books of Ordinances, a major source for all internal affairs.

The structure of Winchester's administrative hierarchy was very similar to that found in most of the older English towns in the sixteenth century. The legislature contained the usual tripartite division: the mayor, Recorder, and aldermen at the top, a body of senior freemen known as the Twenty-Four who paralleled the Common Council of most corporations, and the rest of the freemen, who completed the 'commonalty'. In theory all these people constituted the decision-making body of the city, though in practice power was concentrated at the top. The two bailiffs, one for the commons and one for the Twenty-Four, held a position that was partly judicial and partly executive. The execution of decisions was carried out by a host of other officers, ranging from the town clerk to the beadle and the porters of the city gates, and including the two chamberlains, three cofferers, three serjeants-at-mace, two coroners, two constables, a sealer of woollen cloths and a register of leather, and a measurer of wood and coal. Winchester had developed this system of administration over centuries of self-government; all the offices listed above existed by 1520, and there were no major structural changes in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, although the

period was one in which some smaller towns were just beginning to acquire a formalized administrative system.

Formal meetings of the whole commonalty were held at least twice a year. One was always held in September, on the Monday or Tuesday after Holy Rood Day, and it was at this meeting that the mayor, bailiffs, and chamberlains were elected for the coming year, though other business was usually transacted as well. Elections were always held at St John's Hospital, but other assemblies usually took place at the Guildhall. The other compulsory meeting was held every year between Easter and Pentecost. These two meetings were called the boromotes or lawdays; other assemblies could be called whenever necessary, but it was unusual for there to be more than one extra meeting in a year. All the freemen were summoned by the serjeants, and non-attendance was punishable by a fine. The decisions made at these meetings and recorded in the Books of Ordinances cover leases of city property, the use of city money, creation of new freemen, appointments of officials, and many ordinances regulating the behaviour of the city's inhabitants, some made in response to national legislation and some meeting local needs.

Whereas the boromotes were the urban equivalent of a manorial court, a formal demonstration of the community in action, the other courts held in the city were purely judicial. Every Friday the town court, or city court of record, was held in the Guildhall before the mayor, bailiffs, and Recorder, dealing mainly with cases of debt, slander, trespass, and assault. The city Pie-Powder Court was held several times a week or as often as business demanded, to hear cases of debt, often between parties from outside Winchester. Since 1442 there had also been four Quarter Sessions for the city each year, two of which were held at the same time as the two boromotes, before the mayor and aldermen.

The chief financial officers of the city were the two chamberlains, whose position was unusual in being outside the normal hierarchy of city offices, so it could be held by anyone from junior freemen to ex-mayors. From about 1530 the chamberlains were also ex officio stewards of St John's Hospital, for whose property they accounted separately, though a surplus on one account could be used to prevent a deficit on the other. Yet another account, for petty cash, was kept by the cofferers, but the chamberlains' accounts were the main record of the city's income and expenditure year by year, and copies of them survive for about half of the years between 1520 and 1670, as shown in Table 5 and Figure 4. The original income totals include 'arrears', comprising revenue collected after the last accounting as well as any surplus left from the previous year, which inflate the total wildly in some years and obscure the fall in true income; Figure 4 therefore shows income minus 'arrears'.

Rents and fines were the two main sources of city income. Rents were usually the largest source of revenue, and their total was increased by the acquisition of the monastic lands in 1554. Like other towns, Winchester raised the rents on its properties only very slightly in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries[1] - rental income, not counting the monastic lands, was between £40 and £50 in the early sixteenth century, rose to about £60 by 1580, and stayed at that level until the Civil War - but entry fines increased markedly. The length of city leases was also static over the period, the most common terms being 21, 30, or 40 years, though they were actually renewable at 7, 14, or 28 years[2]. Fines, the second largest source of revenue, were charged on every kind of service for which the citizens could

1. L.J. Ashford, The History of the Borough of High Wycombe, 95; A.D. Dyer, The City of Worcester in the 16th century, 218, 222; but cf. the policy of a more prosperous city: V.C.H. Yorks., City of York, 184.
2. D.J. Keene, 'Aspects...of Medieval Winchester' (Oxford D.Phil. thesis 1973), 138; 5th Bk. Ord., ff.61-2.

Table 5

City income and expenditure (to the nearest £) 1521-1658

Fiscal year		Total income	Income minus 'arrears'	Expenditure
		£	£	£
13 - 14 Henry VIII	1521-2	76	missing	54
14 - 15 "	1522-3	75	71	51
16 - 17 "	1524-5	79	77	72
20 - 21 "	1528-9	86	86	84
21 - 22 "	1529-30	95	95	96
26 - 27 "	1534-5	84	84	80
27 - 28 "	1535-6	84	missing	83
30 - 31 "	1538-9	86	82	91
31 - 32 "	1539-40	95	91	95
33 - 34 "	1541-2	90	86	97
35 - 36 "	1543-4	56	52	60
37 - 38 "	1545-6	68	68	71
38 Henry VIII - 1 Edw. VI	1546-7	missing*	missing	80
2 - 3 Edward VI	1548-9	54	54	45
4 - 5 "	1550-1	68	68	59
5 - 6 "	1551-2	missing*	missing	73
6 Edward VI - 1 Mary	1552-3	54	54	41
1 Mary - 1&2 Philip & Mary	1553-4	122	122	133
1&2 - 2&3 P. & M.	1554-5	90	84	97
2&3 - 3&4 "	1555-6	92	74	104
3&4 - 4&5 "	1556-7	67	62	90
4&5 - 5&6 "	1557-8	90	90	94
5&6 P. & M. - 1 Elizabeth	1558-9	119	109	114
2 - 3 Elizabeth	1560-1	130	130	135
4 - 5 "	1562-3	150	missing	missing
5 - 6 "	1563-4	203	203	191
8 - 9 "	1566-7	176	176	138
9 - 10 "	1567-8	178	178	146
11 - 12 "	1569-70	180	missing	missing
12 - 13 "	1570-1	196	196	176
13 - 14 "	1571-2	210	missing	195
14 - 15 "	1572-3	195	193	175

Table 5 (continued)

Fiscal year		Total income	Income minus 'arrears'	Expenditure
		£	£	£
15 - 16 Elizabeth	1573-4	209	209	201
20 - 21 "	1578-9	202	200	168
22 - 23 "	1580-1	186	183	161
23 - 24 "	1581-2	186	181	161
24 - 25 "	1582-3	181	175	160
30 - 31 "	1588-9	152	143	123
31 - 32 "	1589-90	158	149	123
32 - 33 "	1590-1	154	143	128
33 - 34 "	1591-2	153	140	105
36 - 37 "	1594-5	146	141	129
38 - 39 "	1596-7	148	missing	139
40 - 41 "	1598-9	195	140	151
41 - 42 "	1599-1600	183	139	132
42 - 43 "	1600-1	153	128	121
2 - 3 James I	1604-5	164	138	140
3 - 4 "	1605-6	165	missing	135
8 - 9 "	1610-11	180	147	125
10 - 11 "	1612-13	147	missing	116
11 - 12 "	1613-14	128	100	103
15 - 16 "	1617-18	144	104	127
16 - 17 "	1618-19	143	100	115
17 - 18 "	1619-20	142	missing	111
19 - 20 "	1621-2	144	105	missing
21 - 22 "	1623-4	177	101	110
3 - 4 Charles I	1627-8	222	112	106
5 - 6 "	1629-30	120	114	105
6 - 7 "	1630-1	120	114	114
13 - 14 "	1637-8	114	111	99
14 - 15 "	1638-9	115	112	96
15 - 16 "	1639-40	115	112	114
	1648-9	109	109	52
	1650-1	128	128	60
	1653-4	118	118	109
	1657-8	199	195	116

* Expenditure was greater than income in these years.

Figure 4. City income and expenditure 1521-1658

income minus 'arrears'

expenditure

£

200
180
160
140
20
100
30
50
40

1520 1530 1540 1550 1560 1570 1580 1590 1600 1610 1620 1630 1640 1650 1660

Fiscal year beginning ⟶

- 100 -

be persuaded to pay - sealing leases, admitting freemen, sealing cloths manufactured in the city, granting exemption from office - as well as fines imposed as punishment for minor offences such as defaming city officials. Expenditure was more diverse. Fees were always a substantial item, rising from £11 in 1522-3 to £27 in 1580-1 and £46 in 1618-19, as salaries were raised and new offices such as the High Stewardship were added. Repairs to city buildings were expensive, as were gifts to visiting dignitaries. The city might have to make up unpaid rents on empty or deteriorating property, or a subsidy assessed too high, or the fee-farm when the bailiffs collected less than they needed to pay it. The most fluctuating category of expenditure was simply called 'expenses', and included such items as the payment of MPs, messengers, journeys to London and elsewhere on city business, the replacement of city equipment, and so on.

Despite large fluctuations, Table 5 and Figure 4 show very steep rises in both income and expenditure in the 1550s and 1560s and a slow decline thereafter until the disruptions of the 1640s. The royal wedding staged at Winchester in 1554 created both extra expenses and extra income gathered to cover them, and the monastic lands granted to the city added the windfall of new rents as well as a crop of new entry fines on the leases. The increase in expenditure after 1550 may be attributed partly to inflation, though the subsequent fall demonstrates that rising prices were not the only factor. Income exceeded expenditure in most years, and when it did not then money could be transferred from the St John's Hospital account which was generally in credit. In the early seventeenth century the coffer accounts suggest that the city came to rely more heavily on loans, both from its own citizens and from well-disposed Hampshire gentlemen, which reduced both the income and the expenditure appearing in the chamberlains' accounts.

Though the structure of government remained the same, the city maintained a constant search for new privileges and jealously protected old ones. The royal grant of monastic lands in 1554 extended the city's control to more

housing and increased its income; an Exchequer suit was brought in 1556-7 claiming amercements before the Clerk of the Market for the city[1]; and the mayor and aldermen sought separate commissions of musters in 1584[2], and separate taxation in 1595[3], to preserve Winchester's independence from the county authorities. Formal recognition and ratification of the city's ancient liberties were finally achieved with the grant of a charter of incorporation in 1588[4]. This was relatively late in the spate of sixteenth-century incorporations, but the timing of incorporation apparently bore more relation to access to a representative at Court than to a town's importance: in Hampshire, for example, Basingstoke was incorporated as early as 1393 and Romsey in 1544, while Portsmouth was left until 1600. Winchester had appointed Sir Francis Walsingham as its first High Steward in 1582 'for the better direction, defence, and maintenance of this city and the rights, liberties, and privileges of the same'[5], and it was he who in 1585 began the procedure for obtaining a new charter[6].

Far from inaugurating a new era in Winchester's administration, the charter of 1588 outlined the structure as it already existed and contained very little that was new. All the offices and courts mentioned in the charter were already in existence, and the title 'the mayor, bailiffs, and commonalty' was already used to denote the city as a legal entity. The right to make local ordinances and to hold lands had been used in Winchester for centuries, the mayor already had the return of writs for the city and was escheator there, and no new markets or fairs were added in 1588. Winchester's importance in the Middle Ages had been sufficient to secure all these privileges in the

1. W.R.O., chamb. acct. 3&4 P. & M. - 4&5 P. & M.
2. Cal. S.P. Dom. 1581-90, 163.
3. Hist. MSS. Comm., 6th Report, 605.
4. The city's copy is in W.R.O., C.6 no.23. There is an English translation in J. Milner, History...of Winchester, ii. 254-62, but it is not entirely accurate.
5. 1st Bk. Ord., f.221.
6. Egerton Papers, ed. J. Payne Collier (Camden Soc. 1840, O.S. 12), 114.

fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and they were merely repeated and confirmed in the sixteenth-century charter.

Why then did the city take the trouble to obtain this new charter? Even a simple confirmation could be expensive: in 1549 it had cost the city £10 16s in fees, plus £4 2s 4d in other expenses[1]. Nor indeed was there any intention to add extensive new powers, for Walsingham's letter in 1585 stated in support of the application that 'there shall in effect no great matter pass unto them more than already by former charters or by long custom and prescription they do enjoy'[2]. Civic pride was undoubtedly important: when other towns were being incorporated, no city as conscious of its past dignity as Winchester could stand aside. At the same time, the charter did bring certain practical advantages. The five basic privileges conferred by incorporation, and even the name of a corporation[3], had been used by the city for years, but in a legally-minded age it was desirable to have evidence of right and title to all powers and jurisdictions exercised. The preamble to the charter stated that uncertainties had arisen over the exact powers conferred by previous letters patent, especially since property and rights were held by the city under different names[4]. Though the phrase may have been inserted simply as justification for a new charter, in 1584 the 1st Book of Ordinances does record the appointment of an attorney to act in a suit of quo warranto brought against the city[5]; Walsingham mentioned the suit in his letter, and it may have been behind the request for a charter.

Owing to the chance survival of an early draft of the Winchester charter of 1588[6], it is possible to trace the development of its provisions. In

1. B.L. Stowe MS. 846, f.177v.; W.R.O., chamb. acct. 2-3 Edw.VI.
2. Egerton Papers, ed. Collier (Camden Soc. 1840), 114.
3. E.g. C 1/333/3, in 1505-6.
4. This clause is omitted from the version in Milner.
5. 1st Bk. Ord., f.229v.
6. Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California: Ellesmere Papers, EL 1265. The Winchester Research Unit has a microfilm of this document.

1585 Walsingham sent the solicitor-general 'articles' for the charter[1], and the early standardised draft was later amended by someone of higher authority, helped by the Recorder of Winchester, Thomas Fleming. Some of the amendments were merely variations of phraseology, but most of the provisions peculiar to Winchester were also added later, such as the confirmation of the city's de facto authority over St John's Hospital and its property. The only major change between the first and final versions concerned the position of Recorder. Originally he was to be one of the six aldermen, a position involving compulsory residence in Winchester, but finally the office was separated from the aldermen and the town clerk was allowed to deputise for the Recorder in the town court and in the selection of new aldermen. The draft does not reveal any important changes in intention during the composition of the Winchester charter, but it does demonstrate the care and minute scrutiny which were bestowed on even a conservative grant by the Crown.

The basic political principle enshrined in the charter, as in all sixteenth-century city governments, was that political power belonged to men of standing, to the responsible, experienced, economically successful citizens: under the charter, office-holders were to be chosen 'de senioribus et principalibus melioribus et magis probioribus inhabitantibus et civibus eiusdem civitatis'. A favourite ploy of lawyers in the Consistory Court was to discredit a witness's testimony by making him admit, for example, that 'he is a poor man and was not assessed at the last subsidy', or to allege that a witness 'is commonly reputed and taken for a poor man, a man of unhonest life and of no credit'[2]. Such a view of society inevitably excluded the great majority of inhabitants from political power. Women and children played no part in city government, and even among adult males most had no

1. Egerton Papers, ed. Collier (Camden Soc. 1840), 114.
2. H.C.R.O., Consistory Court Bk. 44, p.231; ibid. Bk. 55, f.58.

influence at all on the election of the officials who governed them or the making of city ordinances which they were bound to obey.

Freemen of the city were in a better position, although their power was limited. They could take apprentices and were not assessed for 'artificers' money', they could only be sued in the town court and imprisoned in the comfort of St John's House, and they voted for MPs and mayors, if they were allowed a choice. (The freemen's exclusive right to trade in the city, once the main reason for taking up the freedom, was only sporadically enforced in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.) At the same time the freemen were required to attend boromotes, Sessions, and gaol deliveries, to accompany the mayor to and from the cathedral on Sundays, and to ride the limits of the city liberty each year with the bailiffs. The financial liabilities were equally numerous. The fee for entrance to the freedom was £1, paid over six years, and every freeman paid 8d each year towards the supper on the Sunday after the Nativity of St John the Baptist, whether he attended it or not. Some preferred to remain unfree; the fine for refusing the freedom was raised from 6s 8d to £1 in 1593, and from £1 to £5 two years later, and from 1519 freemen expelled for misbehaviour had to sue for readmission within three months or pay a £1 fine[1]. The obligations and payments attached to the position were becoming greater than its privileges, which had passed to an even smaller group.

Numerically even the freemen were a small minority of the population. Lists of people eligible to attend each assembly were entered by the town clerk in the Books of Ordinances before the minutes of each meeting, so total numbers of freemen are available from 1552. The town clerk also noted which of the freemen attended each meeting, and it is therefore possible to compare

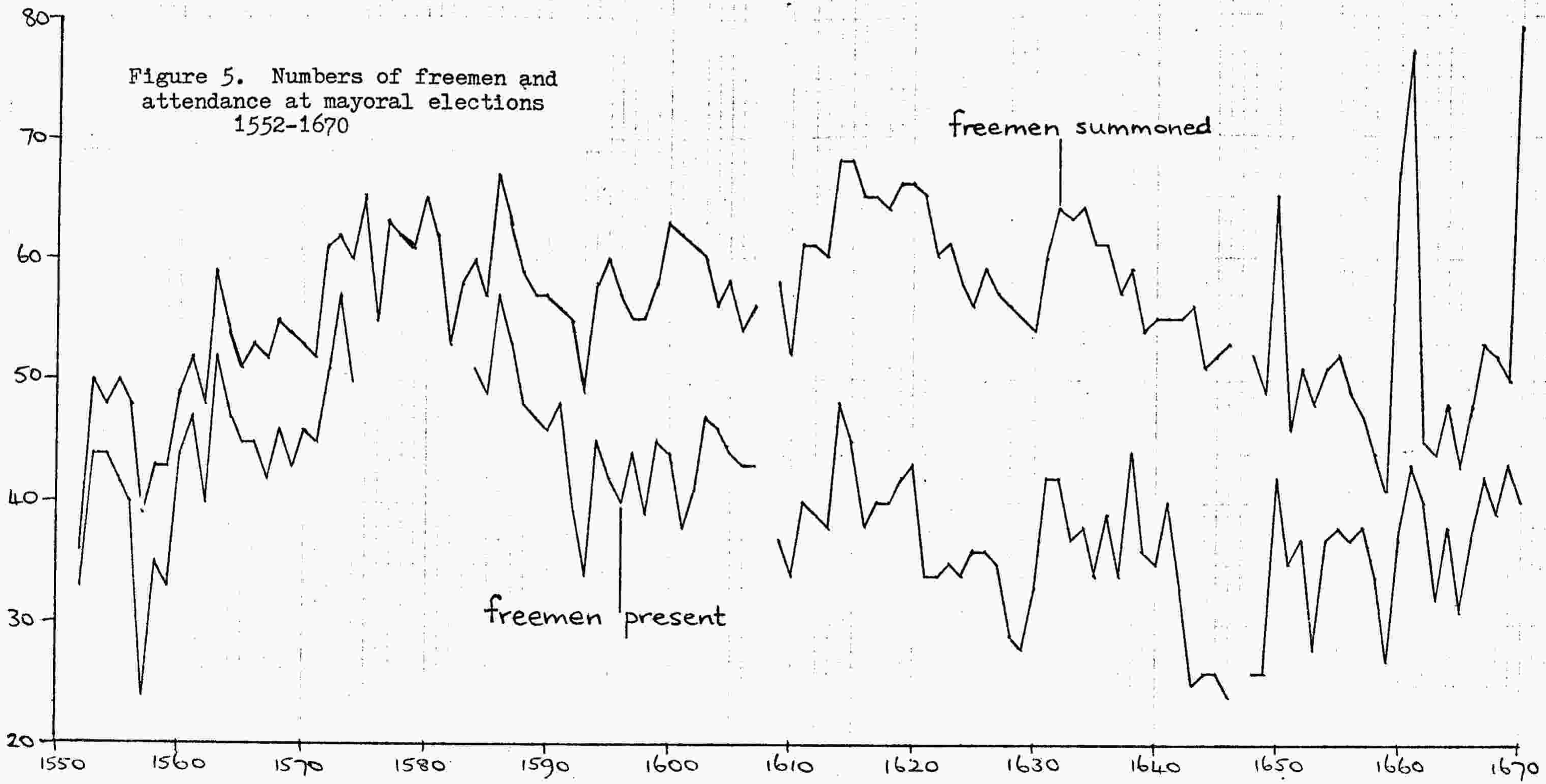
1. Black Bk. 121, 130; 1st Bk. Ord., ff.273, 284.

the numbers summoned each year with the number who were actually present. Both series of figures are given in Figure 5[1]. Between 1550 and 1640 the number of freemen - who formed the corporation of Winchester - was fairly constant (the periods 1640-60 and 1660-70 are discussed below[2]). The total never rose higher than sixty-eight, and after 1560 it rarely fell below fifty. If the total population within the walls - from which the freemen were drawn - was about 1,500 in 1603[3], then the freemen formed roughly 4% of the whole population and 12% of the adult male population. Compared with other towns this was a very small proportion; at Exeter the freemen were a substantial minority of the population[4], they were nearly half of all adult males at York, and perhaps as many as 80% of all householders were freemen at Coventry[5].

Figure 5 also shows significant fluctuations in levels of attendance at city meetings. Attendance was high until about 1590, and often only five out of over forty freemen were absent. Failure to attend could be due to illness, or absence from the city on business, and did not always indicate a lack of enthusiasm for civic affairs. From 1590, however, the gap between numbers summoned and numbers present widened rapidly. While a small amount of absenteeism was due to the practice of extending the freedom to gentlemen who were not expected to attend meetings, the attendance record of ordinary members of the corporation also worsened perceptibly. Ordinances imposing fines on absentees had little effect - in 1629 only half the freemen were present for the election - and it was not until the Civil War brought heated issues into local politics that attendance improved.

1. There are no attendance marks between 1574 and 1584, and the list for 1608 is torn. Lists used are those for the September meeting each year at which the mayor was elected, when attendance was at its peak.
2. See pp. 260, 312.
3. See p. 146.
4. W.T. MacCaffrey, Exeter 1540-1640, 73n.
5. Crisis and Order in English Towns, ed. Clark and Slack, 58, 87.

Figure 5. Numbers of freemen and attendance at mayoral elections 1552-1670



The position of the Twenty-Four, the middle group in the corporation between the freemen and the mayor and his brethren, was an anomalous one. Once a council of prominent citizens with genuine power, by the sixteenth century they derived few extra advantages from their status and were merely waiting to be elected to higher office. Usually a man was admitted to the Twenty-Four only so that he could become bailiff of the Twenty-Four, the senior bailiwick, in the year after he had served as bailiff of the commons. Occasionally the working of an ordinance was left to the discretion of the mayor and Twenty-Four, but usually they were singled out only for heavier fines and responsibilities, such as the obligation to wear special gowns on the days when the aldermen wore scarlet. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that its members became restive at the erosion of their power in the early seventeenth century, though their complaints had little effect[1].

Real power lay with the men at the top of the pyramid - the current mayor, his brethren, the aldermen, and to a lesser extent the bailiffs. In Winchester the mayor's brethren were the ex-mayors, whereas in Exeter they were the Twenty-Four, in Lincoln and Hereford the brethren were the aldermen, and in High Wycombe the terms mayor's brethren, aldermen, and Counsel House were synonymous[2]. The number of surviving ex-mayors in any year between 1540 and 1640 remained permanently at eleven, which leads to the conclusion that the nominations for mayor, which were made by the brethren, were deliberately used to provide a new man as mayor only when there was a vacancy. The procedure for selecting a mayor was that the brethren nominated two members of the Twenty-Four, the current mayor rejected one, and the survivor then stood against the previous year's defeated candidate in election by the whole commonalty. Thus the recruitment of new members to the ruling group

1. See p. 233.
2. W.T. MacCaffrey, Exeter 1540-1640, 29; J.W.F. Hill, Tudor and Stuart Lincoln, 36; F.C. Morgan, 'Trade in Hereford in the 16th century', Trans. of Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club, 1936-8, 19; L.J. Ashford, History of the Borough of High Wycombe, 83, 112.

was controlled by the group itself, and eleven unusually long-lived brethren could frustrate the political ambitions of younger men for years. To this tiny circle fell all the most influential and potentially lucrative decisions in Winchester's corporate life, such as the appointment of aldermen, the assessment of the tax on unfree artificers, licensing chandlers and brewers, interpreting the customs and ordinances of the city, and the selection of recipients of charitable loans. Winchester's town government in the early modern period was a true example of oligarchy.

In such a system, the possibility of misuse of power by members of the oligarchy was a very real one. It was expected that officials would take advantage of their position to a certain extent - indeed, no one would undertake the burden of office without the hope of some kind of material gain. The most profitable leases (such as the George Inn or the pasture of the city ditch) were commonly given to leading citizens, alehouse licences or fines could be manipulated in favour of their friends and families, and the city's funds were lent out at low interest or none at all to the aldermen. An agreement of 1618 gave £30 a year from the coffer to men who had been mayor more than once. But ordinances did regulate the conduct of the mayoralty, and in the 1550s and 1560s several mayors had their fee reduced for such misdemeanours as omitting to weigh bread sold in the city or arguing publicly with the Recorder and aldermen[1]. The most blatant case of misuse of mayoral power provoked two suits in Star Chamber in 1616-17[2]. Lancelot Thorpe had been town clerk since 1597 and thus was responsible for keeping records in all the city courts. At the same time he was deputy registrar to the bishop (and had married the registrar's daughter), a proctor in the bishop's Consistory Court, registrar to the archdeacon of Winchester, and a councillor

1. W.R.O., chamb. acct. 2&3 P. & M. - 3&4 P. & M., 4-5 Eliz., 8-9 Eliz.
2. Sta. Cha. 8/94/7; Sta. Cha. 8/241/1.

in the bishop's Cheyney Court for the Soke, so that he played a vital part in every court held at Winchester, though he had never attended a university or the Inns of Court. When Thorpe was elected mayor in 1615, therefore, his power was immense. The first suit against him was brought by Robert Coleman, a freeman who accused Thorpe of preventing his admission to the Twenty-Four in spite of a judgement in Coleman's favour by the next mayor and the Recorder. Thorpe had also waived fines for his friends, and would not give the bailiffs details of fines to be collected, so that they were unable to pay the fee-farm. His favour was extended to alehouse-keepers who ground their grain at his mills, while customers of other mills were penalised; according to Coleman, the income from Thorpe's mills had risen from £20 to £100 a year since he had held all his city offices. The plaintiff in the second suit against him had had his house, shop, and goods confiscated for alleged debts, and Thorpe as mayor had turned down his appeal in the city court. Several more general accusations were made against him, such as the exaction of extortionate fees for probate of wills, and failure to prosecute unlicensed alehouses, and it was also alleged that Thorpe was a 'great favourer of recusants' and did not inform the bishop or imprison them as he was required to do by law. Despite the suits against him, Thorpe was elected mayor again in 1623 and his son succeeded him as town clerk in 1631.

Though there was no higher city office to which ex-mayors could aspire, their experience made them natural representatives for the city in its dealings with the nobility or the central government in London, and in the House of Commons. The parliamentary electorate of Winchester was the same as the commonalty or corporation, consisting of all those who had become freemen. In the sixteenth century there was only one genuine election, however, when the sitting MP died in 1582 and there were two candidates in the resulting by-election[1]. Otherwise Winchester fell into the usual pattern of small

1. 1st Bk. Ord., f.225.

country towns, partly independent and partly obedient to the wishes of the great. There was no borough patron, but the influence of the higher Hampshire gentry, and more especially the bishop, can be discerned in most elections. Bishop Gardiner wrote from prison in 1547 of 'those I have used to name in the nether house'[1], and the election of that year was unusual in providing Winchester with two 'foreign' MPs, though one (John Foster) was a brother-in-law of Protector Somerset and of Sir Henry Seymour who lived near Winchester, and the other (William Honyngs) was a protege of Wriothesley. Bishop Horne wrote to the city in 1572 requesting the election of John Caplin[2], and the son of another bishop, Sir Thomas Bilson, sat for Winchester in 1614. Most of the Recorders and the more able mayors of the city also held offices or lands from the bishop, but whether city office or episcopal influence was the more important factor in their election is unclear. The Recorder frequently sat as one MP for the city, and one Recorder, Thomas Fleming, was able to pass his seat on to his son in 1601 after he himself had become Solicitor-General and resigned the office. Between 1553 and 1597 four MPs for Winchester were mayor at the time of their election, suggesting that the city chose at least one member on these occasions, though this practice could lead to inconvenience when the mayor was absent from the city for long periods[3]. On two occasions the older MP took his son-in-law with him, and two other pairs of MPs were related through having married two sisters. After 1584 one or both of the MPs were always Hampshire gentlemen; the city's interests were not necessarily ignored, however, for members of families such as the Tichbornes and Sandys who supplied its representatives in Parliament were familiar with Winchester as their county town and knew its problems well.

1. Letters of Stephen Gardiner, ed. J.A. Muller, 424.
2. Hist. MSS. Comm., 6th Report, 605; the original is in W.R.O., W.H. Jacob scrapbook no.3, p.56.
3. E.g. 1st Bk. Ord., f.291v.: William Bagger was unable to hold the first boromote and Sessions at the proper time.

They were, as a contemporary put it, 'either of the town or towards the town, borderers and near neighbours at the least'[1].

Between 1520 and 1670 two hundred and five men held the offices of bailiff or mayor of Winchester, and as the city's rulers they form the only well-documented section of its population. Though information is lacking for some of the 205, it is possible to discover something of the backgrounds, careers, families, and aspirations of most of them. There were very few wealthy or prominent inhabitants of Winchester who never held office, the only exceptions being residents of the Soke and the small number of gentlemen who lived in the city but were primarily involved in county affairs.

Who then were the leading citizens of Winchester, and what were their geographical and social origins? At least twenty-six men were newcomers to the city. Richard and Robert Bethell (mayors in 1552 and 1555 respectively), William Agully (bailiff in 1540 and 1545), and David Ellis (bailiff in 1577 and 1581) were all from Wales, and Lancelot Jonson (bailiff in 1563 and 1565) was born in Cheshire. The three Hancock brothers who held office in the 1630s came from Wiltshire, and John Selwood (bailiff in 1522 and 1523) was a native of Somerset. More numerous were office-holders born elsewhere in Hampshire. William Budd (mayor in 1610 and 1619) was born in Bishop's Waltham, Christopher Genens (bailiff in 1566 and 1567) came from Basingstoke, and Hugh Denby (bailiff in 1583 and 1584) lived at Overton before his marriage into the Winchester oligarchy. Another twenty-eight office-holders can be identified as the sons of Winchester freemen, and there were probably many more. Though some men could rise from immigrant to mayor in one lifetime, a more common pattern was for the immigrant to establish the family, perhaps to become a freeman, and for his son to complete the family's ascent. The easy acceptance of newcomers to Winchester reflects the high geographical mobility of its

1. Quoted in J.E. Neale, Elizabethan House of Commons, 160.

population in all social classes, for when only a quarter of the inhabitants had been born in the city and its suburbs, serious discrimination against immigrants was impossible[1].

The social backgrounds of office-holders were just as diverse. Those born in the city were often the eldest sons of successful craftsmen or retailers. Men from outside Winchester, on the other hand, were frequently younger sons from prominent families elsewhere. Stephen Caplin (bailiff in 1552), for example, came from a leading Southampton merchant family. Ralph Rigges (mayor in 1629, 1636, and 1645) was the fourth son of a Fareham gentleman; the eldest son remained in Fareham, two sons became a grocer and a merchant at Southampton, and Ralph settled in Winchester as a woollendraper[2]. The lesser gentlemen living in Winchester were sometimes persuaded by the city to accept office, usually with free exemption from the lower offices, and several officials of the bishop, such as the registrars Edward Cole (mayor in 1587, 1598, and 1612) and his son Edward (mayor in 1626), also accepted office. But the list of office-holders included butchers and carpenters as well as gentlemen; humble origins were not an insuperable barrier in urban society, and if the citizens were conscious of their leaders' diverse social backgrounds, none of their thoughts on the subject have survived.

The usual pattern of office-holding in Winchester was spread over the whole of a man's adult years. Freemen were usually aged between 25 and 30 when they were admitted, probably at the stage when they set up in trade alone for the first time. A few privileged freemen became bailiff immediately after their admission, but normally there was an interval of some years, less than ten in most cases. Unless they had paid to avoid one of the bailiwicks, freemen held them both in successive years, the senior after the junior. More than half (119 out of 205) of the office-holders' careers ended at this

1. For a detailed discussion of immigration to Winchester, see p.138.
2. I am grateful to Mrs F.L. Wood of Winchester for information on the Rigges family.

point, either because they died soon after being bailiff or because they were never nominated for the mayoralty. The interval between senior bailiwick and mayoralty was a matter of chance, varying from three years to thirty-one, and the ages at which men became mayor therefore varied widely. Years of birth of twenty-one mayors are known; the lowest age at which any of them became mayor was 34 (William Lawrence in 1548, and William Symondes in 1575), and the highest was 76 (William Bagger who held the mayoralty for the third time in 1597, and Edward White the younger whose fifth term began in 1647). These ages were exceptional, for most mayors were between 40 and 65, at an age when authority came naturally.

Thirty-five of the office-holders were mayor only once, thirty-two twice, and sixteen three times. Only three men were mayor more than three times: one was John Butler, mayor in 1507, 1508, 1515, and 1524, and another was William Lawrence who was mayor in 1548, 1553, 1554, and 1574 - these were the only people to hold the office in consecutive years; the third was Edward White the younger, elected mayor in 1613, 1621, 1632, 1640, and 1647, whose father, uncle, and grandfather had all been mayors of Winchester[1]. From 1520 until the Civil War there was a steady movement towards a narrower oligarchy and greater reliance on the established families of the city. Of the forty mayoral years 1520-59, fifteen were occupied by men who had been mayor before; in 1560-99 nineteen years were thus occupied; in 1600-39 the figure was twenty-one, and in 1640-79 it was seventeen. The nine years 1640-8, the last of the 'old regime', saw six former mayors re-elected, and two more were son and son-in-law respectively to former mayors. The number of families involved in town government was restricted too. Over the whole period 1520-1670 eighty-eight men were mayors of Winchester, from sixty-eight families; when the bailiffs are counted as well, the figure

1. Bodl. MS. Top. Hants. c. 5, p.9.

rises to 205 men from 151 families - in other words, more than fifty office-holders came from families which had already supplied a mayor or bailiff since 1520. During the forty-five years of Elizabeth's reign only twenty-seven men held the office of mayor, from twenty-three families, a small figure compared with the twenty-six families who supplied Elizabethan mayors at Exeter and Leicester, thirty-three at York, and thirty-eight at Bristol[1]. By re-electing older men and preventing new families from participating in public life, the corporation of Winchester deprived itself of ability and probably encouraged the emigration of some of the city's most valuable inhabitants.

The constant recurrence of surnames on lists of office-holders raises the question of dynasties in city government and of how many generations they lasted. Studies of other towns have found that the two-generation family in office was fairly common but that three-generation families were very rare[2], and Winchester conforms to this pattern. There were eleven certain cases (and possibly fourteen more) of a father and son both holding office, and seven families provided three officials in two generations. The Bethell family supplied four office-holders, and there were four named Butler and four named Smith, but none of these families seems to have spanned more than two generations. Winchester had only two real dynasties: the White family, four of whom held the mayoralty in three consecutive generations, and the most remarkable, the Bedham family, who provided six mayors or bailiffs in five consecutive generations from the 1480s to the early seventeenth century.

Whether the same pattern applied to businesses is more difficult to determine, in the absence of a freemen's register. Certainly there were more

1. W.G. Hoskins, 'The Elizabethan Merchants of Exeter'. Elizabethan Government and Society, ed. S.T. Bindoff et al., 165-6; D.M. Palliser, 'Some Aspects of the Social and Economic History of York' (Oxford D.Phil. thesis 1968), 168.
2. Palliser, op. cit., 168-9.

cases of long-lasting families following the same trade over many years than holding office. Members of the George family were active in Winchester as masons by 1556 and were still there in 1703. The pewterer William Luke was at work in St Peter Chesil by 1524, and his descendants moved into the city and continued the trade until at least 1640. The blacksmith at the Northgate in 1524 was Walter Powell, and another Walter Powell worked the same forge in 1638. But as in the case of office-holders, these long-lasting families in one occupation were the exception and not the rule. The Bedhams are a good example of a family which stayed in Winchester but followed different trades. The first sixteenth-century generation consisted of Thomas, an apothecary and grocer, and Stephen, innkeeper at the George, both of whom became mayor. Thomas's son Edmund was a mercer who doubled as a butcher, and another son John succeeded Stephen at the George and was also a goldsmith. Edmund's son, a butcher, produced a son who was a goldsmith, and his son in turn was probably both goldsmith and butcher. Similarly, the Grewe family started with a fletcher in the 1560s, and rapidly acquired a butcher, a shearman, a fuller, a dyer, a feltmaker, and no fewer than four cutlers who were all active in 1646. But isolated examples of long-lasting families do not produce a general rule, and migration and the failure of the male line affected so many families that few were present in Winchester long enough to establish a dynasty.

Though it is impossible to quantify the process, there were several instances of the sons of successful men leaving Winchester to seek their fortunes elsewhere. Opportunities in the city were limited, both in government and in business, and in many families one son remained, often in his father's trade, while the others departed. Of the three sons of Robert Hodson, a woollendraper and three times mayor, for example, one stayed in Winchester as a draper and was also mayor three times, while the others went to Taunton and New Alresford[1]. Two of the sons of Robert Bagger,

1. H.C.R.O. wills B 1581 (will of Friswith Hodson).

himself the son of a former mayor, remained in the city, a third settled in Southampton, and the fourth went to London[1]. Sometimes no sons were left in Winchester to carry on the name; the only son of Charles Newbolt, a glover who was mayor in 1588 and 1600, appeared in 1619 as a tanner of Alton[2]. Many office-holders' wills mention sons whose names never appear in city records, who were probably apprenticed away from Winchester.

An equally common reason for the disappearance of families, or at least surnames, from the city, was a lack of surviving male heirs. Details of the families of ninety-three members of the oligarchy can be gleaned from wills and other records; between them they left 226 surviving children, an average of 2.4 each, of whom 114 were sons, averaging 1.2 per family. But the distribution of offspring was very uneven. Families of six, seven, and ten children were born to some office-holders and survived to adulthood, while twenty-one men (22.6%) left no children at all. Thirty-one office-holders, exactly a third, died without any surviving sons, and while some of these men were succeeded by brothers, nephews, and grandsons who would perpetuate the family name, in many cases there were no male heirs of any kind. Nor was the ruling group especially unfortunate in this regard: the proportion of non-office-holders without surviving sons whose wills were proved 1540-9 and 1580-9 was more than a third in both decades. With an average of fewer than two sons per office-holder and strong pressures on the ambitious young man to leave the city, it is not surprising that very few families remained in government longer than two generations.

Nor was it likely that the city's population would increase significantly when its most prosperous class was just replacing itself with few children to spare. As at York, the size of leading citizens' families increased during the sixteenth century: office-holders in Winchester dying in the

1. C 3/301/3.
2. E 180/53 f.9 (Moses Newbolt).

period 1520-49 left an average of 1.8 children, in the period 1550-99 the average rose to 2.9, and between 1600 and 1649 it was 2.6. York aldermen left on average 2.6 children 1500-50 and 4.0 children 1550-1600[1], and in wealthy Exeter and Totnes Elizabethan merchants' families contained an average of more than four children[2]. The figures from Winchester are based mainly on wills, a source which tends to minimize family size, but the same limitation is presumably true of the information from other towns. The demographic reasons for Winchester's small families remain obscure, though no evidence of abnormally high child mortality has come to light and the theory of low fertility seems more plausible. If the ages at which office-holders' unmarried daughters were to inherit are any guide to normal age at marriage, girls were commonly between 18 and 24 when they married for the first time. Most outlived their first husbands - at least sixty-one of the ninety-three office-holders mentioned above left widows, while only thirteen mentioned previous wives - and re-marriage was common, so women were unlikely to be single during many of their fertile years. Aldermen at York and merchants at Exeter were many times wealthier than the mayors and bailiffs of Winchester, and one may speculate that small family size was a response, either deliberate or unconscious, to limited economic resources, but without adequate parish registers to provide much more demographic information there is no way of testing the theory.

In the absence of a son to receive the accumulated wealth and influence of a lifetime, many office-holders turned to a son-in-law. There were even some cases where sons-in-law were preferred to sons, possibly when the son had left the city or had entered a different trade from his father. At least sixteen office-holders married their daughters to men who eventually held

1. D.M. Palliser, 'Some Aspects of the Social and Economic History of York' (Oxford D.Phil. thesis 1968), 53.
2. W.G. Hoskins, 'The Elizabethan Merchants of Exeter', 177-8.

office themselves; and the same process of the transfer of wealth and standing from one family to another resulted from the re-marriages of office-holders' widows, either to younger men who then rose rapidly in the hierarchy or to men who had already achieved office. The potential importance of the son-in-law explains the anxiety of some fathers that their daughters should make prudent matches: William Budd, a vintner and mayor in 1610 and 1619, reluctantly included his daughter Grissell in his will 'though she hath ever been very undutiful unto me, and in her two marriages would never be advised nor ruled by me, but still contrary to my will and liking bestowed herself'[1]. Martin Yalden observed in 1642 that 'many times it falleth out that portions given to daughters are occasions of their undoing, being thereby but preys and baits for lewd and wicked people being ill husbands to steal them away and marry them contrary and without the approbation of their kindred and friends', and he revoked all legacies to his daughters if they should marry without his executors' consent[2].

Sons' and daughters' marriages could also be used to begin the successful family's transition from urban to rural society. It would be a serious exaggeration to imply that every rising urban family cherished ambitions of rural gentility, but undoubtedly some did, often those families which had already held office in several generations. One daughter of John White, a second-generation mayor in 1583 and 1593, married Sir Daniel Norton of Tisted, and a younger son of William Symondes, another second-generation mayor who died in 1606, married the widow of the lord of the manor of Wellow[3]. The countryside was not the only destination for the upwardly mobile: several city families married into the cathedral establishment, and larger towns and cities beckoned others, such as Thomas Childe, a woollendraper and twice

1. Prob. 11/146 (P.C.C. 83 Clarke).
2. H.C.R.O. wills A 1642.
3. Req. 2/192/58.

mayor, whose two daughters married the town clerk of Southampton and a prominent Southampton merchant[1]. Many families however were content to marry within the ruling class of Winchester, which was therefore bound together by a complex network of interrelationships.

The fortunes accumulated by Winchester's ruling class were of quite a different order from their counterparts in larger cities. Whereas at Bristol and Exeter the average Elizabethan merchant estate was over £1,900[2], the largest inventory accompanying a citizen's will proved at Winchester in the sixteenth century came to £832 18s 6d. There probably were richer men than this in the city, and some had their wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, which means that their inventories are inaccessible and may not survive; but only twenty-six men who had held office between 1520 and 1670 had their wills proved at Canterbury (all but four of them in the seventeenth century), and their wealth does not affect the fact that the average estate of Winchester's highest social class was on a very small scale. It was not uncommon for ex-mayors to leave property worth less than £100, though inventories of between £100 and £300 were more normal. These sums, in turn, were many times greater than the resources of the majority of citizens: it was still possible in 1662 for a freeman hosier to leave only £22 in goods at his death[3], and those who left wills and inventories were themselves a small minority of the population.

Granted that the wealth of Winchester's top men was very limited, where did it come from and how was it used? The second question is more easily answered than the first, since a man's wealth was only assessed and described in detail at his death. Very few of the city's leaders had the initial advantage of inherited wealth, and even if their fathers had lived in Winchester,

1. Sta. Cha. 8/271/10.
2. Hoskins, 'Elizabethan Merchants of Exeter', 172-3. Cf. Leicester, where the largest 16th-century inventory came to £625: W.G. Hoskins, Provincial England, 112.
3. H.C.R.O. wills B 1662 (inventory of William Oram).

in nearly every case the sons rose to greater heights than their fathers had done. The problem at the outset of a career was the acquisition of capital or credit with which to set up in business. One common method of entry was marriage into an established Winchester family, though this had the drawback that it might be many years before a father-in-law died and his assets became available. A faster way of acquiring capital was to marry a rich man's widow, as several successful office-holders had done. When Richard Emery, a mercer and haberdasher, died in 1597 leaving over £350, his widow was married again within two years to Christopher Hussey, a rising young grocer who immediately became a freeman and later held the mayoralty three times; and William Hancock in 1622 was admitted to the Twenty-Four only two years after becoming a freeman, because he had just married the widow of Thomas Monday who had served in all the city offices except the mayoralty[1]. Almost without exception, office-holders were engaged in a craft or in retail or wholesale trade, and this was the source of all or most of their income. Only eleven mayors or bailiffs of Winchester habitually stated their occupation as 'gentleman'. The occupations of Winchester office-holders are discussed below, but the major areas in which they participated may be summarised very roughly as 35% in cloth and clothing and 25% in food and drink[2].

Office-holding was primarily a source of prestige rather than wealth. The salaries of city officials were low; from 1555 until about 1615 the mayor's fee remained at £20, with certain additions such as a proportion of fines taken at the Sessions, and duties such as the provision of gowns for the three serjeants and the beadle. The size of the mayor's fee provides a rough indication of a town's importance - Exeter paid its mayors twice as much as Winchester in 1550 and six times as much by the end of the century, whereas

1. W.R.O., Coffer Accounts 1589-1627, 20 Sept. 1622.
2. See p.170.

Leicester, which had a slightly greater population but lacked the status of a city, raised its mayor's fee from £10 to only £13 6s 8d in 1572[1]. Indeed, the Winchester mayoralty could be a serious financial burden. Christopher Genens was elected mayor in 1584 but was excused when he swore that he could not take the office 'without danger of my utter undoing'[2]. William Heycroft had to be forced into office by the Privy Council in 1546[3], and the city was obliged to rescue some of its ex-mayors from debt[4]. The rewards of office-holding lay in influence over many aspects of city life, and in the public authority and dignity it bestowed for a year. In a small community, however, these benefits had important economic overtones. In 1617 a freeman protested in Star Chamber that preventing his admission to the Twenty-Four 'was to the great wrong, disgrace, and damage of your said subject, who, being a tradesman of your said city and getting his living by buying and selling of woollen cloth and other such things, cannot now by reason of ye displacing of him as aforesaid be trusted of any of his creditors'[5], implying that no rising young tradesman could afford not to hold office. Offices held from the bishop were not much more lucrative than those of the city, and the holder of one usually held several. One town clerk, John Potinger, was also bailiff of the Soke for the bishop for over twenty years, but on his death in 1585 his property was valued at only £80[6]. The prime example of a multiple office-holder was Lancelot Thorpe, and even he had other sources of income, including his mills, a lease of the profits of the sheep-pens in the market, and a lease of the

1. W.T. MacCaffrey, Exeter 1540-1640, 45, 265; W.G. Hoskins, Provincial England, 98.
2. 1st Bk. Ord., f.234.
3. W.R.O., chamb. acct. 38 Henry VIII - 1 Edw. VI; L. & P. Henry VIII, xxi (2), 237.
4. E.g. 1st Bk. Ord., f.153v.; the city paid £10 to a London grocer for Thomas Bathe in 1567.
5. Sta. Cha. 8/94/7.
6. H.C.R.O. wills B 1585.

Table 6

Selected Office-holders' Inventories (in £)

Name	Occupation	Date	Approx. age at death	Household goods	Napery	Clothing	Plate	Livestock	Cash	Trade stock & tools	Leases	Debts owed to testator	Debts owed by testator	Net total
William Faringdon	innkeeper & clothier	1548	?	44	4	9	3	6	20	47	-	60	-	193
William Heycroft	capper & mercer	1552	55	39	4	-	30	5	-	215	-	32	68	257
Stephen Caplin	mercer & merchant	1558	40	54	17	-	22	5	-	11	-	-	-	109
Richard Harrold	grocer	1561	50	10	2	2	6	-	6	-	-	26	-	52
Henry Gest	shoemaker	1568	40	13	1	-	5	1	-	5	-	-	-	25
Robert Hodson	draper	1573	65	25	5	21	11	-	-	11	15	-	-	88
James Waterson	innkeeper	1578	75	48	8	3	15	-	-	-	-	-	-	74
Edward White	mercer	1581	40	44	17	31	38	2	-	686	14	-	-	832
Henry Bilston	tailor	1608	55	17	6	2	8	-	-	-	20	-	-	53
John Luke	pewterer	1608	70	47	2	14	18	-	-	167	-	-	-	248
Thomas Bedham	goldsmith	1615	65	62	23	20	3	-	-	-	32	-	-	140
Ralph Moore	mercer	1623	65	7	5	4	-	-	-	73	-	-	-	89
William Stanley	haberdasher	1625	40	24	-	12	6	-	-	35	-	13	6	84
William Manfeild	tailor	1640	45	59	8	10	15	-	60	3	18	190	-	363

George Inn. At his death he was wealthy enough to leave £600 in cash to his children, as well as several freehold and leasehold properties in Winchester[1].

The disposition of wealth varied greatly, according to each man's occupation, age, family, and tastes, and Table 6 summarises fourteen of the fuller inventories of office-holders' estates to illustrate their diversity[2]. For men of modest means, the question of investment never arose and resources were stretched between the bare necessities of life and business. Once capital was available, there were three main fields in which the Winchester citizen could choose to invest: first, the expansion of his business; second, land and property; and third, his house and standard of living. Obviously while a man was young his first priority was to establish and expand his business, and eight of the inventories in Table 6 show half or more of the total in trade stock and debts due to the testator. Even the two oldest men in the table still had most of their wealth in stock (since an innkeeper's household furnishings constituted his investment in his trade), and clearly neither had retired or had felt able to diversify.

Most inhabitants of Winchester of the status of freeman or above owned or leased one or two pieces of landed property, but very few men used property as a large-scale form of investment. The pattern of urban property-holding is revealed by the tarrage roll of 1604, a terrier of the city and the area of its liberty outside the walls; since this tarrage was based on an earlier version of 1417 without specifying all the houses which had disappeared since 1417 and been replaced by gardens and orchards, analysis is possible only in terms of property units, without distinction between

1. Prob. 11/168 (P.C.C. 61 Sadler).
2. Many of the Winchester inventories omit items mentioned in the accompanying wills, and the figures in Table 6 should therefore be taken as approximate; categories of which a testator apparently owned nothing are particularly suspect.

buildings and open spaces, but either could be profitable to the holder. Table 7 gives details of property-holding in 1604.

Table 7

The composition of property holdings in the city and its liberty 1604

Total properties held	Freehold only	Leasehold only	Both freehold and leasehold
1	38	147	-
2	11	35	16
3	6	12	5
4	1	13	8
5	-	-	5
6	1	-	5
7	-	-	1
8	-	1	1
9	-	-	2
11	-	-	2
12	-	-	1
15	-	-	1
18	-	-	2
19	1	-	2
23	-	-	1

For the large number of people (58% of all property-holders) who had an interest in only one unit, the property involved was almost always the dwelling house, and where two properties were held (19% of holders) the second was often a garden. For those with a small amount of capital to spare, the acquisition of one, two, or three pieces of property besides the dwelling house was a common form of investment, but holders of more than four units formed only 8% of the total. Among the higher ranks of Winchester society there was great variety in the amount of property held. William Beacham, the incumbent mayor in 1604, held only one tenement, while his successor Richard Adderley owned no freeholds but held six leases from the city and two from private owners. One wealthy man with moderate interests in property was

William Symondes, who died in 1606 leaving over £1,000 in cash to his children[1]. In 1604 he owned the house called Hell at the west end of the Pentice, and leased the house next to it from St John's Hospital. From the city he held leases of a shop by the cross and another tenement, and he owned a brewhouse and another house. He also held lands in the rural parish of Chawton. Symondes therefore held only six properties in Winchester; most of them were situated in the wealthiest and most profitable position in the High Street, but he cannot be described as a large-scale investor in land or housing. There were however a few men who did put large amounts of capital into property. Thomas Clerke, the owner of Hyde Abbey, for example, owned nineteen properties clustered around his house in Hyde Street. Most examples of large property-holders come from the small group of gentlemen in the city; while there were some men dependent on trade who held substantial property - William Hodson, a draper with nineteen units, and Charles Newbolt, a glover with eighteen, were the outstanding examples - it is true to say that very few such men invested in it on a large scale, and some ignored it altogether. In contrast to sixteenth-century York, where many merchants amassed large holdings of urban property[2], Winchester property was not an attractive investment, a difference explained by the fact that in York an intra-mural population nearly eight times that of Winchester was crowded into an area less than twice as large, resulting in over-crowding and competition for housing and land.

Rural land-holding was similarly confined to a few top members of society, and particularly to gentlemen or those with aspirations to gentility. (Urban property in other Hampshire towns was rarely held by inhabitants of Winchester, and all but one of the ten instances known date from before 1565.) Some men needed land outside the city for their trade: William Brexstone, a

1. Prob. 11/109 (P.C.C. 10 Huddlestone).
2. D.M. Palliser, 'Some Aspects of the Social and Economic History of York' (Oxford D.Phil. thesis 1968), 201.

Winchester butcher, for example, held four closes at Otterbourne on which he kept his animals before slaughter[1]. Most of the lands held were small parcels like this, and the tiny group of holders of larger estates belonged without exception to the ranks of the gentry. Edmund Foster was described as both gentleman and draper, and his status is confirmed by his ownership of lands in Botley, Bursledon, and Wickham, and the lease of a farm at Portsea[2]. The Bethells of Hyde in the second generation held the manor of Worthy Pauncefote (Headbourne Worthy) and numerous other lands in Hampshire[3]. The beginnings of progress towards gentility by successful urban families are also discernible. Both William Lawrence and his father Gilbert held small rural estates[4], Stephen Bethell (a member of the urban branch of that family) left leases at Otterbourne and Hursley[5], and as already mentioned William Symondes built up an estate at Chawton. Leases of eccleasiastical revenues were similarly restricted to the highest ranks of Winchester society, and were more often given to gentlemen holding offices from the bishop or the dean and chapter than to urban office-holders. Walter Chaundeler, mayor in 1530 and a purchaser of monastic lands, obtained leases of the rectories of Hurstbourne Priors and St Mary Bourne from St Cross[6], and Richard Burton, twice mayor, held a lease of the vicarage of Sparsholt at his death in 1574[7]; but these successful men, both of whom had gentlemen sons, only support the general rule that no one in Winchester invested in property outside the city, whether land or tithes, unless they were ready to move on from urban society.

Without population pressure to create a demand for housing, building was undertaken only by the wealthy and usually for owner-occupation. There

1. H.C.R.O., Consistory Court Bk. 44, pp.166-7.
2. H.C.R.O. wills B 1563.
3. C 2/Eliz.I/W.22/52.
4. Prob. 11/65 (P.C.C. 13 Rowe); H.C.R.O. wills B 1537.
5. H.C.R.O. wills B 1577.
6. C 1/754/11; Prob. 11/31 (P.C.C. 24 Alen).
7. H.C.R.O. wills B 1574.

are occasional references to new housing in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries: the dean and chapter leased two tenements under one roof 'lately builded' in the High Street in 1562[1], Charles Newbolt bequeathed a 'newly erected' house in 1605[2], and the city leased a tenement lately built on waste ground outside Kingsgate in 1627[3], and other instances could be given; but the 'great rebuilding' passed Winchester by, and there was far more patching and piecemeal repair of the city's medieval housing than complete replacement. Tenements and plots were divided and amalgamated, according to need, though amalgamation was more common: the 1604 tarrage survey, for example, shows a building in the High Street covering at least four former tenements, and a new almshouse and garden in Minster Street where there had once been three cottages and two gardens, and two tenements under one roof in Shulworth Street were leased together for the first time in 1587[4]. A petition, probably Elizabethan, shows resentment against 'the joining of houses two three or four together...so that one man have any more houses than one without a tenant', and demands full taxation 'both with men and money' on each house so joined[5].

Locally-made bricks had been introduced at Winchester in the fifteenth century[6], and there were bricklayers in the city throughout the early modern period. The corporation bought large quantities of bricks which were used in private houses as well as public buildings, and brick chimneys were often added to old tenements. When the dean and chapter's extensive property was surveyed in 1649, however, every house was said to be built of timber and

1. W. Cath. MSS., Chapter Register V, f.13.
2. H.C.R.O. wills B 1605.
3. W.R.O., 4th Ledger Book, f.15.
4. W.R.O., 3rd Ledger Book, f.4v.
5. W.R.O., W.H. Jacob scrapbook no.3, p.24.
6. D.J. Keene, 'Aspects...of Medieval Winchester' (Oxford D.Phil. thesis 1973), 123-5.

Flemish wall and roofed with tile[1]. Certainly stone houses were rare, and a 'great stone house' in Jewry Street was used as a landmark in 1604. Nevertheless, masons were active in the city throughout the period (unlike York where there was no work for them after the Reformation[2]) working for the cathedral, the College, and the corporation. Ordinances against thatched roofs on the grounds that they were a fire hazard were still being re-issued in the 1660s[3] (although the corporation itself occasionally employed a thatcher) but it is probable that all substantial buildings were roofed with tiles or slates by the sixteenth century.

The maintenance of property demanded constant attention and expenditure from both landlord and tenant, and some houses literally fell down for lack of repairs. Seisin of one tenement in Wongar Street was formally delivered to its new owner in 1564 even though 'part of the house was ready to fall on their heads'[4], and a dean and chapter tenement in Minster Street collapsed in 1587 and had not been rebuilt by 1604. In the late sixteenth century the corporation (unlike the dean and chapter) made specified repairs and additions a condition of many of their leases: tenants were frequently required to build a chimney, add a chamber or loft, sink a well on the premises, or spend a certain sum on repairs[5], and inventories confirm that such additions were being made, with references to a new chamber, a 'great new loft', or a new parlour with a chamber over it[6].

Glass windows in private houses spread in the 1570s, as at Leicester, when glass became cheaper[7]. There were glaziers at Winchester throughout the

1. W. Cath. MSS., Cupboard 2, Survey of Dean & Chapter Lands 1649, ff.17-74. Such uniformity in building materials seems rather unlikely.
2. D.M. Palliser, 'The Trade Gilds of Tudor York', Crisis and Crder in English Towns, ed. Clark and Slack, 93-4.
3. 6th Bk. Ord., f.4.
4. Req. 2/136/71.
5. E.g. W.R.O., 3rd Ledger Book, ff.4v., 14v., 15v., 31, 36v., 42v., 44, 52v.
6. H.C.R.O. wills B 1585 (inventory of John Potinger); A 1586 (inventory of Richard Hampden); H.C.R.O. Adm. 1583 (inventory of John Twyne).
7. W.G. Hoskins, 'An Elizabethan Butcher of Leicester', Essays in Leicestershire History, 111.

sixteenth century, but until the 1570s they were mostly employed by the College, the cathedral, and the parish churches. The windows of the Counsel House, the room on the first floor of the Guildhall, were glazed by 1559[1], but the first freeman glazier, James Mershe, was not admitted until 1576 although he had been working in the city since 1565. As early as 1558 one wealthy merchant had a 'glass chamber' in his house[2], but even in the 1580s glass windows were sufficiently rare to be valued separately in inventories, and city leases stipulated that tenants should leave behind panelling, benches, and glass windows at the end of their tenancies. The glass used in Winchester may have been locally made by the French colony of glassmakers at Buckholt in north Hampshire in the 1570s, who certainly did business in the city for one of them sued a Taunton glass-carrier in the Pie-Powder Court[3]. Panelling in private houses also became more popular from the 1570s, and was still valued separately in the 1580s. Major alterations to the interior of the Guildhall in 1570-1 included the installation of 'seallinge' or wall-panelling[4]. Since this work was carried out by joiners, it is not surprising to find joined furniture appearing in houses at the same period. A joiner was at work before 1561[5], but probably there were better craftsmen elsewhere, for in 1560 a Winchester testator bequeathed a new joined cupboard, a joined bedstead, and a fair joined table with a form, all to be made at Southampton[6]. By the late 1570s several joiners were active at Winchester, the city had acquired seven joined forms for the mayor and citizens to sit on while listening to sermons[7], and many private houses contained joined furniture.

1. 1st Bk. Ord., f.121.
2. H.C.R.O. wills U 1558 (inventory of Stephen Caplin).
3. G.H. Kenyon, The Glass Industry of the Weald, 214-15; W.R.O., Town Court Roll 54/Bk. 1579-81, f.70.
4. W.R.O., chamb. acct. 12-13 Eliz.
5. H.C.R.O. wills U 1560 (will of William Mosse).
6. H.C.R.O. wills U 1560 (will of William Luke).
7. W.R.O., chamb. acct. 14-15 Eliz.

As the inventories in Table 6 show, personal possessions and the contents of houses could form more than half of a man's estate, and most men of wealth acquired some luxury goods to mark their status. During the second half of the sixteenth century there occurred both a general rise in wealth - general at least among the will-making classes, though the poor may have got poorer[1] - and an increase in the kinds of consumer goods available. It was only from the 1560s and 1570s that drinking glasses, clocks, and feather-beds became common, for example. One man in 1573 had a 'standing desk to write on' in his study, another in 1606 had a pair of virginals. It was during the second half of the sixteenth century that bookbinders, joiners, metalworkers, and stationers made their appearance in Winchester, and their products contributed to the rise of general shopkeepers, especially grocers: one grocer's shop in 1596 contained buttons, gunpowder, spices, tobacco and tobacco cases, wicker glass bottles, paper, wax candles, spectacles, dice, playing cards, knitting needles, looking glasses, and eight dozen Morris bells[2].

It would be interesting to know whether the successful Winchester citizen spent his old age in retirement, after a lifetime of accumulation and investment, but the evidence is sparse; the scarcity of references to retirement, however, suggests that of those who escaped early death by accident, plague, or other illness, many continued to work as long as their health permitted. Advanced age was no bar to office-holding, and the city's oldest men were respected for their long experience in government. Deponents summoned to clarify custom or to explain events long past could be over 70, at an age when memory might fail, but exact recollection was of less importance than the authority and wisdom they were presumed to have acquired with age. Two cases where a man made a deed of gift of all his goods to his son are known: in one case the son agreed to leave the goods in his father's inn

1. C. Hill, Reformation to Industrial Revolution, 87.
2. H.C.R.O. wills A 1596 (inventory of Robert Rolfe).

until the father died, presumably so that he could continue to work[1], and in the other case the father, 'being very aged and desiring quietness in his old age', gave his possessions to his son who promised to maintain his parents during their lifetimes and to pay his father's debts[2]. In his will made in 1591 Edmund Bedham the younger asked his wife to provide his aged father with food and clothing for life[3], and a clothier of the Soke in 1590 left his wife a chamber in the dwelling house for life, food, and 40s a year[4]. Leaving a chamber or part of the house for the widow was a common practice, and in one case a tenement had already been divided to accommodate two generations, the parents (who held the lease) in one part and their adult son in the other[5].

By long-standing custom, the division of a Winchester testator's estate was left entirely to his discretion[6], and the result was wide variety in inheritance patterns. Primogeniture was the most common practice and in cases of intestacy estates were normally awarded to the eldest son, but different family circumstances produced many variations on this pattern. Such freedom was only possible in a town: in the countryside where livelihood depended on land it was necessary to transfer the estate intact to one member of the next generation, but in urban life no single item in the estate was essential for earning a living. Some of the motives leading to unconventional inheritance are illustrated by the case of Philip Steptoe, who died in 1589. When Steptoe was urged during his last illness to write a will, he 'answered no, for if I should make my will, others would know what I am worth and then I should be assessed to the Queen and made [to] pay to the poormen's box'.

1. C 2/Jas.I/L.14/48.
2. C 2/Eliz.I/W.19/45.
3. H.C.R.O. wills B 1591.
4. Prob. 11/76 (P.C.C. 58 Drury, will of John Fisher).
5. H.C.R.O. wills A 1587 (will of Francis Woodshaw).
6. The custom was formally stated in a Chancery case in 1568: C 3/135/60.

On his deathbed he refused to leave anything to his brothers because 'I have done for them and they never did for me, they have had enough already', or to his wife's children 'for (quoth he) they have robbed me already'; eventually he left his bed to his maid, 20s to his sister's daughter, and the residue of his estate to his neighbours, two wealthy tanners[1]. A testator's wife was often given a life-interest in the dwelling house, or she might receive the residue after certain bequests or even the whole estate, a process often leading to the break-up of the estate since Winchester women were more prone than men to divide their property equally between all their surviving children. Urban housing, whether owned or leased, was frequently divided between children or other relatives. Brothers and sisters and their children, cousins, the spouse's relatives, sons-in-law, and occasionally parents could all inherit. Some testators ignored their families and left property to servants, friends, and godchildren, though their families could bring suit and try to recover the inheritance. In 1624 William Hodson, a wealthy ex-mayor, left his entire estate to Anne Tomes, the servant who had tended him and his wife in their old age for more than twenty years; Hodson's son received only an annuity of £12 a year, and even though Hodson had taken the precaution of having his will witnessed by the mayor and others, his son's family was still trying to overturn it in 1670 after many years of litigation[2]. Anne Tomes married one gentleman within six weeks of her master's death and a second in 1651, and died a wealthy woman[3]. Though inheritance after death was the main occasion for the transfer of property between generations, parts of an estate could be given to children during their parents' lifetime. Daughters commonly received dowries at marriage and only token legacies thereafter, and sons too, on reaching their majority (at ages between 20 and 24, according to

1. H.C.R.O., Consistory Court Bk. 55, ff.476-80.
2. C 3/412/109; C 5/90/21.
3. A. Willis, Hampshire Marriage Licences 1607-40, 41; C 5/412/111.

office-holders' wills, with 21 the most favoured age) or on their marriage, were often given money or property. Thus wills often bequeath very small sums to married children and divide most of the estate between the wife and younger children. The desire among Winchester testators to provide for all their children is similar to that found at Worcester[1].

An understanding of early modern society requires attention to the qualitative aspects of life as well as to those which can be quantified - what kind of society was it that the Winchester elite dominated, and what kind of people were they? The surviving evidence unfortunately provides little more than vague impressions, but a few general points can be made. First, it was a very violent society by modern English standards. Freemen were constantly being expelled from the freedom for slandering the mayor, and the highest office-holders could react with violence too. Robert Hodson, an ex-mayor, knocked a tailor down over his stall and had to pay him 40d 'for ye healing of my head' in 1549[2]. In 1535 the mayor led an attack on the prior's liberty of Godbegot[3], and another mayor drew his dagger on one of the serjeants in 1560[4]. Arrests were frequently the occasions of uproar and violence: in 1609 the county under-sheriff, city constables, and others went to the Chequer Inn to make an arrest but failed to find their man, so they broke down two doors, beat his wife and daughters, and 'made such an uproar and stir that about a thousand persons were gathered together and the whole town as it were in an uproar'[5], and in 1620 a constable clubbed a woman on the head when she tried to prevent him making an arrest[6]. The wives of prominent men were no less violent, and an argument in the street could quickly degenerate into a brawl. Agnes Heycroft and Friswith Hodson, the

1. A.D. Dyer, The City of Worcester in the 16th century, 180.
2. H.C.R.O. wills B 1549 (inventory of Richard Glaspole).
3. A.W. Goodman, The Manor of Goodbegot, 34.
4. 1st Bk. Ord., f.124.
5. Sta. Cha. 8/144/1.
6. W.R.O., W.H. Jacob scrapbook no.3, p.28.

wives of leading office-holders, stood in the High Street in 1544 with crowds gathering around them and called each other everything from 'pocky-nosed housewife' to 'measled-faced whore'[1], and a dispute between women at the town washing-place in 1569 ended with two of them pushing one another into the water[2]. Violence was in part a result of the strains of living with very little privacy, for houses were built close together and walls were thin, so that little escaped the neighbours on either side or people in the street. Even the wealthier families lived close together in a few rooms[3], and the frequent appearance of servants as witnesses in adultery cases demonstrates their intimate knowledge of their employers' lives.

Using legal records it is easy to overestimate public consciousness of the law in every sphere of activity. Winchester society was sharply divided in its attitude to law: there was a small top group who understood the law and how to make it work to their advantage, while classes below the elite were both ignorant and deeply suspicious of law and authority. Only one member of the Winchester oligarchy appears in the registers of the Inns of Court, but certain people acquired a reputation for legal knowledge. Giles White was described in his youth as 'a young man...who practices old precedents made by learned men', and he left 'books of the law' to his son in 1574[4]. William Bagger, who practised the trades of attorney and beer-brewer, advised the new bailiff of the bishop's liberty on his duties in 1580[5] and was consulted on a point of law by the bishop in 1590[6]. Lower down the social scale, on the other hand, a witness in the Consistory Court in 1591 confessed that 'he was never sworn till this day, neither greatly

1. H.C.R.O., Consistory Court Bk. 6, p.444.
2. Ibid. Bk. 24, p.580.
3. For a discussion of this point and its connection with aggression, see J. Demos, in Household and Family in Past Time, ed. P. Laslett, 562-4.
4. C 1/796/22; H.C.R.C. wills B 1574.
5. B.L. Cotton MS. Vesp. F. ix, ff.243-4.
6. E 134/32 Eliz.I/East.6.

understandeth ye skill of an oath judicial'[1]. The division between the knowledgeable and powerful on one side, and the ignorant and powerless on the other, naturally bred hostility and suspicion. In 1543 an angry witness accused a senior Consistory Court official of caring more about extracting money from suspects than finding the true culprit[2], and another official in 1564 was told, 'Thou hast no other living but upon bribing and art glad when thou must undo a poor man; and when one should have done penance in Isle of Wight thou went and took sheep or hogs of him and certified that he did penance when he did never at all'[3]. Ignorance of the law led to a casual attitude to agreements and documents which could be a poor man's downfall. Servants made informal marriage contracts in the master's kitchen and expected them to be binding, and in 1592 a passer-by was brought in from the street to witness a dying man's will[4]. A woman entrusted the deeds of her house to Edward Cole for safe-keeping, and Cole's son granted leases of the property and refused to return the deeds[5]; it is remarkable how often vital documents were left in the custody of prominent (and sometimes unscrupulous) men, even when the documents were their owners' only protection as proof of ownership or payment. The difference between knowledge and ignorance of the law was determined partly by access to education. Winchester schools and the level of literacy are discussed elsewhere[6], but it is worth noting that office-holders were better educated than the average; of the 205 mayors and bailiffs between 1520 and 1670, a minimum of 114 (56%) could sign their names, compared with 4% of male Consistory Court deponents. Only fifteen office-holders were definitely unable to sign, and some were on their death-beds at the time. Winchester's office-holders compared favourably in

1. H.C.R.O., Consistory Court Bk. 62, p.159.
2. Ibid., Bk. 6, p.411.
3. Ibid., Bk. 19, p.12.
4. Ibid., Bk. 6, p.352; Bk. 44, p.49; Bk. 62, p.264.
5. C 2/Jas.I/M.14/31.
6. See pp.76-8, 224.

this respect with those of Newcastle upon Tyne, where illiteracy was more common[1].

This study of Winchester society has so far virtually ignored the female half of the city's population, and will perforce continue to do so since almost all historical records were written by, for, and about men. Women were never admitted as freemen at Winchester (unlike some other towns), few had access to education and no female witnesses in the Consistory Court could sign their names, and only a handful of married women made wills to dispose of their own property. While a woman was married she was an extension of her husband and derived her social status from him. The wives of the mayor, ex-mayors, and freemen attended city feasts in the early seventeenth century[2], and in 1579 an ordinance required the wives of office-holders to wear scarlet gowns on the days when their husbands wore them, but that proved too expensive and the ordinance was soon repealed[3]. The chamberlains even tried unsuccessfully to extract the unpaid residue of two men's freemen's money from their widows in 1555[4]. Though wives probably helped in their husbands' businesses, only one case is known where a married woman traded independently, and she was in the same occupation as her husband[5]. Widows could trade more freely, though their numbers were never large; a few widows were taxed for artificers' money, one clothier's widow sent cloths to Southampton, and in 1657 a widow left a feltmaker's workshop and equipment to her sons[6]. Widows were most common in the retail food trades, particularly as tipplers and bakers, but as non-freemen they could not take apprentices or journeymen[7] and the scale of their businesses was therefore limited. Women employed by the College were paid wages equal to or below those of a

1. R. Howell, Newcastle upon Tyne and the Puritan Revolution, 14.
2. E.g. W.R.O., Coffer Accounts 1628-61, 27 Nov. 1629.
3. 1st Bk. Ord., ff.200, 226.
4. W.R.O., chamb. acct. 1&2 P. & M. - 2&3 P. & M.
5. H.C.R.O., Consistory Court Bk. 44, p.166.
6. H.C.R.O. wills P.C.C. 1657 (will of Joan Skinner).
7. A widow was presented for 'entertaining' a young man 'in the nature of a journeyman' about 1645: Winchester City Library, W.H. Jacob scrapbook, p.46.

labourer, which were about half the amount paid to a craftsman[1]. One indisputably female profession, prostitution, was heavily penalised - cart-loads of 'infames mulieres' were driven out of the city in the 1550s and 1560s, with the town drum beaten before them to draw attention to their shame[2]. Socially, women were less restricted than in their economic lives. Taverns and inns, for example, were not yet male institutions, and women could drink with men. Women could follow their religious convictions with less fear of penalty than men, a fact recognised by Bishop Watson in 1580 when he summoned the husbands of recusant women and imposed a weekly tax on them until their wives attended church[3]. The bishop was less sure how to deal with recusant widows, and it is clear that women attained their maximum independence in widowhood. When husbands were away from home, wives were left in charge of both household and business, and the running of a large household was no small task. A Jesuit priest who visited Roger Corham's house at Hyde Barton in 1585 met Corham's wife, a known recusant, 'but when she perceived what I was, she requested me to hold her excused. Her husband was not at home, her house was full of strangers, and she had sheep to shear; and wherefore she prayed me to depart'[4]. Women like Mrs Corham could use their capabilities to the full at home, but other outlets for their energy and abilities were strictly limited.

As has already been mentioned, geographical mobility was a characteristic of both males and females in Winchester's population, and the majority of the city's adult inhabitants in the sixteenth century had been born elsewhere. Some conclusions about migration into Winchester can be drawn from a study of witnesses' biographies in the Consistory Court deposition books, which survive

1. British Library of Political and Economic Science, Beveridge Papers (Prices and Wages: Winchester College) F 8.
2. W.R.O., chamb. acct. 5-6 Edw.VI, 5-6 Eliz.
3. S.P. 12/144 (36).
4. H. Foley, Records of English Province of Society of Jesus, iii. 278.

for the periods 1533-44 and 1561-1600. One hundred and twenty-three witnesses who gave their place of birth had spent some part of their lives in Winchester or the Soke; forty-nine were resident in Winchester at the time of their appearance in court, fifty-six in the Soke, and eighteen elsewhere in Hampshire. The Soke is over-represented in relation to its population, probably because most similar cases arising in the city were dealt with by the city court. The social class of deponents varied from servants and labourers to gentlemen and members of the oligarchy, representing all but the unemployed poor[1]. Table 8 gives the deponents' occupations and birth-places, and shows that less than a quarter of them had stayed where they were born, a proportion very close to that found for sixteenth-century Canterbury and Maidstone[2] and seventeenth-century Sussex[3]. Just over half the newcomers to Winchester came from within the county, and 29% of the deponents had travelled from further afield, a slightly higher proportion than in the Kentish towns. Although the city authorities maintained a policy of economic discrimination against 'foreigners', there can have been little personal antagonism against immigrants when they constituted a majority of the population and when many members of the oligarchy had themselves been born outside the city.

At Winchester 69% of witnesses who had moved had done so once, 22% moved twice, and 9% moved more than twice. Because of the form in which deponents' particulars were noted, however, second and subsequent journeys were often omitted; once he had noted the deponent's birth-place and present residence, the clerk probably ignored details of other parishes in which the deponent had lived. The figure of 31% who had moved more than once, which in itself

1. Cf. J. Cornwall, 'Evidence of Population Mobility in the 17th century', B.I.H.R. xl (1967), in which the sample is drawn mostly from the upper end of the rural social scale. For a discussion of the limitations of depositions as evidence, applicable also to Winchester, see P. Clark, 'The Migrant in Kentish Towns 1580-1640', Crisis and Order in English Towns, ed. Clark and Slack, 119-20 and passim.
2. Clark, op. cit., 122.
3. Cornwall, op. cit., 148.

Table 8

Occupations and birthplaces of Consistory Court deponents 1533-1600 who were or had been resident in Winchester or the Soke

Occupation	Born in city or Soke	Born elsewhere in Hants.	Born outside Hants.	Total
wife	2 (1)	5	5	12
husbandman	3 (3)	7 (3)	-	10
tailor	4 (2)	1	3	8
weaver	3 (1)	3	2	8
yeoman	1	2 (1)	4	7
shoemaker	3	2	1	6
servant	-	4	2	6
shearman	1	2	2	5
clerk	3 (2)	2	-	5
brewer	1	1	1 (1)	3
gentleman	1	-	2 (1)	3
tapster, tippler, hostler	2	-	1	3
blacksmith	2 (2)	1	-	3
butcher	-	2	-	2
baker	1	-	1	2
mercer	-	-	2	2
clothier	1	-	1	2
glover	-	-	2	2
gardener	2	-	-	2
notary public	1	-	1	2
almsman	-	2	-	2
helier (tiler)	2 (1)	-	-	2
labourer	-	2	-	2
fisher	1	-	-	1
glazier	1	-	-	1
haberdasher	1	-	-	1
tanner	1	-	-	1
joiner	-	-	1	1
bricklayer	-	-	1	1
miller	-	1	-	1

Table 8 (continued)

Occupation	Born in city or Soke	Born elsewhere in Hants.	Born outside Hants.	Total
cooper	1	-	-	1
fletcher	-	-	1	1
singing-man	-	1	-	1
armourer	-	-	1	1
plasterer	-	-	1	1
goldsmith	1	-	-	1
barber	-	1	-	1
apothecary	-	1	-	1
unknown	5	3	1	9
	44 (36%)	43 (35%)	36 (29%)	123

(Figures in brackets show deponents no longer resident in Winchester.)

is high, should therefore be regarded as a minimum. Husbandmen were the most mobile occupational group, though all of them had been born in Hampshire, none had spent any time outside the county, and their journeys tended to be short. The other occupation with unusually high geographical mobility was that of servant. Five servants from a Hyde Street gentleman's household appeared as witnesses in 1597: one girl was from Bishop's Waltham and a second from Greatham, twenty miles away near the Sussex border, while the third had come all the way from Monmouthshire, and the two menservants were from West Boarhunt near Portsmouth and from Sussex. In the same year, the gentry of Hampshire gave as their reason for not holding musters 'the usual exchange and departure out of the country of servants at Michaelmas'[1].

Journeys made within Hampshire were naturally more common than immigration from other counties, and six of the immigrants born outside the county had spent some time in another Hampshire parish before moving on to Winchester. Fifty-six deponents (not all included in Table 8) stated the parish of their last residence before moving to Winchester. Seventeen had moved less than five miles to the city, eleven 5-10 miles, nineteen 10-15 miles, six 15-20 miles, and three more than twenty miles. This rather odd distribution makes more sense if the deponents are divided according to the regions of Hampshire from which they had come, and it is likely that further research on population distribution throughout the county would agree with the origins of deponents in showing more people south and west of Winchester than to the north and east.

The same drift from west to east is more clearly apparent in the thirty-six cases of migration from other counties. Counties to the west of Hampshire sent fourteen deponents: one each from Devon and Cornwall, two from Wiltshire, and five each from Somerset and Dorset. Four came from Wales and Monmouth-

1. Hist. MSS. Comm., Salisbury MSS, vii, p.451; see also E.E. Rich, 'The Population of Elizabethan England', Econ. H.R. ii (1949-50), 260.

shire, two from Gloucestershire, one each from Shropshire, Staffordshire, and Warwickshire, and three from Cheshire, making a total of twenty-six from counties south-west and north-west of Hampshire. Sussex and Surrey provided two deponents each, Berkshire three, and London one, but all the rest of eastern and midland England provided only one man, an official of the bishop from Nottinghamshire. The total of thirty-six was completed by a baker from Guernsey. The numbers are too small to establish connections between certain counties and occupations, though Somerset's five deponents included a mercer, a clothier, and a shearman, and two of the immigrants from Cheshire were weavers. The number of people from north Wales and Cheshire is another sign of the Welsh connection with Winchester already noted. An analysis of the seventeenth-century Southampton apprenticeship registers leads to similar conclusions on the origins of immigrants: about a third were natives of the town, and most of the rest from within Hampshire. Of those from other counties, the majority were from Wiltshire, Dorset, and Somerset, and very few came from northern or eastern England[1]. When nine people were sentenced to be flogged and branded for 'roguish life and vagabondry' at the county Quarter Sessions in 1572, two were from Hampshire, two from Wiltshire, and one each from Glamorgan, Somerset, Dorset, Devon, and Cornwall[2]. Thus evidence from outside Winchester confirms the impression of a general drift of population from west to east, not all of which reached London.

To determine the motives behind migration to Winchester would require more evidence than is available, but the few surviving scraps of information tend to confirm Clark's identification of two types of migration, for 'betterment' and for subsistence[3]. Many Winchester immigrants arrived during

1. Calendar of Southampton Apprenticeship Registers, 1609-1740 (Southampton Records Series xii), p.xxx.
2. H.C.R.O., Q.M./1, f.112.
3. P. Clark, 'The Migrant in Kentish Towns', Crisis and Order in English Towns, ed. Clark and Slack, 134-50.

their teens, and probably came to be apprenticed; one example was William Ked of Coventry, who arrived in 1525 at the age of fifteen and was apprenticed to Arnold Bilson as a beerbrewer[1]. Kinship was another important aspect of betterment migration. One suit in 1592, for example, involved Robert and John Uphill, probably brothers, from Wimborne Minster in Dorset, and a woman who was also from Wimborne and may have been related to the Uphills[2]. It was common for young men to become the servants or apprentices of distant kin. William Wren, who had recently arrived from Wantage in Berkshire, deposed in 1565 that he was a servant of Robert Marshall, a wealthy tanner of the Soke, and had previously been servant to Ingram Wren for three years, and when Marshall died in 1593 he left money to the children of his cousin John Wren[3].

Ecclesiastical court records reveal only respectable migrants, since the poor and jobless made unimpressive witnesses, but Winchester certainly attracted large numbers of subsistence immigrants and they probably outnumbered those who moved for betterment. Like all other towns in the sixteenth century, Winchester was a focus for the wandering poor and waged a constant but losing battle against them. The influx was especially great at the times of Assizes and Quarter Sessions, when Winchester was already full of officials and litigants. Towns were the obvious destinations for the poor, as places where begging was more profitable, poor relief more organised, and casual employment more easily obtained, and the fact that Winchester was the county town and seat of Sessions and Assizes, as well as a cathedral city, probably drew more paupers there than to other towns which might have been better able to help them[4].

1. H.C.R.O., Consistory Court Bk. 6, p.332.
2. Ibid., Bk.62, pp.159-64.
3. Ibid., Bk. 19, p.206; H.C.R.O. wills A 1593.
4. For a discussion of poor relief in Winchester, see Chapter 6.

Emigration from Winchester by the offspring of successful men has already been noted, and obviously people of all classes left the city, some after only a short stay there. William Eling, for example, lived for four years at Winchester as a young man before returning in 1582 to Southampton where he had been born. The city may have served as a staging-post for some long-distance migrants moving eastwards towards London. But in the absence of evidence it is impossible to judge the extent and significance of emigration or to determine its effects on the city's overall population size.

Estimates of population in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are hazardous at best, and the high mobility found at Winchester only adds to doubts about the reliability of contemporary head-counting and the unknown proportion of the population omitted from the count. All population figures must therefore be approximate. Calculations based on the 1524 subsidy give minimum totals of about 1,400 for the city and about 1,200 in the Soke, and the next point at which an estimate is possible occurs with the ecclesiastical census of 1603[1]. Totals of potential communicants in 1603 were as follows:

St Maurice	258
St Peter Colebrook	121
St Clement's	137
St Thomas	164
St Laurence	78
St Mary Kalender	201
Total for the city	959
St Swithun upon Kingsgate	67
St Michael in Kingsgate Street	167
St Bartholomew	153
St Peter Chesil	151
St John in the Soke	249
St Cross	105
Total for the Soke	892

1. B.L. Harl. MS. 595, ff.214-15. The return to the 1563 enquiry for Winchester diocese (ibid., ff.258-9) does not include any figures.

The proportion of the population below the age of sixteen (that is, not yet able to receive communion and therefore omitted from the census) has been estimated at 33⅓% or 40%. Total population in the city was therefore between 1,400 and 1,600, and in the Soke between 1,300 and 1,500, and these are probably minimum figures. Between 1524 and 1603, then, Winchester's population may have increased by perhaps 10 or 15%, an unspectacular growth-rate.

Figures of baptisms and burials extracted from the few surviving parish registers suggest a higher rate of growth, but they cover only one city parish (St Maurice[1]) and only brief periods in the various Soke parishes (see Table 9). In most five-year periods there were more baptisms than burials, but not a sufficiently large surplus to account for the increased totals of both baptisms and burials in the early seventeenth century, and if these parishes were typical then it appears that immigration was more than compensating for emigration from Winchester. Without more registers, however, it would be dangerous to speculate further. The city's sixteenth-century growth, if it was indeed as sluggish as 10 or 15% as suggested by estimated population totals, may be compared with increases during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries of nearly 40% at Exeter[2], 100% at Worcester[3], and more than 100% at Plymouth, Bideford, and Tiverton[4]. The same vigorous growth has been found in rural areas, and is usually assumed for the total population of England[5]. Yet towns which were not well placed to profit by post-medieval conditions did not experience this population increase, and Winchester was not the only town bypassed by the boom.

1. The register for St Maurice is said to cover St Mary Kalender and St Peter Colebrook as well, but the three parishes never shared an incumbent during this period so it is extremely unlikely that they shared a register.
2. MacCaffrey, Exeter 1540-1640, 11-13.
3. Dyer, City of Worcester in the 16th century, 19-32.
4. Hoskins, Provincial England, 146.
5. Ibid.

Table 9

Totals of baptisms and burials in Winchester parishes 1560-1644

	St Maurice		St Bartholomew		St John in the Soke		St Peter Chesil		St Swithun upon Kingsgate*	
	Bapt.	Bur.	Bapt.	Bur.	Bapt.	Bur.	Bapt.	Bur.	Bapt.	Bur.
1560-4		75								
1565-9		47	28	14					25	10
1570-4		39	32	33					20	10
1575-9	68	42	42	25					19	0
1580-4	59	54	47	28					13	6
1585-9	81	80	32	33					20	6
1590-4	103	100	38	33					23	10
1595-9	74	76	44	43					18	14
1600-4	99	65	60	25				72	4	0
1605-9	91	74		48	73			40	18	3
1610-14	107	95	40	22	71		54	44	27	0
1615-19	144	100			83	51	64	40	25	2
1620-4	118	106			59	48	42	16	17	2
1625-9	118	181		14					0	1
1630-4	123	99		25			St Michael in Kingsgate St.		11	4
1635-9	108	125			42	72	46	24	36	9
1640-4	129	150			58	62	44	27	18	

* The burials of parishioners of St Swithun upon Kingsgate were presumably taking place in other parishes.

Stamford had only a small rise in population, and Lincoln too was growing only slightly[1].

Expansion due to natural increase and immigration would have been far greater without the constant checks of epidemics. None of the sixteenth-cebtury outbreaks produced catastrophic mortality at Winchester, but the city was affected by most of the national outbreaks of plague and other diseases. There was plague in the city in 1522, causing the king to change his plans and leave Winchester[2], but no further illness was recorded there until 1544, when Andrew Power, a former monk and keeper of the Charnel Chapel, died of the 'common sickness called the pestilence' and infected his servant and kinsman John Power, who also died[3]. The Pavilion Court at St Giles' Fair was cancelled in 1547-8 because of the great sickness in Winchester[4]. There is no sign of the great outbreak of sweating sickness experienced elsewhere in 1551, but records of that year are sparse due to the gap between the Black Book and the 1st Book of Ordinances. Edward VI cut short his progress in Hampshire in September 1552 because of 'maladies' in the area, and in the same month a boy was admitted to St John's Hospital with suspected plague and the mayoral election was moved, though no general sickness followed[5]. After avoiding the widespread illness of 1551, however, Winchester succumbed to the epidemics of the late 1550s. The Pavilion Court was cancelled due to sickness in all three years 1557-8, 1558-9, and 1559-60, and the Book of Ordinances recorded 'great sickness' in the city in 1558, probably the influenza experienced elsewhere[6]. Unusually high mortality in these years is also suggested by the number of citizens' wills proved at

1. J. Thirsk, 'Tudor and Stuart Stamford', The Making of Stamford, ed. A. Rogers, 60; J.W.F. Hill, Tudor and Stuart Lincoln, 89.
2. Cal. S.P. Spanish, 1509-25, ii. 448.
3. C 1/1097/4; H.C.R.O. wills A 1544 (will of John Power).
4. H.C.R.O., Eccl. 2/155888B.
5. Cal. S.P. Spanish, 1550-2, 561; 1st Bk. Ord., f.98.
6. H.C.R.O., Eccl. 2/155896-8; 1st Bk. Ord., f.120; C. Creighton, A History of Epidemics in Britain (2nd edn. 1965), i. 403.

Winchester; in only two years of the sixteenth century did the total rise above ten, namely 1557 with eleven wills and 1558 with fourteen. The culmination of this unhealthy period came in 1563-4 with the most serious attack of the sixteenth century. The fair normally held in the city on St Edward's Day (13 October) was cancelled 'for fear of infection that might ensue'[1]; the wording suggests that the plague had not yet reached the city, and burials in St Maurice parish in 1563 were not abnormally high. By 1564, however, Winchester was definitely infected: the annual St John's supper and the scouring of the brooks were cancelled, and the city employed a man to paint crosses on the door-posts of infected houses[2], while burials in St Maurice rose sharply. There was a doctor in Winchester during this period - Thomas Chaundeler's will was witnessed in January 1564 by one Julius Borgarucius M.D., who was probably the 'Doctor Julye' to whom the city gave wine the same year[3] - but he was not necessarily employed by the city authorities and there was little he could have done to help. After the sickly period 1544-64 there followed almost twenty years when no unusual disease was recorded. In 1583 however the plague returned; the St John's supper was cancelled, and the gates were closely watched at the time of the fair[4]. It was in this epidemic that the city first built a pesthouse for the people infected, and was spurred into issuing a set of instructions to prevent the spread of infection[5]. The disease lingered, for burials in St Maurice were higher in 1584 and 1585 than in 1583, and 1588 was another bad year. The comparitively healthy years in the first half of Elizabeth's reign had given way to a long period of spasmodic outbreaks of disease, which led up to, and contributed to, the general malaise of the early seventeenth century.

1. W.R.O., Proceedings in Boromote, ff.53, 56.
2. 1st Bk. Ord., f.138v.; W.R.O., chamb. acct. 5-6 Eliz.
3. Prob. 11/47 (P.C.C. 17 Stevenson); W.R.O., chamb. acct. 5-6 Eliz.
4. W.R.O., chamb. acct. 24-5 Eliz.
5. Ibid. For discussion of the city's precautions, and details of 17th-century epidemics, see Chapter 6.

CHAPTER 5

Industry and Trade

The number of Winchester's inhabitants born in distant villages and towns is a reminder of the community's social ties with people and places outside its walls. In its economic life, links with the outside world were essential to the city's existence, providing raw materials for its industries and customers for its markets. Concentration on a single town must distort the picture of complex economic networks extending over a whole region, but no one has yet written an economic history of the southern counties in the early modern period, and for the purposes of this thesis an examination of the economy of Winchester and its suburbs must suffice.

The manufacture of cloth, the largest productive occupation in Winchester as in the majority of sixteenth-century English towns, provides a good example of an industry dependent on raw materials, labour, and markets far from the city. Hampshire had been an important producer of woollen broadcloths in the Middle Ages, but in the fifteenth century the county began to specialise in kerseys, which were lighter, narrower, and cheaper than the traditional high-quality broadcloths[1]. The Hampshire kersey, made in Surrey and Sussex as well as Hampshire[2], was however a finer cloth in the early sixteenth century than the northern kersey by whose competition it was eventually overcome.

Most of the wool from which cloth was produced at Winchester was locally grown. Sheep in Hampshire were pastured mainly on the chalk downs

1. V.C.H. Hants. v. 482-4; D.C. Coleman, 'An Innovation and its Diffusion: the New Draperies', Econ. H.R. xxii (1969), 421.
2. P.J. Bowden, The Wool Trade in Tudor and Stuart England, 51.

and their wool was fine and short-stapled, suitable for kerseys and broadcloths. Although clothiers complained that Hampshire wool was apt to be 'foul unclean and tarry'[1], the decline of midland wools in the sixteenth century brought Hampshire wool into favour, and by the mid seventeenth century it was regarded as one of the finest clothing wools in England[2]. Cuthbert Crooke, the greatest Winchester clothier in the later sixteenth century, bought some of his wool in 1580 from the vicar of Twyford just south of the city and the rest from other Hampshire growers[3], while Thomas Baker of Winchester in the first half of the century arranged to buy the entire clip of a husbandman from Pitt, west of the city, every year for life, and bought more wool in Beauworth[4]. The clothiers of Winchester were well situated with good sheep country at hand in every direction, and at least one of them sold wool as well as buying it[5].

Some of the wool used by Winchester clothiers was dyed before being spun and woven into cloth. Phyllis Faringdon, widow first of a Winchester fuller and then of a clothier, left a tod of medley wool in her wool loft as well as white wool[6], a Welsh servant of the bishop in 1583 had blue wool among his few possessions[7], and another clothier at his death had four tods of blue wool and eight of white wool[8]. The dyed wool was oiled in the usual way, with Spanish oil imported via Southampton, after which it was ready to be carded and spun into yarn. Spinning is the least well documented process in Winchester. Only four references to spinning-wheels have been

1. H.C.R.O., Consistory Court Bk. 50, ff.260-1.
2. P.J. Bowden, 'Wool Supply and the Woollen Industry', Econ. H.R. ix (1956-7), 47. Two Wiltshire men bought wool at Winchester in 1611: N.J. Williams, Tradesmen in Early-Stuart Wiltshire (Wilts. Arch. Soc., Records Branch, xv (1959)), 64.
3. H.C.R.O., Consistory Court Bk. 50, f.260.
4. C 1/386/43-4; C1/290/3.
5. H.C.R.O. wills B 1548 (inventory of William Faringdon): debt of £60 for wool, owed by Margaret Fisher of Overton.
6. Ibid. B 1558 (inventory of Phyllis Faringdon).
7. Ibid. B 1583 (inventory of John Apowell).
8. Ibid. B 1573 (inventory of Robert Hodson).

found in more than a hundred inventories, and three of the four belonged to clothworkers; one possible explanation is that spinning was done by people too poor to leave inventories, or perhaps clothiers sent most of their wool out to spinners in the countryside. Yarn was sold at the St Edward's Day fair in 1598, and had probably been prepared outside Winchester[1]. The corporation and the dean and chapter did however provide wool for spinning as a poor relief measure in the later sixteenth century, which suggests that the skill was not unknown in the city.

Weaving was certainly done in Winchester. Seventeen weavers were incorporated into a company in 1578[2], and there may have been others at work in the same period, in addition to weavers in the Soke. In contrast to the cloth industries of Wiltshire and Worcester, where some weavers were prosperous and there was little distinction between rich weavers and poor clothiers[3], most Winchester weavers were poor. Few left inventories and most of those who did had few belongings, even if they owned two looms. No weavers held high office in Winchester in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries, nor did many become freemen.

Fulling and dyeing were also carried out in and around the city. Nineteen fullers were formed into a company at the same time as the weavers, and the eastern part of the Soke housed several more. Many fullers also acted as shearmen and general cloth-finishers. Since fulling was dependent on supplies of running water, the final processes in cloth manufacturing were concentrated at the eastern end of the town and in St John and St Peter Chesil, and on the mill-stream near Hyde Street. There was a fulling-mill on the Itchen at Durngate and one at Southmill, both belonging to the bishop, another at Priors Barton down the river belonging to the dean and chapter,

1. W.R.O., Proceedings of the Corporation B, f.6.
2. W.R.O., 2nd Ledger Book, f.218v.
3. G.D. Ramsay, The Wiltshire Woollen Industry in the 16th and 17th centuries, 15-16; A.D. Dyer, The City of Worcester in the 16th century, 101.

and the city also leased Sir Henry Seymour's fulling-mill at Twyford[1]. A fulling-mill inside the city between Tanner and Buck Streets, built by the corporation in the fifteenth century, had however decayed, and its works were sold with other building materials in 1545-6[2]. Stretching and drying the cloths after fulling was done on racks, either close to the fulling-mill or in gardens and vacant plots inside the city, particularly in the Tanner Street area[3]. Fullers had been among the city's wealthiest inhabitants in the Middle Ages, but they rarely rose to great wealth in the sixteenth century, and none of the surviving clothworkers' inventories shows them owning any cloth. Most cloth-finishers were independent and owned their own tools[4], so they could accept work from any clothier. The larger clothiers had cloth-finishing tools and equipment, however, and retained workmen to work exclusively for them. In 1521, for instance, Nicholas West received from Thomas Baker some cloths to be finished, with a pair of shears worth 20s which he then lent to a friend and failed to return to Baker[5]. A weaver referred to a clothier as 'my master' in 1573, and Richard Jones, a city clothier who died in 1586, had an establishment of six workmen (weavers and fullers), two servants, three covenant servants, and three boys[6].

Like the majority of fullers, most Winchester dyers were independent craftsmen, though they did not own the cloth they dyed. Inventories show that they owned their vats and furnaces and the equipment for grinding dyes and lifting cloths in and out of the vats, but none owned any cloth. An ordinance of 1549 allowed the city dyers to 'keep their standings in the market to receive all cloth to dyeing' and excluded their 'foreign'

1. C 2/Chas.I/W.44/8.
2. D.J. Keene, 'Aspects...of Medieval Winchester' (Oxford D.Phil. thesis 1973), 178; W.R.O., chamb. acct. 37-8 Henry VIII.
3. C 2/Chas.I/W.44/8; 1st Bk. Ord., f.151.
4. E.g. H.C.R.O. wills B 1582 (inventory of William Pavior).
5. W.R.O., Town Court Roll 54/Bk., undated volume temp. Henry VIII, f.41.
6. H.C.R.O. wills B 1573 (will of Justinian Bathe); Prob. 11/69 (P.C.C. 7 Windsor, will of Richard Jones).

competitors, and they may have worked for small-scale rural clothworkers as well as the large clothiers[1]. The most common colour for Winchester cloths was a blue made with woad; like fulling, dyeing was concentrated close to water, and an ordinance limited the tipping of woad dregs into the river to the hours between sunset and sunrise[2]. Two Winchester clothiers were fined at Blackwell Hall in 1561 for selling defective light blue kerseys[3], and equipment for making white and blue kerseys was planned for the new House of Correction in 1579[4]. There were other colours too: a clothier of the Soke agreed in 1570 to send to London '100 of his best ordinary kerseys, that is to say, 92 watchet [light blue] kerseys and 8 kerseys red...or such-like good colours'[5], and the stock of a Winchester tailor in 1549 included black, white, and ash-coloured kerseys[6]. Cranfield explained to a Dutch customer in 1604 that 'for mingled coloured kerseys there be of them only two sorts, devonshires and hampshires, and the prices of them are as you desire to have them in goodness'[7]. Though the manufacture of cloth declined in the seventeenth century, Winchester remained a centre for dyeing, and at least six dyers were at work there in the first half of the century. One family at least found it a profitable occupation: Robert and Nicholas Finckley succeeded to their father and elder brother's dyeing business in 1641, and within a few years they were earning £100 a year. After a quarrel Nicholas moved to Petersfield to become a chirurgeon[8], but Robert Finckley stayed in Winchester and in 1644-5 was one of the only two dyers to hold high municipal office between 1520 and 1670. In the fourteenth century, by contrast, many dyers had been mayors and bailiffs.

When the cloth had been fulled, stretched, perhaps dyed, and dried, it was ready for distribution. Presumably a small amount was sold locally,

1. Black Bk. 179; D. Davis, A History of Shopping, 36.
2. 1st Bk. Ord., f.1v.
3. G.D. Ramsay, 'The Distribution of the Cloth Industry 1561-2', E.H.R. lvii (1942), 364.
4. B.L. Cotton MS. Vesp. F. ix, f.232.
5. Req. 2/252/53.
6. H.C.R.O. wills B 1549 (inventory of Richard Glaspole).
7. Hist. MSS. Comm., Sackville (Knole) MSS, ii. 146.
8. C 5/409/22.

but the great majority must have been sent out of the city, some to Southampton and some to London. In spite of Southampton's rapid decline and the disappearance of its colony of Italian merchants in the sixteenth century, shipments of Hampshire kerseys continued to pass through the port, destined mainly for Antwerp, France, the Channel Islands, and Spain[1]. Thomas Baker sold cloths at Southampton in the early sixteenth century, and another Winchester clothier made a Southampton man his executor in 1552[2]. Among the privileges granted to Winchester by Philip and Mary in 1554 was the relaxation of half the usual customs and dues at Southampton on woollen cloths made in the city and Soke and sealed with the city cloth seal[3]. A special sealer of woollen cloths was appointed, and the chamberlains recorded the numbers of cloths sealed for export via Southampton by each clothier. After an unexplained fifteen-year hiatus after 1595 the figures reappear in the chamberlains' accounts for twenty years in the seventeenth century; both series are summarised in Table 10. (The corporation also held the ulnage of cloth made throughout Hampshire, but it farmed the duties and the profits throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and exercised no regulation itself[4].)

The low number of cloths sealed in the first two years is puzzling: possibly it was a few years before clothiers began to take advantage of the grant, or the collection of fees from which the figures derive took some time to achieve efficiency. The gradual fall in the 1580s and 1590s coincides with the general decline of the old woollen draperies, at the same time as the rise of the new worsted cloths which appeared at Winchester from the 1590s. Clothiers were by no means uniform in the numbers of cloths they

1. Information on exports from Southampton is taken from the Port Books for Southampton (E 190).
2. C 1/279/67; C1/1377/10.
3. Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1554-5, 200.
4. V.C.H. Hants. v. 24-5.

Table 10

Cloths sealed at Winchester to be shipped from Southampton 1557-95 and 1610-31

Year	No. of clothiers	No. of cloths
1557-8	3	105
1558-9	7	196
1560-1	9	738
1563-4	9	1,396
1566-7	7	1,098
1567-8	8	758
1570-1	11	3,963
1572-3	16	2,673
1578-9	8	855
1580-1	10	813
1581-2	15	1,017
1582-3	14	826
1588-9	9	108
1589-90	4	23
1590-1	1	6
1591-2	2	15
1594-5	3	19
1610-11	6	251
1613-14	5	102
1617-18	2	82
1618-19	4	222
1621-2	5	102
1623-4	3	48
1627-8	0	0
1629-30	0	0
1630-1	1	20

Source: chamberlains' accounts

sent to Southampton, for the list each year contained a few large producers and then a long tail of small fullers, dyers, weavers, tailors, and clothiers with only a few cloths each. Despite the absence of cloths among cloth-workers' possessions in inventories, therefore, some did occasionally work for themselves. No one in the lists whose occupation can be identified was in any trade other than cloth; unlike the making and selling of drink, the cloth trade was strictly confined to full-time members. Even dealing in wool was rare outside the trade - the only non-clothier possessing a large quantity of wool was a glover, and that was probably because he dealt in woolfells for his own trade[1].

By far the largest Winchester clothier trading via Southampton was Cuthbert Crooke of the Soke, who had cloth sealed in every year for which the accounts exist from 1558 to 1589, sending a total of 6,173 cloths, nearly half the sixteenth-century total listed. If all these cloths had indeed been made at Winchester - in 1570-1 Crooke had over 1,900 cloths sealed, for example[2] - they would indicate a flourishing state of production, but it is more likely that many of the cloths were merely being finished at Winchester after manufacture elsewhere. After Crooke's retirement the numbers of cloths sent to Southampton declined sharply, and it appears that he was the last of the large clothiers who operated over a wide area and supplied Winchester's cloth-finishers with work on a large scale. Crooke was the only Winchester dealer who regularly exported cargoes of cloths from Southampton under his own name, that is without selling them to a Southampton merchant who would then appear in the port books as the shipper, and even he ceased shipping after 1572. Very few other Winchester exporters were mentioned in the sixteenth century; two of them were Crooke's son

1. H.C.R.O. wills B 1605 (inventory of Charles Newbolt). At Chester it was common for large glovers to deal in wool: D.M. Woodward, 'The Chester Leather Industry 1558-1625', Jnl. of Chester and N. Wales Arch. Soc. cxix (1970), 81.
2. W.R.O., chamb. acct. 12-13 Eliz.

James and his merchant son-in-law Richard Ryve. More light is thrown on Cuthbert Crooke's activities by the Southampton brokage books, records of tolls charged on the carts and packhorses passing through the Bargate on the road inland. Between October 1565 and September 1566, the period covered by the last brokage book, thirty-three loads for Crooke left Southampton; twenty-eight contained woad, and he also received oil, alum, a few loads of salt, one load of wheat, and one load of herrings. On at least seven occasions the carts or horses returned to Southampton laden with kerseys. No other Winchester clothier received more than half as many loads as Cuthbert Crooke[1].

The cloths exported from Southampton in the sixteenth century were of many different varieties besides kerseys, and Table 11 shows the totals in 1565-6, the year of the first port book, and in 1588-9 for comparison. In 1565-6 local kerseys comprised 79% of Southampton's cloth exports, but by 1588-9, with the growth of the new draperies, their share had fallen to only 19%. The disparity between the number of cloths sealed at Winchester in 1588-9 and the number of 'kerseys Wintons' actually exported from Southampton in that year shows that the name is misleading, like the 'Hampshire kerseys' which were not all manufactured inside Hampshire. The destinations of the kerseys, Hampshire kerseys, and 'kerseys Wintons' exported in the same two years are shown in Table 12. Southampton was less dominated by the Dutch market than was London, but even so more kerseys were sent to the Low Countries than to any other country in 1565-6. Almost all the cloth sent to Antwerp was shipped by an alien living in Southampton, James Denvarin, who was later succeeded in the same trade by Piers Denvarin. The kerseys were sent to Antwerp already dyed and finished, unlike English broadcloths, and most were sent on overland from there to Italy and thence to the Levant[2].

1. Southampton Civic Record Office, SC 5/5/52 (Brokage Book 1565-6).
2. F. Edler, 'Winchcombe Kerseys in Antwerp 1538-44', Econ. H.R. vii (1936-7), 61; R. Davis, 'England and the Mediterranean, 1570-1670', Essays in the Econonic and Social History of Tudor and Stuart England, ed. F.J. Fisher, 119.

Table 11

Cloth exports from Southampton 1565-6 and 1588-9

Type of cloth	1565-6	1588-9
kerseys	662	573
kerseys Hampshires	1,142	185
kerseys Wintons	2,819	66
linings	755	265
Bridgewaters	231	0
Northern dozens	144	20
straights	69	0
Northern kerseys	21	70
cottons*	16	470
Western dozens	5	0
friezes	1	13
broadcloths	1	0
says	0	790
bays	0	738
Devonshire dozens	0	421
fustians	0	254
duraunce	0	144
Hounscott says	0	120
mockadoes	0	57
penistones friezed and unfriezed	0	48
buckrams	0	36
buffins	0	25
Holland cloths	0	19
carnells/carwells	0	13
lawns	0	8
bombazines	0	5
grograine chamlets	0	3
Total	5,866	4,343

* numbers of cottons have been calculated from goads, reckoning 22 goads per cloth (5&6 Edw.VI, c.6)

Only whole numbers of cloths are counted.

Sources: E 190/814/1 Southampton port book, Easter - Michaelmas 1565
E 190/814/2 " " " , Michaelmas 1565 - Easter 1566
E 190/817/3 " " " , 1588-9

Table 12

Destinations of kerseys exported from Southampton 1565-6 and 1588-9

Destination		1565-6	1588-9
Netherlands:	Antwerp	1,344	0
	Flushing	16	0
	Middelburg	15	63
	Newhaven	15	0
France:	Rouen	541	0
	Bordeaux	351	133
	La Rochelle	328	384
	St Jean de Luz	50	76
	Quimper	6	0
	St Malo	2	56
Channel Islands:	Guernsey	614	2
	Jersey	107	0
Italy:	Venice	543	110
Spain:	Vigo	197	0
	'Loguste'	83	0
Germany:	Emden	24	0
Azores ('Isles of Surrey')		270	0
Ireland:	Waterford	3	0
Unidentified		111	0
Total		4,620	824

The distribution for 1588-9, however, shows the collapse of Antwerp's trade because of the war, leaving France as Southampton's chief customer. Spain normally imported small quantities of kerseys but there too the war prevented any trade in 1588-9, and the Channel Islands' demand for kerseys had dried up although they were still buying other varieties of cloth.

London was the other destination, besides Southampton, for cloth made in Winchester; there is however no way of telling whether more or less cloth was sent to the capital than to Southampton. Not all the Winchester clothiers active in the later sixteenth century appeared on the lists of those sealing cloths for Southampton. Two Winchester clothiers were fined at Blackwell Hall in 1561[1]. The most detailed lawsuit concerning Winchester cloth also shows it being sent to London. The case concerned Peter Symondes, a wealthy London mercer, his brother William Symondes of Winchester, an equally wealthy woollendraper, and John Powell, a clothier of the Soke. In 1570 Powell agreed to sell Peter Symondes 100 Hampshire kerseys 'as good as [he] had before that time usually made and sold in London' at a bargain price; he received £140 advance payment, leaving only £17 10s to come, and entered into a bond to Peter's brother William for the fulfilment of the agreement. The first fifty cloths were duly delivered to London, but Peter Symondes rejected the second fifty and forced Powell to buy them back for £93. Meanwhile William Symondes refused to give up the now obsolete bond and began a suit of his own against Powell, who was heavily in debt to him[2]. John Powell also sent over 2,500 cloths to Southampton between 1557 and 1573.

The readiness of William and Peter Symondes to combine against a small supplier, and to use the law to protect their own interests, illustrates one aspect of the power wielded by the large distributors. Once a debtor

1. G.D. Ramsay, 'The Distribution of the Cloth Industry 1561-2', E.H.R. lvii (1942), 364.
2. Req. 2/252/53.

had fallen behind in his repayments or defaulted on a bargain he had little remedy except the courts, where the large merchants were in familiar territory. Edward White, a large draper, was accused in 1619 of failing to pay his debts and conspiring to ruin his creditor with lawsuits[1]. Cuthbert Crooke and his family, to judge from their adversaries' complaints, were particularly litigious and unscrupulous. Crooke's sister Julian was sued in 1573 by her stepson, who alleged that she was keeping his inheritance from him[2]. Crooke's daughter Jane married a Winchester mercer, and she and her brother James between them persuaded her husband to make a deed of gift of all his goods to James, and to sell his property at Bishop's Waltham[3]. Members of the family could not even agree among themselves: James Crooke brought a suit against his father in 1592 in anticipation of being disinherited[4], and when Cuthbert Crooke finally died in 1595 he left all his goods to one of his daughters, and the will was disputed by another son[5].

The case between the Symondes brothers and John Powell also illustrates the network of credit and repayment on which the cloth industry and all commercial transactions depended. The wealthiest tradesmen in any community acted as its moneylenders and bankers: Powell was in debt to William Symondes, and he was paid in advance for his cloths by Peter Symondes. William Symondes lent £100 to a Hampshire gentleman and was able to charge £16 interest for one year[6]. Hugh Denby, a Winchester cloth-dealer, was owed £60 at his death in 1587[7], and many wills mentioned debts between members of a family[8]. Edward White and Lancelot Thorpe

1. C 3/312/61.
2. Req. 2/235/86.
3. C 2/Eliz.I/C.14/33.
4. C 3/235/54.
5. Prob. 11/90 (P.C.C. 86 Cobham); Prob. 11/91 (P.C.C. 9 Lewyn, Cuthbert Crooke, dispute).
6. C 2/Eliz.I/C.12/12.
7. H.C.R.O. wills B 1587.
8. E.g. H.C.R.O. wills B 1573 (will of Robert Hodson); A 1644 (will of William Hancock).

lent each other money and exchanged credit in the early seventeenth century, Thorpe for grinding malt at his mill, and White for mercery wares supplied to Thorpe's household, until their books were hopelessly confused and neither knew how much he owed the other[1]. Several Winchester mercers died leaving debts to merchants in London and as far away as Wales for cloth and other goods[2]. However, debts of more than £100 were very rare; sums borrowed and owed locally were nearly always small, and Winchester traders probably dealt on too small a scale to give or receive substantial or long-term credit.

The Hampshire kersey industry continued into the seventeenth century, but on a constantly decreasing scale. Cloth manufacture had ceased at Odiham by 1586, and by 1614 kerseys were no longer made at Petersfield or Basing or in Surrey[3]. Hampshire kerseys were exported from London to Germany, Russia, and the Mediterranean until 1640, but they formed only 1% of London's total cloth exports in 1622 and in some years none were sent at all[4]. In the first half of the seventeenth century the most flourishing sector of the English cloth industry was the manufacture of the new draperies; Hampshire never adopted the industry as enthusiastically as East Anglia, but some of the new cloths established themselves there on a small scale. They were introduced to the county after 1567 by the refugees from the Low Countries who settled in Southampton, where they started to make rashes and serges. Serge-weaving and wool-combing were planned at the House of Correction in Winchester in 1579[5], but the first evidence of actual production comes from 1593, when the corporation employed a man from Guernsey who had settled in the city and was skilled at combing wool to comb one tod as an experiment in the provision of employment[6]. In 1595

1. C 3/328/68; C 3/391/72.
2. E.g. H.C.R.O. wills B 1552 (inventory of William Heycroft); C 2/Eliz.I/W.19/45.
3. V.C.H. Hants. v. 485.
4. B.E. Supple, Commercial Crisis and Change in England 1600-42, 260.
5. B.L. Cotton MS. Vesp. F. ix, f.232.
6. W.R.O., Proceedings of the Corporation B, f.4.

a further tentative step was taken, with a scheme for teaching children to spin worsted yarn[1]. By the early years of the seventeenth century there were woolcombers and serge-weavers at work in the city and Soke. The principal new cloth made in Winchester was serge, woven with one woollen thread and one worsted[2], and Winchester clothiers were selling serges in 1608 and 1634[3]. In the years before 1621 about 3,000 tods of wool a year were made into 'serges small and great' in and around Winchester, but this was small-scale production compared to Southampton which used about 10,000 tods a year[4]. Serges and rashes formed Southampton's main export in the early seventeenth century, but the new industry never spread far beyond the towns in the southern half of Hampshire, and it was not strong enough to survive the crises and war of the 1620s and 1630s[5]. When a royal commission listed 'the chief towns which at this present do use the trade of clothing, and making of stuffs' in Hampshire in 1640, it named only Southampton, Andover, and Basingstoke, with no mention of Winchester[6]. From about 1620, therefore, the manufacture of cloth ceased to be an important source of wealth in the city, though it did not disappear completely. No fullers are known to have been working there in the second half of the century - the new cloths did not need fulling - but clothiers, woolcombers, weavers, and dyers were all present, and some prospered. Thomas Fuller in the 1660s remarked that 'such as deny the goodness of Hampshire cloth, and have occasion to wear it, will be convinced of its true worth by the price which they must pay for it'[7]. Other varieties of woollen manufacture besides kerseys and serges were tried at Winchester after 1600, though none was very successful. A coverlet-weaver was at work in the Soke in 1607[8], and

1. Ibid. A, f.31.
2. P.J. Bowden, The Wool Trade in Tudor and Stuart England, 52, 63-4.
3. Assembly Books of Southampton, i (Southampton Record Society), 64; W.R.O., Town Court Roll 52/Bk. 1637-8.
4. Commons Debates 1621, ed. W. Notestein et al., vii. 252.
5. W.B. Stephens, 'The Cloth Exports of the Provincial Ports 1600-40', Econ. H.R. xxii (1969), 233, 235.
6. G.D. Ramsay, 'Report of the Royal Commission on the Clothing Industry 1640', E.H.R. lvii (1942), 491.
7. T. Fuller, The Worthies of England, ed. J. Freeman, 201.
8. H.C.R.O., Q.O./1, p.19.

a Chancery case reveals an abortive attempt in 1641 to set up rug-making in the city. Using a legacy of £120, Augustine Drew set out to practise 'the art or mystery of making rugs for beds', and hired a servant 'to buy wool and other necessaries fit for the said use of making rugs and to pay spinners and other workmen in weaving and making and dressing the said rugs'. The finished rugs were sold in London for a good profit, but Drew died a few months later and no one took over the business[1]. Various forms of cloth-making lingered on into the eighteenth century, though Defoe described Winchester about 1720 as a place of no manufacture[2].

The reasons for the decline and fall of the Hampshire cloth industry, of which Winchester's industry was a part, can only be tentatively suggested from a study of the decline in one town. Certainly there seems no compelling reason why Hampshire should not have kept its industry throughout the seventeenth century. Hampshire wool was of good quality and suitable for kerseys, if not for the new cloths, and there was an abundant supply of cheap labour ready for employment. Demand for kerseys and for the new draperies was still strong, particularly in the Mediterranean markets where local manufacture was declining. Why then did Hampshire not follow Devon in turning from old draperies to a flourishing serge industry? It has been suggested that in Berkshire the cloth industry declined because clothiers put their money into land instead of reinvesting it[3], and a similar explanation seems likely for Hampshire, or at least for the city of Winchester. The city clothiers whose wills and inventories survive were not rich: Nicholas Barkesdale died worth £67 in 1593[4], for instance, and Thomas Colly had to mortgage his house to the mayor and bailiffs before 1609[5]. None could be described as a large landowner, but

1. C 3/426/22.
2. D. Defoe, A Tour through Great Britain, ed. G.D.H. Cole, 186.
3. Agriculture and Economic Growth in England 1650-1815, ed. E.L. Jones, 29.
4. H.C.R.O. wills A 1593.
5. Ibid. A 1609.

many had accumulated city property. Robert Hodson in 1572 owned at least eight tenements, a meadow, two closes, and two gardens, and he held three more leases[1]. The wealthiest and most active clothiers in the sixteenth century lived in the Soke - Cuthbert Crooke and John Fisher were the outstanding examples - and their wills do not mention large amounts of property[2]. Did the distractions of office-holding and social pressure to improve their standard of living perhaps weigh more heavily on clothiers in the city than in the Soke? The wealthiest men in the city were not the makers but the sellers of cloth, the mercers and drapers, and the drift from manufacture to distribution was already well established by 1520. A tax on the thirty-one wealthiest citizens in 1550 listed only two clothiers but five mercers and drapers[3]; and the list of mayors' and bailiffs' occupations shows many more distributors than manufacturers, even though some men took part in both.

None of Winchester's other industries ever approached cloth-making in importance, and the city ceased to have any single industry employing large numbers of the inhabitants. Like other country towns it came to depend on retail trade and distribution to the population of the surrounding agricultural area, and its industries were those required to finish the products of agriculture for local consumption. Typical of these was leather-working, which used hides produced locally. Tanning, like dyeing, needed water and was unpleasant to live beside, so it was concentrated in the north-east quarter of the city and in the eastern part of the Soke. The tanning industry required a large initial investment, but it could be very profitable; two sixteenth-century tanners had stock worth £140 each in their tanhouses, and one of them employed an apprentice, two journeymen, and two servants[4]. Winchester also had curriers, saddlers, and collarmakers

1. Ibid. B 1572.
2. Prob. 11/76 (P.C.C. 58 Drury, will of John Fisher); Prob. 11/90 (P.C.C. 86 Cobham, will of Cuthbert Crooke).
3. E 179/174/313.
4. H.C.R.O. wills B 1568 (inventory of William Coward); ibid. A 1593 (will and inventory of Robert Marshall).

who finished the leather and made it into harness. The most numerous leather craftsmen were the shoemakers - later called cordwainers - who catered to both urban and rural needs. Ten shoemakers and six cobblers were formed into a company in 1580, apparently to defeat competition from outside the city[1]. Only two shoemakers ever become mayor, but eight reached the position of bailiff. Hides for the leather crafts were plentiful, for there were a large number of butchers in the city, and more hides were probably brought in by country butchers and husbandmen. Another use of animal skins was the making of parchment, which was carried on in Winchester by a few men throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, supplying the legal, ecclesiastical, and educational population. Glove-making was another small industry using both skins and cloth, and a glover's inventory in 1667 listed mittens, cotton gloves for children, coarse gloves for men and youths, white and coloured gloves for men, women, and youths, and hedging gloves[2].

The one activity on which the whole population depended was agriculture. In very small country towns a large proportion of the inhabitants was commonly engaged in agriculture, but Winchester belonged to the next rank of towns where most people were dependent on produce brought in from the countryside. In 1608 only about 4% of the working population of Gloucester, Tewkesbury, and Cirencester, for example, was engaged in agriculture[3], and about 5% of Leicester's Elizabethan freemen were in rural occupations[4]. The proportion at Winchester may have been even smaller, for very few husbandmen lived in the city. There were no common fields or pastures for the citizens outside the walls, so the empty spaces between houses in the back streets were used as gardens and orchards. Apple and pear-trees

1. 1st Bk. Ord., f.205v.
2. H.C.R.O. wills B 1667 (inventory of Jehu Tomes).
3. A.J. and R.H. Tawney, 'An Occupational Census of the 17th century', Econ. H.R. v (1934-5), 36-7.
4. W.G. Hoskins, Provincial England, 94.

were common and there were apricot-trees in the Close, vegetables such as cabbages and beans were grown, and some gardens produced the crocuses from which saffron was made[1]. Bees were kept for honey and wax. The College cultivated hops from 1567, and by the 1660s hops were also grown inside the city[2]. Gardens were also used to rear pigs, hens, ducks, and cows; a clothworker in St Maurice kept a cow and a calf and left butter and forty-seven cheeses in 1580[3]. The Soke was semi-rural in its occupational structure, and some of its inhabitants earned their livings from agriculture. One man in St John in the Soke in 1633 kept two cows which produced twenty-eight gallons of milk a week[4], and there were large farms at Hyde Barton and in Kingsgate Street. But gardening and farming in the city and Soke supplied only a fraction of Winchester's food, most of which was produced in the surrounding countryside and brought to the city's markets.

One unusual crop was grown for industry and not for food: in the later sixteenth century several Winchester clothiers took up the cultivation of woad, which was the source of blue and black dyes and an important raw material in the cloth-finishing trade. A little woad was grown in Hampshire in the first half of the century[5], but most of Cuthbert Crooke's woad was imported from France and the Azores. By 1578 there was at least an acre of woad growing in St Peter Chesil and St John in the Soke[6], and in 1584 the corporation passed an ordinance against laying woad to dry within 100 yards of the High Street because of the plant's unpleasant smell[7]. The crop was profitable - pasture converted to woad was said to increase two or three times in annual value[8] - and its cultivation spread

1. Saffron: H.C.R.O. wills U 1556 (will of William Agully); 1st Bk. Ord., f.14
2. Lord Beveridge, Prices and Wages in England, i. 26-7; 6th Bk. Ord., f.37v.
3. H.C.R.O. wills A 1580 (inventory of John English).
4. H.C.R.O., Consistory Court Bk. 116, f.41.
5. Hist. MSS. Comm., Salisbury MSS, xiii, p.19.
6. H.C.R.O., Consistory Court Bk. 50, ff.137-40.
7. 1st Bk. Ord., f.231v.
8. Hist. MSS. Comm., Salisbury MSS, xx. 47.

rapidly in the southern counties to a point which alarmed the government. After much discussion a proclamation against any further conversion of land to woad was issued in 1585; the crop was said to exhaust the soil, it was reducing the amount of grain produced, and it deprived the cloth industry of labour otherwise available for spinning. Ground already planted with woad within four miles of any market or clothing town was to be converted back[1]. With 1,748 acres of woad, Hampshire had had the largest acreage in any county before 1585[2], and despite the proclamation at least 1,420 acres were illegally under woad in 1596 including 690 acres in parishes within four miles of Winchester[3]. Enforcement proved impossible and the proclamation was revoked in 1601[4]. Cultivation continued at least until 1616, when a leading Winchester woollendraper entered into a woad-growing partnership[5].

Several types of evidence can be used to describe the occupational structure of a community. Urban historians have often turned to freemen's rolls, but none exist for Winchester and in any case they would not cover the whole population. Two sets of information, used together, give a more accurate picture: the occupations of high office-holders, which may be taken as those producing or attracting wealthy men (Tables 13 and 14), and all the occupations ever recorded in Winchester and the Soke during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Appendix 2, at the end of this chapter). Both have their deficiencies; members of the elite often combined two overlapping or even different trades, and one has to be selected as dominant. In the table of all occupations, gaps in the records produce some oddities, such as the apparent absence of woollendrapers from Winchester in the first half of the sixteenth century or locksmiths

1. B.L. Lansd. MS. 49, f.80.
2. Ibid., f.130.
3. Sta. Cha. 5/A.35/21.
4. W.H. Price, English Patents of Monopoly, 158.
5. C 2/Jas.I/C.13/64.

Table 13

Occupations of mayors of Winchester 1520-1669

	1520-49	1550-79	1580-1609	1610-39	1640-69	Total
draper	4	3	3	3	1	14
mercer	4	1	2	3	1	11
gentleman	-	2	1	5	1	9
grocer	1	1	1	1	2	6
innholder	3	1	-	-	-	4
haberdasher	1	1	2	-	-	4
capper	3	-	-	-	-	3
vintner	-	1	-	1	1	3
chandler	1	1	-	-	-	2
fishmonger	1	1	-	-	-	2
brewer	1	1	-	-	-	2
butcher	-	2	-	-	-	2
shoemaker	-	-	1	-	1	2
clothier	1	-	-	-	-	1
fletcher	1	-	-	-	-	1
fuller	1	-	-	-	-	1
baker	-	1	-	-	-	1
glover	-	-	1	-	-	1
pewterer	-	-	1	-	-	1
goldsmith	-	-	1	-	-	1
apothecary	-	-	-	1	-	1
maltster	-	-	-	-	1	1
unknown	1	1	2	-	9	13
Total	23	17	15	14	17	86

Each mayor is counted once only, in the year of his first mayoralty after 1520.

Table 14

Occupations of bailiffs of Winchester 1520-1669

	1520-49	1550-79	1580-1609	1610-39	1640-69	Total
butcher	3	2	2	1	4	12
mercer	2	4	2	1	-	9
grocer	-	-	2	2	5	9
shoemaker	4	1	1	1	1	8
draper	2	-	2	2	2	8
haberdasher	1	2	2	2	1	8
innholder	1	2	-	1	3	7
clothier	1	1	-	1	1	4
tailor	-	-	1	2	1	4
brewer	1	1	1	-	-	3
cutler	-	1	-	1	1	3
carpenter	2	-	-	-	-	2
gentleman	1	-	1	-	-	2
chandler	1	-	-	1	-	2
blacksmith	-	1	1	-	-	2
fletcher	-	1	1	-	-	2
vintner	-	1	-	1	-	2
skinner	-	-	1	1	-	2
apothecary	-	-	1	1	-	2
pewterer	-	-	-	1	1	2
dyer	-	-	-	-	2	2
fuller	1	-	-	-	-	1
fishmonger	1	-	-	-	-	1
capper	-	1	-	-	-	1
glover	-	-	1	-	-	1
barber	-	-	-	-	1	1
brazier	-	-	-	-	1	1
maltster	-	-	-	-	1	1
tanner	-	-	-	-	1	1
plumber	-	-	-	-	1	1
ironmonger	-	-	-	-	1	1
beavermaker	-	-	-	-	1	1
unknown	1	2	3	3	3	12
Total	22	20	22	22	32	118

Bailiffs who later became mayor have been excluded.

in the second half. Taken together, however, they show all the important occupations and most of the subsidiary ones, revealing the complexity of the town better than a list based on freemen could do; between 1520 and 1670 the 179 mayors and bailiffs of Winchester whose occupations are known held only thirty-four occupations between them, only a quarter of the trades practised, and the inclusion of all the freemen would still not show menial but essential occupations such as servants, labourers, carters, or husbandmen. The total number of trades in operation at Winchester shown by the table was however smaller than in the provincial capitals, as one would expect; at York, Coventry, Bristol, and Norwich in the sixteenth century, between 90 and 100 occupations were practised by the freemen alone[1], slightly more than the occupations of freemen and non-freemen together at Winchester.

Both industry and trade were subject to regulation by the corporation. Some rules were concerned with public health; glovers were not allowed to wash skins at the public washing-place, shoemakers were forbidden to burn shreds of leather during the day, and a butcher was presented in 1578 for feeding the entrails of slaughtered beasts to pigs kept in his back garden[2]. Other regulations were intended to ensure that plentiful supplies of food and essential items were available in the city at reasonable prices. Robert Bagger, though a prominent brewer and an ex-mayor, was severely reprimanded and forbidden to brew in 1550 for failing to brew 'in time of great dearth and scarcity' although he had plenty of malt stored in his house, 'to the extreme famishment of the king's liege people of the same city'[3]. Tallow candles were a necessity as the only cheap form of lighting for houses[4], and the corporation

1. D.M. Palliser, 'Some Aspects of the Social and Economic History of York' (Oxford D.Phil. thesis 1968), 273.
2. 1st Bk. Ord., ff.170v., 178; W.R.O., 31/Bx./Q.S. 1.
3. Black Bk. 181-2.
4. D. Davis, A History of Shopping, 39.

required all the tallow of beasts killed for sale in the city to be sold to one or two licensed tallowchandlers; prices of tallow candles were fixed at 2d a pound in 1556, 2½d in 1585[1], and 3½d in 1592[2]. As clerk of the market for the city, the mayor regulated the prices of bread and ale and made frequent checks on food retailers' weights and measures[3].

Wages in the city were more effectively regulated by supply and demand than by administrative action, but both factors tended to keep wages low. The records of Winchester College show wages paid to craftsmen and labourers, mostly in the building trades, and these rates can be compared with wages paid to carpenters and labourers by the corporation. Both the College and the corporation employed men for specific jobs by the day, and they were probably in competition for labour, since at least one carpenter worked for both. Table 15 shows the wages they paid; the years are determined by entries in the chamberlains' accounts, which do not record wages after 1613. The mayor and aldermen, as JPs for the city, fixed wages in 1563 at 10d for a carpenter and 7d for a labourer, with a penny less in winter[4], and this rate was identical with the statutory summer wage in the same year at Worcester and at Lincoln[5]. Even if food was worth an extra 4d a day (as the JPs assumed in 1563) there was a real disparity between wages paid to craftsmen by the College and the corporation in the later sixteenth century, and College wages only increased significantly after 1600. Winchester suffered the same rapid rise in prices as the rest of the country after 1540, and the real wages of urban labourers and craftsmen fell as elsewhere over the sixteenth century[6].

The regulation of industry by the medieval system of guilds had long declined at Winchester by 1520, and the chamberlains' accounts included

1. Black Bk. 152; 1st Bk. Ord., ff.110, 149; 237-8, 247.
2. W.R.O., Proceedings of the Corporation A, f.16.
3. E.g. W.R.O., Town Court Roll 58/Bk. 1593-1631, f.96.
4. T. Atkinson, Elizabethan Winchester, 201-2. The original of this document cannot now be found.
5. A.D. Dyer, The City of Worcester in the 16th century, 52; J.W.F. Hill, Tudor and Stuart Lincoln, 220.
6. Agrarian History of Eng. iv, ed. J. Thirsk, 865.

Table 15

Daily wages (in pence) paid to carpenters and labourers 1514-1613

	Winchester College		Corporation	
	Carpenters	Labourers	Carpenters	Labourers
1514-15	4*	2.67*, 4.67	6, 6½	2, 4, 4½, 6
1517-18	4*		6	4
1521-2	4*, 6		6	4
1524-5	4.5*	2*, 4.03	6	4, 5
1529-30	4*		6	4, 5
1534-5	5*	2.19*, 4.43	6	4, 4½
1538-9	4*		6	4
1541-2	4*		6	4, 5
1545-6	6.25	2*, 6	7	5
1546-7	7		8	5
1548-9	6		7, 8	5, 6
1552-3	-		7, 8	4, 5, 6
1554-5	4	3.33*	8	6
1556-7	6*, 8.67		9	6
1558-9	-		8, 9	6
1560-1	6		9	7, 8
1562-3	6.5	2.93*	8, 9	6, 8
1563-4	7.45*		8, 10	6, 7
1566-7	5.67		9, 10	6, 7
1570-1	6		10	7
1573-4	6*, 8	3.2*	10	7
1578-9	8*, 9.33		10	7
1582-3	6*, 7.5	3.21*	10, 11	7
1588-9	6*, 6.67		12	7
1590-1	6.54		12	8
1594-5	6.67*, 8	3.08*	12	7, 8
1598-9	6.63		12	6
1600-1	6	3.19*, 8	13	8
1605-6	9.43		12	8
1612-13	i1.92	3.67*, 8.22	13	10

* with food

Wages paid by the College to carpenters are annual averages, and labourers' wages are decadal averages. Both are calculated from the number of entries at each wage-rate.

Source for Winchester College wages: British Library of Political and Economic Science, Beveridge Papers (Prices & Wages: W. Coll.) F8

an annual statement that no income had been received from the tailors, fullers, and dyers because they had not used their privileges that year. The only surviving group called a guild was the guild of merchants, which by the sixteenth century was synonymous with the body of freemen. When the city began to form trade companies or corporations in the 1560s, therefore, it was not reviving a system with roots in the past, and the new companies had no religious or charitable functions. The first trades to be incorporated were the tailors and hosiers in 1566, followed by the brewers in 1576, the fullers and weavers in 1578, and the shoemakers and cobblers in 1580, with a second grant to the tailors and hosiers in the same year[1]. Regulations stressed the exclusive right of freemen and their apprentices to trade in the city, a theme which dominated the corporation's economic policies throughout the early modern period. The new companies made sporadic payments to the chamberlains, mostly for the admission of new members, but 1580-1 was the last year in which such a payment appeared, and the companies disappeared until the idea of incorporation was revived once more in 1663[2].

Since the limitation of trade to fewer than seventy freemen was hardly practicable, the corporation devised a method of licensing unfree traders and craftsmen. A similar scheme at Exeter (another city where freemen were a minority of adult males) was in operation until 1562 when the city began to enforce more strictly the freemen's monopoly of trade[3], but it was at precisely the same period that Winchester introduced its new tax, known as 'artificers' money'. As often happened, the corporation's theory differed from its practice. The first ordinance, dated 16 April 1563, statedthat no unfree artificer, except those employed in the cloth industry, could 'henceforth occupy or set up their occupations, mysteries,

1. 1st Bk. Ord., ff.143, 189, 198, 205, 211.
2. See p. 315.
3. Exeter Freemen 1266-1967, ed. M.M. Rowe and A.M. Jackson (Devon and Cornwall Rec. Soc., extra ser. i), pp.xx-xxi; W.T. MacCaffrey, Exeter 1540-1640, 74.

or crafts within the city before they hath compounded'[1], but on 15 September 1573 this ordinance was repealed and replaced by an annual tax before Christmas on 'every occupier, artificer, and craftsman of the said city being no freeman or clothier and such as belong to cloth-making'[2]. In fact, however, the first list of artificers, drawn up on 30 September 1563, was headed 'Names of such artificers of the city of Winchester as hath compounded with Mr Mayor and his company for their occupying...for the year to come'[3], so the payment must have been intended from the start as an annual tax rather than an initial fee on setting up trade. The impetus for the new scheme presumably came from the Statute of Artificers, not as a direct response to any of the Act's provisions but as an effort to tidy up and enforce the city's own regulations. The phraseology varied - artificers' money was often referred to as a tax 'for opening their windows' - but its collection lasted until 1675, and lists of taxpayers were entered in the Proceedings in Boromote and later in the Books of Ordinances. Figure 6 gives the total for each year, showing fluctuations in the sixteenth century and then a steady rise from 1600 to 1640. Comparison with the number of freemen (Figure 5, p.107) shows that occasionally in the 1580s, and frequently from 1610 onwards, there were more unfree artificers in the city than freemen. In 1603 fifty artificers were taxed; they therefore formed about $3\frac{1}{3}\%$ of the city's population in that year (as opposed to the 4% who were freemen[4]) and about 10% of the adult males inside the walls. In addition to those artificers who were taxed there were an unknown number of unfree workers in the cloth industry who were exempt. Independent traders and craftsmen, large and small - employers, rather than employees - therefore constituted between a quarter

1. 1st Bk. Ord., f.136.
2. Ibid., f.172.
3. W.R.O., Proceedings in Boromote, f.55.
4. See p.106.

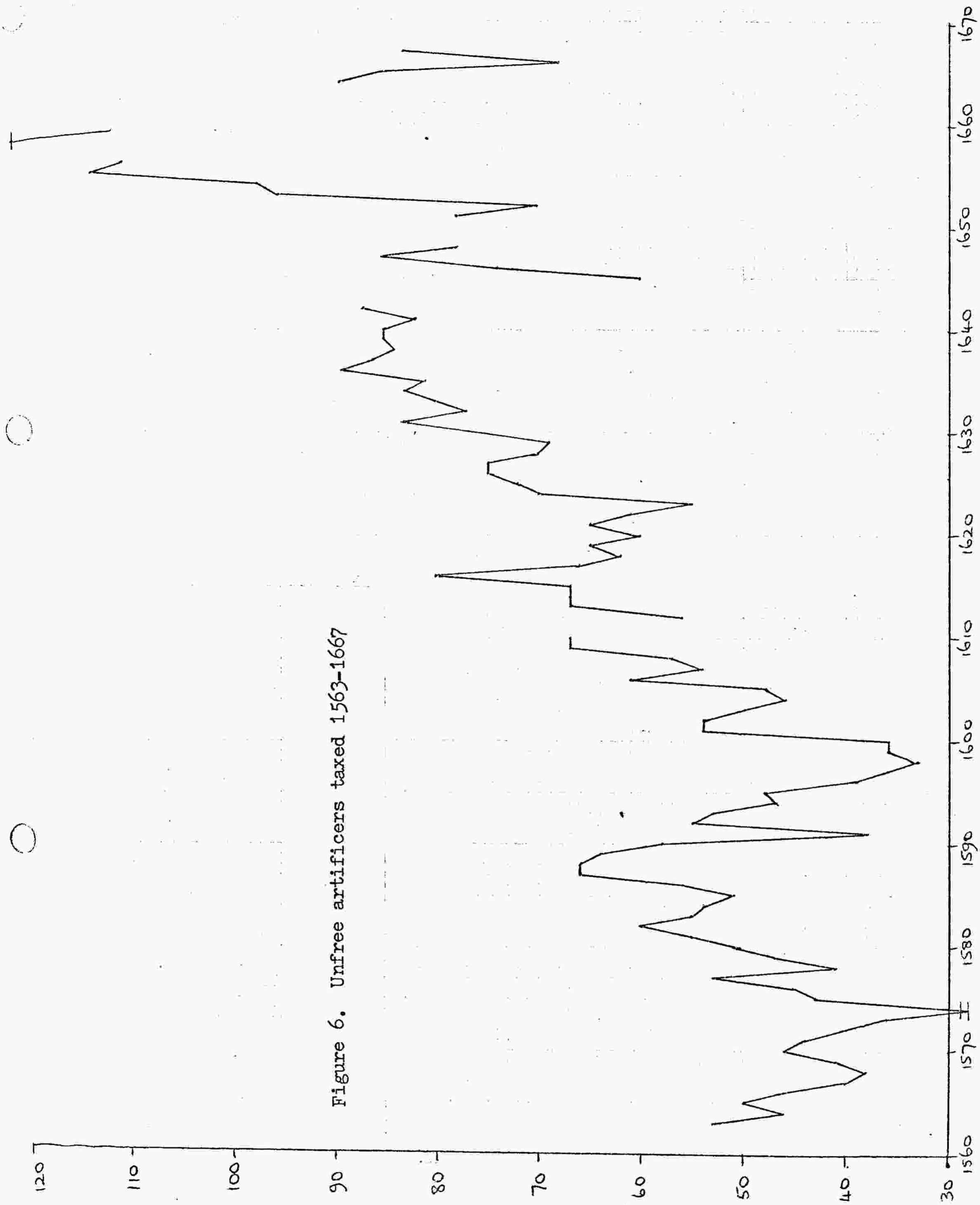


Figure 6. Unfree artificers taxed 1563-1667

and a third of the male work-force of Winchester in 1603.

Even at the height of Winchester's importance as a manufacturing centre, the city's commercial functions had played a vital part in its prosperity, and as industry declined, wholesale and retail trade became the basis of the city's economy. In addition to the weekly markets, Winchester had two fairs a year which attracted customers from long distances and provided periods of concentrated buying and selling. Both fairs had been granted to the city in 1518, one to be held on the Monday and Tuesday of the first week in Lent, and the other on the day and morrow of St Edward the Confessor, 13 October[1]. Both flourished throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and they were still active in the 1870s. The corporation tried in 1553 to revive the fifteenth-century fair held on 15 July, the translation of St Swithun[2], but the fair remained moribund.

Nor should the two fairs held just outside Winchester be forgotten. St Giles' Fair, held in September, was in decline by 1500 and produced little or no income for the bishop after 1540, and it did not revive until the eighteenth century. Magdalen Fair, held on Magdalen Hill east of Winchester, enjoyed more success though it was never an international fair as St Giles' had been. It was in existence by 1446 when wagons left Southampton in July with merchandise for the fair[3], and it belonged to the cathedral priory on whose land it was held[4]. At some time during the seventeenth or eighteenth century the fair's starting-date changed from 22 July (the feast of St Mary Magdalen) to 2 August. Winchester College bought cheese at Magdalen Fair in the sixteenth century[5], and Celia Fiennes described it in the 1690s as 'a considerable fair...the traffic mostly

1. L. & P. Henry VIII, ii (2), 4315.
2. W.R.O., chamb. acct. 6 Edw.VI - 1 Mary.
3. Brokage Book of Southampton 1443-4, ed. O. Coleman, i (Southampton Records Series iv), p.xxiii.
4. H.C.R.O., 5M53/988.
5. Lord Beveridge, Prices and Wages in England, i. 74.

hops which that country produceth good and cheese; it's noted for a vast many of wains from several parts especially from the West country'[1]. This observation about custom from the west is confirmed by a record of horse sales kept in 1623 (Table 16).

Table 16

Buyers and sellers of horses at Magdalen Fair in 1623

	Sellers	Buyers
Somerset	34	3
Hampshire	15	28
Wiltshire	4	12
Dorset	2	1
Sussex	1	5
Berkshire	1	1
Hertfordshire	1	0
Surrey	0	2
Middlesex	0	1
Total	58	53

Source: W. Cath. MSS., Cupboard 5, D 3, Bk.2 (toll book of Magdalen Hill Fair)

Horses were brought to the fair over considerable distances, and particularly from Somerset. The majority of purchasers were from Hampshire, with a strong contingent from Wiltshire. Perhaps the horse-breeders of Somerset bought other goods at the fair from the horse-buyers of Hampshire, but horses were the only commodity whose sales fair-owners were legally obliged to record[2]. Magdalen Hill was unusual among southern fairs in drawing its custom from so far afield[3].

However great the popularity of annual fairs, it was the weekly

1. The Journeys of Celia Fiennes, ed. C. Morris, 46.
2. J.H. Hamer, 'Trading at Saint White Down Fair 1637-49', Proc. Somerset Arch. Soc. 112 (1968), 61.
3. A. Everitt, 'The Marketing of Agricultural Produce', Agrarian History of Eng. iv, ed. J. Thirsk, 538 n.2.

markets which provided regular occasions for the exchange of goods and for social contacts. Winchester had had two markets a week since the twelfth century; in 1449 a Saturday market was substituted for the usual two, but by 1488 a Wednesday market had been added[1], and Wednesday and Saturday remained market days at Winchester until the nineteenth century. By the sixteenth century, therefore, both the geography and the activities of the market were highly organised and covered by a mass of regulations. The market-place lay just outside the north wall of the cathedral graveyard - not by the main door of the church, as many markets were, but by the main gateway into the churchyard - in the space created by the destruction of the royal palace in the twelfth century. The twelfth-century origin of the market-place explains why the cross, also known as the market cross or high cross and where some selling took place, stood outside the market-place, for its position had been determined by the original location of the market up and down the High Street. At one side of the market-place stood the market house, a tiled wooden building which housed the standard weights and measures and the market bell. In 1637 the corporation proposed to convert the market house into a new guildhall, and although the idea was rejected the upper storey of the building was leased out in the later seventeenth century as a meeting-place and for storage[2]. Also in the market-place were the sheep-pens from which animals were sold at fairs and markets; the lease of the sheep-pens was a profitable one, for everyone bringing or sending sheep for sale had to pay a toll for use of the pens, ranging from 1d for fewer than eleven sheep to 6d for more than forty-one[3]. Shops in the market-place were mentioned in 1528[4], and there was some building around its edges later in the sixteenth century[5], although such

1. V.C.H. Hants. v. 40; Black Bk. 120.
2. 4th Bk. Ord., f.115; W.R.O., 5th Ledger Book, f.4; H.C.R.O. Adm. 1666 (administration of William Barfoot).
3. W.R.O., 2nd Ledger Book, f.279v.
4. Black Bk. 142.
5. C 2/Chas.I/W.114/2.

development was strictly controlled by the corporation. In the seventeenth century there were even a few shops inside the churchyard, though a special clause was inserted in their leases forbidding the use of 'any trade that shall be noisome to the said dean and chapter'[1]. But most traders sold from 'standings', spaces six or twelve feet in length which they hired from the bailiffs, where they could set up temporary stalls or display their wares on the ground[2]. The produce for sale was mainly food, including corn (the market-place was sometimes called the cornmarket), malt, bread, fruit and vegetables, pigs, geese, capons, rabbits, eggs, and butter. Country traders also brought in wood and coal, and all kinds of small manufactured goods such as nails and turner's ware, and the city dyers had standings where they accepted cloth for dyeing[3].

The two most perishable commodities, meat and fish, were assigned separate selling positions outside the market. For each there were shambles or permanent stalls under a tiled roof, the flesh-shambles north of St Maurice church and the fish-shambles in an alleyway north of the High Street. The shambles were intended for fishmongers and butchers coming into Winchester from outside, while residents sold from shops in their own houses, but city fishmongers were allowed to use the shambles until 11 a.m.[4] The fishmongers were often ordered not to move into the High Street, where they stood around the cross and blocked the road[5], but in 1584 a few of them were permitted to stand in front of the Bell on the corner of Wongar Street[6]. Fish was an important part of the sixteenth-century diet, especially in a town as close to the coast as Winchester. Eels and salmon were caught in the river, but most fish came from the sea, and cod, sprats, conger-eels, red and white herrings, bass, flounders, thornbacks (skate),

1. W. Cath. MSS., Cupboard 2, Survey of Dean & Chapter Lands 1649, ff.36-8.
2. Black Bk. 129.
3. Ibid. 179.
4. Ibid. 131.
5. 1st Bk. Ord., f.135; W.R.O., Proceedings in Boromote, f.64v.
6. 1st Bk. Ord., f.231.

mullet, turbot, bream, lings, whiting, pilchards, 'poor Johns' (dried salted hake), and 'Newland fish' (fish caught off Newfoundland) were all available at Winchester. The fish was transported in carts from Southampton, and was sold at Magdalen Fair and the city's Lent Fair as well as by fishmongers from shops and the fish-shambles[1]. Before the Dissolution about a third of the loads of fish taken to Winchester were destined for the city's religious houses, but the total imported was almost as large in 1565-6[2]. Traffic in fish was heavily concentrated in the months between January and April, both because of Lent, and because the quality of meat deteriorated through the winter as the animals weakened without proper feed.

From the existence of the flesh-shambles and the number of ordinances concerning 'foreign' butchers, it is clear that many butchers from outside the city regularly came to sell meat in Winchester; yet in 1585 there were at least thirteen butchers living inside the city[3], a high number to serve a population of less than 2,000. In the fourteenth century the same number had supplied a population of more than 6,000 people. In the 1840s, on the other hand, there were only two butchers in Winchester for a population of 13,000[4]. The difference suggests significant changes in meat-eating habits, and other evidence confirms that people in towns in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries did eat a great deal of meat; foreign visitors frequently commented on the fact that even the poor ate meat in English towns[5]. Butchers were among the most prosperous citizens in Winchester, but their social status was low: only two butchers became mayor between 1520 and 1670, but twelve became bailiffs, the largest number from any single occupation. Similarly, no butchers served as mayors or aldermen at York in the sixteenth century, and only one became mayor of Norwich in the seventeenth[6].

1. Southampton Civic Record Office, SC 5/5/33 and SC 5/5/42 (Brokage Books 1527-8, 1545-6).
2. Ibid., SC 5/5/33 and SC 5/5/52 (Brokage Books 1527-8, 1565-6).
3. Winchester City Library, W.H. Jacob scrapbook, presentments 1585.
4. T. Stopher, 'Reminiscences of the City of Winchester 70 years ago', Proc. H.F.C. ix (1920), 90.
5. J.C. Drummond and A. Wilbraham, The Englishman's Food, 54-7, 105; see also L. Stone, The Crisis of the Aristocracy (abridged edn.), 254-5.
6. Crisis and Order in English Towns, ed. Clark and Slack, 114 n.27, 278.

The occupation suffered from its association with slaughtering and its smells and mess, and Thomas More relegated butchering to bondmen in his description of Utopia[1].

On days when there was no market, trade in the city was mainly conducted through shops. The rooms or buildings called shops and devoted to retail trade were almost all in the High Street, but goods were also sold from workshops in the side-streets, for retailers who were not also engaged in producing wares were still a minority. Butchers, chandlers, apothecaries, haberdashers and others opened their shops every day except Sunday, serving customers from the countryside as well as the city's own inhabitants. The range of goods available in a town like Winchester was far greater than could be found in any village, and the inventories of shops kept by grocers and haberdashers contain a host of small but essential items such as buttons, garters, combs, scales, starch, soap, paper, pens, hourglasses, spectacles, and many others. Winchester College bought oil locally until 1557, most of its cloth was purchased through Winchester dealers, and from 1583 its supplies of dried fruit, spices, and sugar were also bought in the city. Some of the College's food was bought on the open market, but it also received many items as rent[2]. In 1522-3 the hospital of St Cross received some livestock as tithes, and it bought food from local farmers' wives as well as in the Winchester market and at London and Southampton[3]. Some of the range of fresh foodstuffs available in shops, as distinct from the market, appears from a short-lived ordinance of 1562 prohibiting city JPs from offering for sale at their shops 'any onions, garlic, parsnips, cherries, strawberries, apples, pears, plums, damsons, nuts, wardens, quinces, peaches, beans, ...cheese by the pennyworth, eggs, fresh butter, milk...except foreign garlic and foreign onions by the bunch'[4].

1. T. More, Utopia, ed. J.H. Lupton, 158, 200.
2. Lord Beveridge, Prices and Wages in England, i. 9-10, 47-8, 52-3, 75, 78.
3. St Cross MSS., day-book 1522-3.
4. 1st Bk. Ord., f.133.

The goods sold in shops had almost all been transported into the city for distribution; earthenware pots and dishes, for example, which appear in large quantities in the inventories of both householders and shopkeepers, were all made elsewhere, for there were no potters in the city. Two Winchester butchers bought cattle from a private dealer in Wiltshire in 1612[1], and a Winchester grocer bought his supplies of raisins and spices from a Londoner between 1637 and 1643, sometimes ordering them by letter and sending money, sometimes going to London himself[2].

While most transactions took place in markets, fairs, and shops, there was also a world of unregulated and informal trading outside the formal times and places. Informal trade is thought to have expanded considerably from the late sixteenth century onwards, and its rise has been linked with the proliferation of inns. Winchester did have some prosperous inns, and their numbers increased over the period, but there is not much evidence of trade taking place in them. The tailors and hosiers alleged in 1566 that strangers were coming to the city when business was good and working from inns and alehouses[3], and a chapman described in 1572 how he had spent an evening at the Bull 'in a chamber there talking with a Londoner about his business'[4]. One room in the King's Head in 1578 and 1592 was known as 'the Kendal men's chamber'[5], and was probably used by the Kendal packmen who brought northern cloth to Southampton[6]. But these are the only instances of trade discovered, and there is no evidence of Winchester innkeepers providing storage or credit facilities for customers. The largest inn of which an inventory survives was the Chequer on the High Street, which in 1655 had twenty-six chambers with names like Adam and Eve, Flower de Luce, and Squirrel, and

1. N.J. Williams, Tradesmen in Early-Stuart Wiltshire (Wilts. Arch. Soc., Records Branch, xv (1959)), 66.
2. C 5/9/98; C 5/415/139.
3. 1st Bk. Ord., f.143.
4. H.C.R.O., Consistory Court Bk. 37, p.86.
5. H.C.R.O. wills B 1578 (inventory of James Waterson); H.C.R.O. Adm. 1592 (administration of Richard Bethell).
6. B.C. Jones, 'Westmorland Pack-horse Men in Southampton', Trans. Cumberland and Westmorland Antiq. and Arch. Soc. N.S. lix (1960), passi

its keeper John Harris died worth £652[1]. The Chequer had apparently expanded since 1573, when only twelve chambers were listed[2]. Most inns were much smaller than this, however; the George had eight chambers in 1583 and thirteen in 1662[3], the Cock outside Westgate had eight in 1623[4], and the King's Head only four.

Nevertheless, more inns and taverns were being opened. There were approximately ten inns and taverns in the city about 1550, eleven about 1600, fourteen about 1650, and in 1703 twenty-two inns and taverns inside the walls were listed[5]. In the Soke there were nine licensed innkeepers in 1620 as well as four alehouse-keepers and one taverner[6]. Different houses catered to different social groups. John Withwell of the Star (later the King's Head) was presented in the 1540s 'for resorting of men's servants in his house', and another man 'for keeping men's servants playing at cards and dice'[7]. The larger inns, on the other hand, were used by the corporation for official entertaining: the commissioners of gaol delivery were given dinner at the White Horse in 1591[8], and the deputy-lieutenants of the county arranged to meet at the Chequer in 1625[9]. A prospective tenant of the Bull described the inn about 1615 as 'a place of usual resort for the most part of the Justices...and divers other meetings of gentlemen, whereby a great benefit and profit did arise unto the tenant of the said messuage or tavern by provision of diet and otherwise'[10].

Far more numerous than inns were the small alehouses. There were at

1. H.C.R.O. wills P.C.C. 1655.
2. H.C.R.O. wills B 1573 (inventory of William Brexstone).
3. H.C.R.O. wills B 1583 (inventory of David Ellis); H.C.R.O. Adm. 1661 (administration of William Stone).
4. H.C.R.O. wills B 1623 (inventory of Robert Clarke).
5. Hants. Notes and Queries, viii. 34.
6. E 180/69.
7. W.R.O., W.H. Jacob scrapbook no.3, p.7.
8. W.R.O., Proceedings of the Corporation A, f.8.
9. B.L. Add. MS. 21,922, f.4v.
10. C 2/Jas.I/G.17/2.

least forty-one alehouses inside the city in 1631[1], one for every ten households taxed in the Hearth Tax in 1665. The corporation made repeated attempts to limit their numbers, but without success; the licensing of tipplers was lucrative, and the mayor had to be instructed in 1631 not to grant licences without the consent of the brethren[2]. Brewing too was profitable, and was normally combined with another occupation. The common brewers complained in 1576 that

> there are so many petty brewers within the city that do brew and tipple and specially when malt is good cheap and leave again when corn is dear, that in the time of good cheap the common brewer maketh small provision for lack of utterance, and in the time of dearth is unprovided and then compelled to continue brewing, the petty brewer then leaving, which causeth the common brewer to decay and the poor people of the city to be evil served[3].

As with butchering, a connection with the drink trade was thought demeaning, and an ordinance of 1535 (when Robert Bagger the brewer was mayor) prohibited mayors from living in an inn or hostelry, or having ale or beer tapped or drawn in their houses, 'for the dishonour that might thereof ensue'[4]. The ordinance was put into effect in 1573 on the election of Stephen Asheton, keeper of the White Horse - he was to live in one end of his house while his wife and servants ran the other end as an inn - but in 1579 when Richard Cooke, Asheton's successor at the White Horse, was elected mayor the ordinance was repealed[5].

The custom essential to inns and alehouses, and to the city's markets and shops, came mainly from outside Winchester. The markets themselves drew people to the city, but they were better attended and supplied when there were other events taking place; the corporation recognised the connection between crowds and food supplies (and therefore prices) when it

1. W.R.O., Town Court Roll 58/Bk. 1593-1631, f.202.
2. 4th Bk. Ord., f.76v.
3. 1st Bk. Ord., f.189.
4. Black Bk. 157.
5. 1st Bk. Ord., ff.174, 203.

complained in 1627 of 'rates in the market much enhanced' because the Assizes, Quarter Sessions, and other county meetings had been temporarily removed[1]. 'The multitude of the people of the country' were expected to come to Winchester for the Assizes in 1562[2], and county elections drew more than 500 people in the 1550s and more than 1,000 in 1614[3]. Any visit by royalty brought crowds from all over Hampshire, and when three noblemen were to be executed at Winchester in 1603 a contemporary noted 'the people flocking in all the morning'[4]. The great difference in Winchester's appearance with and without country visitors is evident from two descriptions by travellers. John Taylor the water-poet passed through the city in August 1623, on a Thursday when there was no market. He saw Winchester as

> an ancient city, like a body without a soul: and I know not the reason of it, but for ought which I perceived, there were almost as many parishes as people...it may be they were all at harvest work: but I am sure I walked from the one end of it to the other, and saw not thirty people of all sorts: so that I think if a man should go to Winchester for a goose, he might lose his labour, for a trader cannot live there, by venting such commodities[5].

A travelling lieutenant, on the other hand, who arrived in August 1635 when a special session of the New Forest Eyre Court in the Castle hall was hearing a claim by Charles I against the earl of Southampton, had difficulty finding accommodation. The city was 'crowding full', for many country gentlemen had come to the city, and despite rain there was a large crowd of spectators at the court[6]. His impression of Winchester was therefore entirely different from Taylor's.

Winchester's development as the economic and social centre for the county was helped by the lack of competition from other Hampshire towns. The distribution of markets in the county is shown on Figure 7. Assuming that each drew its custom from an area roughly seven miles in radius, there

1. S.P. 16/88 (56).
2. 1st Bk. Ord., f.131.
3. Sta. Cha. 4/7/18; Sta. Cha. 8/293/11.
4. A Copy of a Letter written from Master C.S. near Salisbury...concerning the Proceeding at Winchester, etc. (London 1603), 5.
5. J. Taylor, A Discovery by Sea, from London to Salisbury (Spenser Soc. Publications ii (1868)).
6. Camden Misc. xvi (Camden Soc. 3rd ser. lii), 43, 52.

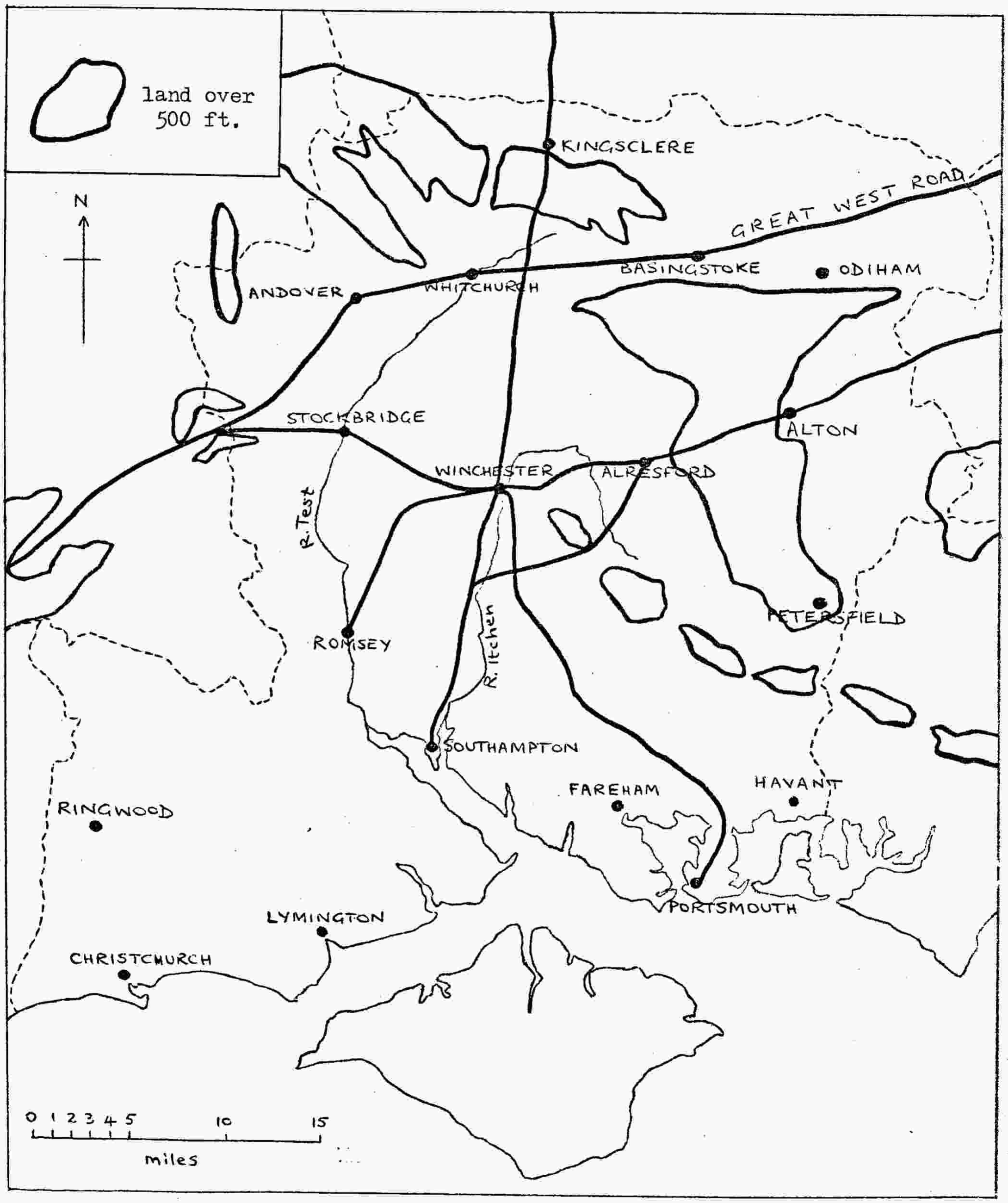


Figure 7. Major roads, relief, and market towns in Hampshire

were few villages in the county outside easy reach of a market, and those outside were mostly close to the county boundary and would be served by markets in neighbouring counties. Central Hampshire was Winchester's preserve, although several other market towns were close enough to overlap and share its custom. Alresford lay only seven miles from the city; its market was described in 1673 as 'very considerable, especially for sheep and provisions', but it was held on a different day of the week and thus did not compete directly with Winchester[1]. To the west Stockbridge was only eight miles away, but its market succumbed to competition and was disused by 1673[2]. The other market towns which might have threatened the city's trade were Whitchurch to the north, Romsey to the south-west, and Southampton to the south, but none of these (with the possible exception of Romsey[3]) held its market on the same day as Winchester.

The map reveals a gap south-east of Winchester, an area of many small villages, where there was no market town within about six miles, and Figure 8 confirms that this area did have close links with the city. When Bishop's Waltham proposed to set up a market in the 1590s, therefore, Winchester strongly opposed the idea. Two men were sent to London in 1593 to take action against 'the market erected at...Waltham to the great prejudice of the city'[4]. The corporation obtained a writ of quo warranto against Bishop's Waltham's inhabitants in 1596, and the suit lasted until at least 1605[5]. Its outcome is not known, but Bishop's Waltham was not listed among Hampshire market towns in 1673, and Winchester was probably successful in stifling this threat to its trade.

There are no records of customers in Winchester's markets, and probably none were usually kept, for the only references to a register all come from

1. R. Blome, Britannia, 109.
2. Ibid. 110.
3. Ibid. 110 says Romsey's market was held on Saturday; V.C.H. Hants. iv. 453 says Sunday.
4. W.R.O., Proceedings of the Corporation A, f.19.
5. Ibid., ff.28, 47; W.R.O., chamb. acct. 2-3 Jas.I.

the years 1594-7 and imply that the taking of names was a short-lived novelty imposed only in years of grain shortage[1]. It is therefore impossible to construct a map of the area served by Winchester's markets; there is however evidence for the area served more generally by the city for all kinds of trade. The city Pie-Powder Court was held as often as business required, usually several times a week, and dealt with cases of debt. The weekly town court of record also heard many debt cases, and people from the surrounding area as well as the city appeared as both plaintiffs and defendants in both courts. The records of every case stated that the debt had been incurred 'in the city of Winchester within the jurisdiction of this court', and while this may in some cases have been a legal fiction, the parties did have some link with the city by virtue of choosing to use its courts. Figure 8 therefore shows the homes of all plaintiffs and defendants in the city's courts, from 1522 to 1641. The cases are mainly from the sixteenth century, because of the formality and lack of detail of the seventeenth-century court records. To these places are added the homes of people mentioned in debt lists appended to wills and inventories; twenty-one lists have been found, though five cover local debts with no place-names outside Winchester.

The core of Winchester's area of influence was a circle about six miles in radius all around the city, most parishes within which are shown on Figure 8. This was the area which would naturally turn to Winchester for all the facilities afforded by a town as well as those of the ecclesiastical, social, and administrative centre of the county. The city's influence extended further to the west, where Stockbridge offered little competition, to the south, where Winchester and Southampton shared the custom of villages in the Itchen valley, and to the south-east, where other markets were far away. But the map also shows how much custom

1. W.R.O., Proceedings of the Corporation A, f.47; W.R.O., chamb. acct. 36-7 Eliz., 38-9 Eliz.

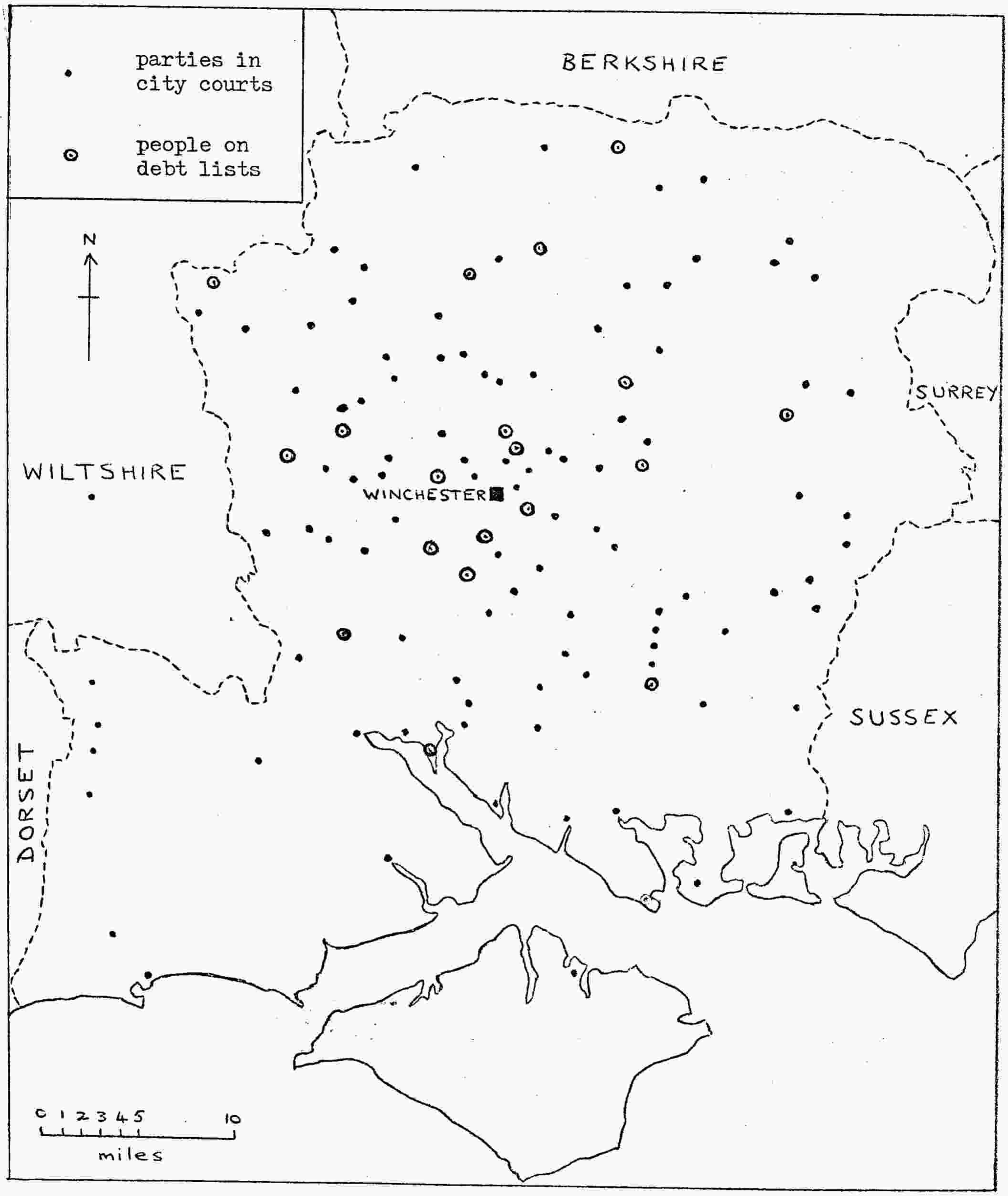


Figure 8. The trading area of Winchester 1522-1641

Winchester received from all over Hampshire. Some 40% of all the parishes in Hampshire are represented among the homes of parties in its courts, and places twenty miles or more from the city were mentioned in its debt lists. The city's contacts also spread far beyond Hampshire; people from seven places in Sussex were mentioned, five in Berkshire, three each in Somerset, Wiltshire, and Surrey, two in Kent, and one each in Devon, Dorset, Gloucestershire, Warwickshire, 'Wales', and Worcestershire, as well as London. Suits in the Pie-Powder Court such as that between Thomas Haywarde, a Southampton woollendraper, and Edmund Hopwood, a Devon clothier, in 1582[1], demonstrate both the convenience of Winchester's courts and the distances travelled to use the city for trade.

Suppliers and customers in London were mentioned, but Winchester remained surprisingly untouched by the capital only seventy miles away. The increasing specialisation of agriculture and industry in most counties within 100 miles of London, in order to serve the expanding metropolitan market, is now well-documented. Hampshire was an area apparently well placed to take advantage of London's custom: produce could be transported by road to Reading and then down the Thames, or shipped round the coast from Southampton, and most of the county was actually closer to London than was East Anglia. Yet there is little evidence of specialisation or dependence on London. In crisis years Hampshire supplied grain to London[2], but it was not a regular trade, and wheat prices at Winchester were often relatively low as a result[3]. The southern counties as a region were less vigorous commercially than other areas; they had fewer specialised markets and fairs, market areas were comparatively small, disputes over market rights were rare, and more transactions between inhabitants of the same county took place than with 'foreigners'[4]. None of the evidence from Winchester contradicts this picture. Among the homes of people

1. W.R.O., Pie-Powder Court Book (34/Bx./Pp 1), f.22.
2. E.g. Acts of P.C. 1586-7, 319; ibid. 1589-90, 284; N.S.B. Gras, The Evolution of the English Corn Market, 106-7.
3. P. Bowden, 'Agricultural Prices, Farm Profits, and Rents', Agrarian History of Eng. iv, ed. J. Thirsk, 614.
4. A. Everitt, 'The Marketing of Agricultural Produce', Agrarian History of Eng. iv, ed. J. Thirsk, 495, 500, 505, 550.

appearing in city courts there were more in counties west of Hampshire than east, suggesting that Winchester was more closely linked with the west country - the home of many of the city's long-distance immigrants - than with the London area. There seems to have been only one common carrier transporting goods between Winchester and London in 1603 and 1622[1], and John Taylor in 1637 noted only one weekly wagon from the city and none from any other town in Hampshire[2]. In 1655 a public coach-and-six from Winchester had recently started up, though two were already running between London and Southampton[3].

Easy access by road was essential to any market town, and Winchester was accessible from every direction; main roads, some of them Roman in origin, led south to Southampton and Portsmouth, north-east to Alresford, north to Basingstoke and Whitchurch, north-west to Stockbridge, and south-west to Romsey, and there was a network of minor roads between them[4] (see Figure 7). The mere existence of roads did not guarantee good communications, however, for Hampshire roads were often in poor condition. Their hazards were summed up in 1621 by a group of carriers in the southern counties, who claimed that they often needed more than five horses to a wagon 'by reason of the deep ways in winter, the heat of summer, the steepness of hills and the longness of journeys'[5]. In 1631 Winchester's mayor and aldermen complained that 'the highways to and near the city are in very great decay, whereby the country cannot bring their provision with horse and cart without danger'[6]. The upkeep of the roads around Winchester was the duty of the dean and chapter, and when their authority lapsed in the Civil War the roads rapidly deteriorated, despite

1. W.R.O., Proceedings of the Corporation B, f.57; W.R.O., chamb. acct. 19-20 Jas.I.
2. J. Taylor, The Carriers Cosmographie (Spenser Soc. Publications xiv (1873)).
3. J. Parkes, Travel in England in the 17th century, 83.
4. W. Godson, Map of Winchester (1750); C. Cochrane, The Lost Roads of Wessex, passim.
5. Hist. MSS. Comm., Various Collections, iv. 169.
6. S.P. 16/188 (101).

repeated orders by the JPs to neighbouring parishes and hundreds; by 1660 repairs to the road to Romsey were so urgent that the mayor paid for them out of his own pocket, 'in respect of the necessity of the speedy repair thereof (it being a very great road, and no carts or carriages could conveniently pass)'[1]. In the sixteenth century carts made the journey to Southampton and back laden in one day[2], yet the same road was so bad in May 1666 that a man took seventeen or eighteen hours to ride the twelve miles[3], and there were certainly more complaints about the state of local roads in the seventeenth century than there had been in the sixteenth.

Most visitors to Winchester came on horse-back or in horse-drawn vehicles, as the city's anxiety to keep its roads open to carts shows. Bars were set up at the southern entrance to the market-place in 1529 to protect the 'new pavement' from carts[4], and from 1620 a toll of threepence was imposed on every cart coming into or through the city laden[5]. Feeding and stabling horses was so profitable that it was restricted in 1566 to innkeepers[6]. Thus the market area of the city was not restricted to the distance people could walk in half a day, but could cover a much wider area, except at times when the roads were so bad that even horses were slowed to a walking pace.

The increase in private travel in the seventeenth century benefited towns on great roads or at route-junctions, such as Stamford and Banbury, which began to specialise in serving travellers. The numbers of inns and carriers in such towns multiplied, and their markets also profited by the increase in casual custom. Hampshire had its great road, but its

1. H.C.R.O., Q.O./3, pp.6-7; W.R.O., Proceedings in Quarter Sessions 1660-1716.
2. E.g. Southampton Civic Record Office, SC 5/5/52 (Brokage Book 1565-6).
3. Cal. S.P. Dom. 1665-6, 403.
4. Black Bk. 146.
5. 4th Bk. Ord., f.19.
6. 1st Bk. Ord., f.146; see also p. 300.

beneficial effects on trade left Winchester untouched. Until about 1400 the Great West Road from the south-west of England to London had passed through Winchester and Farnham, but as the city declined travellers adopted the shorter route via Andover and Basingstoke, using the valley of the Test and not the Itchen to cross the downs[1]. Both Basingstoke and Andover were said in 1673 to be 'on the Road, being a great thoroughfare town for the western parts'[2]. Winchester was therefore denied the advantages of a thoroughfare town, and its position was one of the most important factors limiting the city's economic growth in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Even the main road from Southampton to London bypassed Winchester: it ran up the Itchen valley for six miles, but then crossed the river below the city and went north-east to Alresford and on from there to Alton[3]. Some of the traffic from Southampton probably did stop in Winchester for business or refreshment, but the London route syphoned off part of Winchester's potential custom.

The transport of heavy goods by road was often so slow and expensive that towns with access to water transport had a considerable economic advantage. Winchester had been connected with the sea in the late twelfth century, when an enterprising bishop had opened up the River Itchen from Alresford down to Southampton, and the re-opening of the Itchen navigation was seen in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as the solution to all the city's troubles. When in 1535 the mayor and aldermen 'counselled together and debated as well the great and many occasions of the ruin and decay of the said city...as also by what means and ways the said city might or may eftsoons increase and amend', they decided that the main cause of their poverty was the lack of water transport on the Itchen. They

1. C. Cochrane, The Lost Roads of Wessex, 27, 33.
2. R. Blome, Britannia, 109-10.
3. E.G. Box, 'Hampshire in Early Maps and Early Road-Books', Proc. H.F.C. xii (1931-4), 233.

therefore petitioned Thomas Cromwell for the appointment of a commission of sewers, to supervise the removal of the mills and weirs which prevented navigation[1]. The commission was appointed and began its work with vigour, but it soon ran into opposition from Bishop Gardiner who owned the fishing-rights and the mills. The issue developed into a trial of strength between Cromwell and Gardiner, who were already at odds[2], but Gardiner departed for France and Cromwell forbade the lessee of Woodmill at the lower end of the navigation to oppose the mill's demolition[3]. Part of Woodmill was pulled down, and the commissioners reported in 1538 that 'already many high and sundry commodities do daily and hourly arrive'; one unexpected result of work on the river was an increase of salmon, and people were coming from miles around, 'leaving their husbandry and handicrafts, only attending to fishing'[4]. If trade up the river did ever begin in the 1530s it was short-lived, for in 1563 the marquis of Winchester was licensed to rebuild Woodmill[5].

In 1617 the corporation tried again to raise money for the re-opening of the river. The dean and chapter promised to contribute twenty marks and privately reserved £20 more[6], and the corporation commissioned a map and survey of the river between Black Bridge and Woodmill[7]. Some timber was bought and used in 1618[8], but the project lapsed until 1625 when the corporation decided to introduce a bill into Parliament[9]. For the next three years bills were drawn up and the city sent instructions to its MPs, but without success. The reason for Winchester's failure may well have

1. S.P. 1/89 ff.39-40.
2. G.R. Elton, 'Thomas Cromwell's Decline and Fall', Cambridge Hist. Jnl. x (1950-2), 157.
3. S.P. 3/2 (105).
4. S.P. 1/133 ff.178-9.
5. Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1560-3, 623.
6. Diary of John Young, ed. F.R. Goodman, 60.
7. A copy of the survey is in Bodl. MS. Top. Hants. c. 5, pp.71-81; the map is in H.C.R.O., 102M71/P1.
8. W.R.O., Proceedings of the Corporation B, f.38.
9. 4th Bk. Ord., f.35v.

been the opposition of Southampton, whose corporation drew up a list of 'the reasons to be alleged why the passage of water from Southampton to Winchester should not proceed, and wherein it will hinder the town of Southampton'. The document claimed that most of Southampton's trade with Oxfordshire, Berkshire, Wiltshire, Surrey, and the 'good towns' of Hampshire would be stolen, and that the 200 or 300 carriers now employed would be replaced by six or eight lightermen[1].

Winchester's plans finally came to fruition in the canal boom of the 1660s. In 1663 the Itchen was included in an abortive bill for making rivers navigable, and in the following year a similar bill reached the statute-book as a Private Act[2]. But victory was incomplete: the bill had been amended in Southampton's interests during its passage through Parliament, and traffic on the Itchen navigation was limited to coal and 'the Norway trade'[3]. Construction of the navigation was not finished until 1710, and when Defoe visited Winchester shortly afterwards he recorded that 'it was once made practicable, but it never answered the expense, so as to give encouragement to the undertakers'[4]. Thus the city's hopes of economic revival were defeated. Its faith in the navigation had in any case been unrealistic, for water transport would only have helped Winchester to expand as a distribution centre, and it no longer produced any goods of its own which required large-scale distribution. The navigation was revived in the late eighteenth century and barges used the Itchen until the late nineteenth, but traffic was never heavy and coal was the only commodity carried in large quantities. As a small town in a backward region, situated away from the major road, Winchester's chances of recovering its medieval prosperity were slim.

1. Hist. MSS. Comm., Various Collections, iv. 170. I owe this reference to Dr Ian Green.
2. T.S. Willan, River Navigation in England 1600-1750, 11; 16&17 Chas.II, c.12.
3. Hist. MSS. Comm., 7th Report (House of Lords MSS), 179; C. Bailey, Transcripts from the Municipal Archives of Winchester, 89-90.
4. E. Course, 'The Itchen Navigation', Proc. H.F.C. xxiv (1967), 115; D. Defoe, A Tour through Great Britain, ed. G.D.H. Cole, 186.

Appendix 2

Occupations found in Winchester and the Soke 1500-1699

	1500-49	1550-99	1600-49	1650-99
alebrewer		x		
apothecary	x	x	x	x
armourer		x	x	x
attorney		x	x	x
baker	x	x	x	x
barber	x	x	x	x
basketmaker			x	x
beavermaker				x
beerbrewer	x	x	x	
bitmaker			x	
blacksmith	x	x	x	x
bodicemaker				x
bookbinder		x	x	
bookseller				x
bowyer	x			
brazier			x	x
brewer	x	x	x	x
bricklayer	x	x	x	x
butcher	x	x	x	x
buttonmaker				x
capper	x	x		
carpenter	x	x	x	x
carrier	x	x	x	x
carter	x			
castermaker				x
chandler	x	x	x	x
chapman	x	x	x	x
chirurgeon			x	x
clerk	x	x	x	x
clothier	x	x	x	x
clothworker		x	x	
cobbler	x	x	x	x
collarmaker		x	x	x
collier			x	

Appendix 2 (continued)

	1500-49	1550-99	1600-49	1650-99
cook	x	x	x	x
cooper	x	x	x	x
cordwainer			x	x
coverlet-weaver			x	
currier		x	x	x
cutler	x	x	x	x
dauber	x			
draper	x	x	x	x
dyer	x	x	x	x
falconer	x			
fellmonger			x	x
fellpuller				x
feltmaker		x	x	x
fishmonger	x	x		
fletcher	x	x	x	
fuller	x	x	x	
furrier		x		
gardener	x	x	x	x
girdler		x		
glazier	x	x	x	x
glover	x	x	x	x
goldsmith		x	x	x
grocer	x	x	x	x
gunsmith			x	x
haberdasher	x	x	x	x
heelmaker		x		
helier	x	x	x	x
hempdresser				x
hosier		x	x	x
husbandman	x	x	x	x
innholder	x	x	x	x
ironmonger				x
joiner		x	x	x
labourer	x	x	x	x
lantern horn maker		x		
lawyer	x	x	x	x
limeburner	x			
linendraper		x	x	x

Appendix 2 (continued)

	1500-49	1550-99	1600-49	1650-99
linenweaver				x
locksmith	x		x	x
maltster			x	x
mason	x	x	x	x
mercer	x	x	x	x
merchant	x	x	x	x
metalworker		x		
miller	x	x	x	x
millwright		x	x	
notary public	x	x	x	x
organist	x			x
organmaker			x	
ostler		x	x	
painter	x		x	x
parchmentmaker	x	x	x	x
pavior			x	x
pedlar		x		
pewterer	x	x	x	x
physician	x	x	x	x
pinmaker			x	x
pipemaker				x
plasterer		x	x	
plumber	x	x	x	x
ripier		x	x	
roper				x
rugmaker			x	x
saddler		x	x	x
sawyer		x	x	x
scrivener	x		x	
sergeweaver			x	x
servant	x	x	x	x
'sevier'				x
sheargrinder		x		
shearman		x	x	
shepherd		x		
shoemaker	x	x	x	x
shuttlemaker			x	
silkweaver				x

Appendix 2 (continued)

	1500-49	1550-99	1600-49	1650-99
singingman	x	x	x	
skinner		x	x	
smith	x	x	x	x
stationer		x		
stockingmaker				x
surgeon		x	x	x
tailor	x	x	x	x
tallowchandler	x	x	x	x
tanner	x	x	x	x
tiler	x		x	
tinker	x	x		
tippler	x	x	x	x
tobacconist			x	x
turner			x	
upholsterer			x	
victualler		x	x	x
vintner	x	x	x	x
waggoner				x
watchmaker				x
waxchandler	x			
weaver	x	x	x	x
wheeler		x		x
wheelwright			x	
woollencomber			x	x
woollendraper		x	x	x
worstedcomber			x	x
worstedweaver			x	
Total	65	87	100	95

CHAPTER 6

Pomp and Poverty 1590-1640

The fifty years between 1590 and 1640 brought an unprecedented series of epidemics, trade depressions, and famines to England. Winchester was already burdened with large numbers of poor citizens, thrown back on public relief by the failing cloth industry or personal misfortune, and the crises of the early seventeenth century exacerbated the problem within the city and brought an influx of poor immigrants as well.

The most sudden and tragic misfortune that could strike a family - or a city - was the plague, and Winchester suffered in every major outbreak from the 1590s onwards. In St Maurice parish, burials were high in 1591 and 1592, but no precautions were ordered until the summer of 1593, when the city gates were closed to strangers, 'especially footmen or such as bring packs', and one of the aldermen was put into quarantine for a month after receiving merchandise from London. The October fair was held in spite of the plague, but only people from uninfected areas were allowed into the city. In December the corporation built a house for infected people in the meadows known as the 'town ponds' outside the city walls, and a weekly tax was imposed on all inhabitants of the city. Two houses were shut up and visitors to them punished, and the corporation tried to stop people from attending bull-baiting in the Soke[1]. The College contributed in 1594 to the relief of those shut up in the city and in Kingsgate Street[2]. In 1597 many areas experienced a combination of famine and disease; the south and east Soke parishes had no unusual mortality,

1. W.R.O., Proceedings of the Corporation A, f.22; ibid. B, ff.1-5.
2. T.F. Kirby, Annals of Winchester College, 296.

but St Bartholomew had its worst year since the beginning of the register in 1563, and St Maurice burials rose again to epidemic proportions. It was during this epidemic that a new custom was begun, of leasing the town ponds to each mayor to be used for the pesthouse in times of sickness[1].

The next major epidemic in Winchester came in 1603, when plague spread from London to the rest of the country and lingered until 1606. Winchester began to take precautions against its spread in the summer of 1603, when trade and travel from London were forbidden, and in November the order was extended to travellers from Reading. Durngate was closed, and 'wanderers or suspected persons' were turned away at the other gates[2]. In December money was taken from the coffer to build a pesthouse again, in January 1604 the mayor personally gave £10 and promised £5 more for the relief of those infected, and in March another £5 was taken from the coffer for this purpose[3]. The chamberlains' accounts for 1604-5 and 1605-6 show that £8 12s 7d was collected from the inhabitants and given to plague victims with another 11s from the chamber, and 9s 8d was spent on the maintenance of the pesthouse. Mortality was high in St Peter Chesil in the east Soke, where burials rose from three in 1602 to thirty-two in 1603 and twenty-five in 1604, but St Maurice was hardly affected at all. The plague petered out at Winchester during 1605, but four years later the Soke was affected again in another general outbreak, and the county JPs had difficulty in levying money for its relief[4].

Winchester suffered no more large epidemics until the plague of 1625, which was the worst outbreak in the city since the Black Death and the most serious epidemic of the sixteenth or seventeenth century. London and the south and south-west of England were hard hit by this epidemic, but the

1. 1st Bk. Ord., f.289v.
2. W.R.O., Proceedings of the Corporation A, ff.4-5; ibid. B, f.57.
3. Ibid. B, f.89; W.R.O., Coffer Accounts 1589-1627, 2 Dec. 1603, 12 Mar.1603/4
4. H.C.R.O., Q.O./1, p.98.

north and east were hardly touched[1]. The sickness was just beginning at Southampton in August 1625, and it probably spread from there to Winchester. The dean and chapter had already set aside money for relief in July[2], and in August burials in St Maurice (which had been high since 1623) suddenly rose steeply. A petition by the corporation to the Privy Council complained of 'grievous infection' and 'great distress': the wealthiest inhabitants had fled into the countryside, and no one would bring food to the markets for those who remained, so the Privy Council authorised the mayor to levy a double rate from those who had fled[3]. Payments from the coffer for the relief of the sick and those who had no work or food began in August 1625 and continued until the following January, when the disease had abated, and city relief from the coffer alone amounted to over £80. Burials from St Maurice in 1625 totalled eighty-eight, nearly a quarter of the parish's estimated population in 1603, and over four times more than the annual average number over the previous decade. St John in the Soke lost twenty-two people, compared with an average of ten burials a year during the last decade, and St Peter Chesil too was seriously affected with thirty-seven burials compared with an average of fewer than six. St Bartholomew, however, escaped the plague completely and had only four burials in 1625.

Winchester escaped the smallpox which swept the Isle of Wight in 1627 and 1629[4], but in 1637-8 the dreary tale of 1593, 1603, and 1625 was repeated all over again. Several Hampshire villages suffered from plague in 1636, and in the following year it spread to Winchester[5]. The plague continued into 1638, but most parishes in the city were not badly affected; St Bartholomew, however, buried thirty-three of its inhabitants, nearly seven times the average over the previous decade.

1. C. Creighton, A History of Epidemics in Britain (2nd edn. 1965), i.511, 521.
2. The Diary of John Young S.T.P. ed. F.R. Goodman, 78.
3. Acts of P.C. 1625-6, 178.
4. A Royalist's Notebook (Sir John Oglander of Nunwell), ed. F. Bamford, 23, 48-9.
5. H.C.R.O., Q.O./2, ff.100-150, passim.

The reaction of the city government to plague and other diseases developed slowly in the later sixteenth century, and it was never original. Official policy, laid down in May 1583 under the threat of an epidemic, consisted of the adoption of the orders for London which had been printed and distributed by the Privy Council[1]. For the long-term prevention of disease, the corporation's only ideas were to pave and clean the streets - a common scavenger was first appointed in 1601, 'as well for the cleanliness decency and sweetness of the air within this city as also for avoiding of infections which often happeneth by filthy savours'[2] - and to keep out travellers and goods from infected areas, though this could never be rigorously enforced. Once the epidemic had begun, the emphasis was on isolation to prevent its spread. Dogs were to be kept off the streets, public meetings were moved or cancelled, and infected families were strictly confined to their houses. Although flight from the city was never officially approved, those who could leave did so, and the College fitted out a barn at Moundsmere as a permanent refuge for its pupils in times of plague[3]. Until 1583 orders were confined to postponing or moving municipal meetings, which at best could only protect the ruling group. From then on action was a little more vigorous: the London orders were adopted, and the pesthouse on the town ponds was erected for the first time in 1583, using bricks as well as wood, though it was dismantled after each epidemic and had to be rebuilt in 1593 and 1603[4]. None of these measures were continuously applied except in periods of sickness, and after 1583 no innovations were made in methods of prevention or relief. In these respects Winchester was no better and no worse than most other towns, and as the causes of plague were little understood it is difficult to imagine what else the corporation could have done.

1. 1st Bk. Ord., ff.226v.-7.
2. Ibid., f.301.
3. D. Cosier, 'The Manor of Moundsmere', Proc. H.F.C. xxii (1961-3), 104.
4. W.R.O., chamb. acct. 24-5 Eliz., 31-2 Eliz., 38-9 Eliz.

The most serious long-term effect of plague was to deprive families of their wage-earning members and to swell the ranks of those receiving poor relief. But plague was not the only cause of an increase in the number of paupers: a combination of industrial troubles, unemployment, price fluctuations, and food shortages caused a rapid growth of the poverty problem all over England between 1590 and 1640, a development to which Winchester was no exception. In 1594 the corporation spent £40, a far greater sum than usual, on wool to set the poor to work[1], and in 1594, 1595, and 1596 it bought rye and wheat at Southampton for the poor after deficient harvests created a serious shortage[2]. In years when the rest of the country had a poor harvest, the Privy Council sometimes turned to Hampshire for grain supplies, as it did in 1600 when JPs were ordered to buy up corn discreetly and sent it to Ireland for the army[3]. On the other hand there were years when Hampshire's crop was less plentiful than elsewhere; though Hoskins lists 1602 as a good year, the JPs in Hampshire reported a 'general fail of corn in these parts'[4]. Corn was bought by the corporation for the poor again in 1609[5].

Plague and occasional food shortages made the early years of the seventeenth century a period of hardship, and the situation worsened after 1618 with the crisis in the cloth industry. Hampshire was not much affected by the Cokayne project because kerseys were already normally dyed and finished before export, but the depression beginning in 1618 intensified the industry's decline, and Hampshire clothiers and their employees were badly hit. Clothing was still the county's and Winchester's largest single industry, and a petition of 1618 claimed that it usually employed at least 3,000 people in Winchester and Southampton 'besides a

1. W.R.O., Coffer Accounts 1589-1627, 10 July 1594, 19 July 1594.
2. Ibid., 23 Dec. 1594, 3 July 1595; W.R.O., chamb. acct. 38-9 Eliz. Information on harvests throughout this chapter is taken from W.G. Hoskins, 'Harvest Fluctuations and English Economic History 1480-1759', Ag. H.R. xii (1964) and xvi (1968).
3. Acts of P.C. 1599-1600, 792-5.
4. Hist. MSS. Comm., Salisbury MSS, xii. 676.
5. W.R.O., Coffer Accounts 1589-1627, 30 Jan. 1609/10.

multitude of country people' up to fifteen miles around them. Even in normal times, according to the petition, employment in the cloth industry was 'indifferent', but the slump had thrown many people out of work altogether. The petitioners blamed the crisis on 'the extraordinary transportation of wool out of his Majesty's dominions'; this led to foreign competition and a shortage of wool in England, and the petition asked for an enquiry into recent wool exports and a prohibition on export in future[1].

The 3,000 tods of wool used each year in making serges at Winchester were said to have dwindled to less than 300 in 1621[2]. Clothing employed more people in Winchester than any other trade, and the Soke was even more dependent on the cloth industry. The city was also sensitive to poverty in the countryside, which supplied customers in its shops and markets. Nevertheless, distress in Hampshire in 1618 was probably less severe than in the western counties, and there were no clothworkers' riots at Winchester. In 1620 corn was cheap and plentiful in Hampshire after a good harvest, but the county JPs were reluctant to erect public storehouses because prices were rising[3]. After 1622's disastrous harvest the Privy Council issued its usual orders against superfluous maltsters and alehouses, and the Winchester JPs reported back on the measures they had taken. Even in February 1623 the Winchester market was well supplied with grain, but the JPs noted that 'there is more scarcity of money to buy corn than of corn to be had for money', an allusion to the shortage of silver coin[4]. The plague of 1625 increased the number of unemployed, and the city was forced to relieve not only those infected but also those thrown out of work by the epidemic. The mayor listed six people in 1627, including a clothier, a vintner, a chandler, and the widow of a haberdasher - all normally prosperous occupations - who were too poor to

1. S.P. 14/98 (54).
2. Commons Debates 1621, ed. W. Notestein et al., vii. 252.
3. Cal. S.P. Dom. 1619-23, 140.
4. S.P. 14/138 (74).

contribute to the Forced Loan, quite apart from those who refused to pay[1].

The culmination of all these different pressures came in the 1630s. The Soke was more vulnerable than the city to economic fluctuations, for clothing played a greater part in its economy, its lord the bishop was usually absent in London, and there were fewer wealthy inhabitants to support the many poor. In April 1631 a petition to the county JPs at the Quarter Sessions estimated the number of poor people in the Soke at 500, more than a third of the population. Many were unable to work,

> and those of them that can and would work can have no employment, for want of stock and workmasters to set them on work; and...there are very few of ability within the said liberty able to give relief, in respect of the great number of poor that are there to receive; and...those few that do use clothing within the said liberty are not able to go on with their trading any longer (their stocks being out in cloth and commodities ready made which lieth upon their hands for want of vent or sale), by reason whereof the said poor are most of them ready to famish and perish this hard time of dearth and scantiness[2].

The matter was referred to eight JPs, including the dean, two canons, and the Warden of Winchester College, and the same petition was considered by the Justices of Assize three months later[3]. It was only in 1633 that the JPs authorised a rate on neighbouring hundreds for the relief of the Soke's poor, and in 1638 it was reported that orders had been made 'but as yet they have received no benefit thereby'; as late as 1640 the other hundreds were still disputing the order to pay, and obviously no one had taken vigorous action[4].

The city too was under mounting pressure in the 1630s. In the summer of 1630 the mayor asked the dean and chapter for more help in setting the poor to work, but the dean advised against further assistance on the grounds that 'some must be kept to be distributed to the impotent poor'[5]. The allowance to the poor people in St John's Hospital was increased,

1. S.P. 16/70 (50).
2. H.C.R.O., Q.O./2, f.29.
3. Assizes 24/20 f.31v.
4. Ibid. f.210; H.C.R.O., Q.O./2, ff.52, 150.
5. Diary of John Young, ed. Goodman, 87.

and the city responded to the new Book of Orders by entrusting Richard Hurd, a clothier, with £500 to provide work for the poor, though the money was called in again four years later[1]. In a Chancery suit in 1633 to recover a charitable bequest of £1,100, the corporation claimed that it had so many poor 'that had it not pleased God to put it into the minds of many ever to be remembered worthy benefactors to extend their pious charity...the poor of the city would not have been sufficiently relieved but would have been in danger of perishing'[2].

To the pressures of natural disaster were added those of government impositions. The billeting of soldiers was neither a new grievance nor one peculiar to Winchester, but the city's geographical position ensured that it suffered the inconvenience of soldiers constantly passing through. Approximately twenty-five miles by road from Portsmouth and an easy twelve miles from Southampton, Winchester was an obvious place to billet soldiers until they marched to the ports to embark; but the inhabitants ignored the logic behind the practice and saw only its disadvantages, while the long period of peace from 1604 to 1625 made billeting all the more unpopular when it was resumed. A regiment from Somerset marched to Winchester in September 1626, and money was taken from the coffer to pay for the soldiers until the sum should be repaid by the deputy-lieutenants[3]. Twenty-three companies from Dorset were sent to the city in 1627 in spite of protests from both Winchester and Southampton, and within six weeks the soldiers were on the point of revolt because their pay was in arrears[4]. More troops arrived in 1628, and the deputy-lieutenants found themselves dealing with both discontent among the soldiers and resentment in the city. In 1627 when three Irish companies were billeted at Winchester[5] the

1. 4th Bk. Ord., ff.67v., 92.
2. C 2/Chas.I/W.124/127.
3. B.L. Add. MS. 21,922, f.77; W.R.O., Coffer Accounts 1589-1627, 29 Sept.1626.
4. Cal. S.P. Dom. 1627-8, 104, 106, 124, 167.
5. B.L. Add. MS. 21,922, f.124.

corporation drew up a list of its expences and grievances: conduct money, coat money, imprest money and 'watching and guarding of soldiers to remote places' had cost at least £40 during the last three years, and another 100 marks had been spent on fuel, coal, candles, match and powder for the troops, all without any repayment. The presence of troops forced prices up in the market, and the corporation claimed that meetings of the Assizes and Quarter Sessions had been moved away from Winchester[1], though their records do not show any move.

The city's grievances over military exactions were not confined to the war period. Another bone of contention was the county muster-master, to whom the city was required to pay £5 a year. The sum was levied from the richer citizens, with whom it was highly unpopular, and Winchester was the most recalcitrant town in the county[2]. In 1627 one of the constables submitted a list of seven men, including one of the bailiffs, who refused to pay, and in 1632 the coffer had to make up part of the sum[3]. The city was also required to send its own men to the musters, and to provide them with equipment. During the war when there was some prospect of the men seeing action the deputy-lieutenants sent a soldier from the Low Countries, Sergeant Rynes, to train or 'discipline' them[4]. Three men were impressed for the army in October 1627, plus another seven 'taken up at Winchester to make up the number'[5]. An even greater burden than unpopular payments for troops was the expence to the city of the families left behind, for the men sent away were mostly poor, and without their breadwinners the wives and children inevitably fell back on public relief. In 1639 the city protested against the deputy-lieutenants' request for twenty-six men

1. S.P. 16/88 (56).
2. Acts of P.C. 1629-30, 341.
3. S.P. 16/88 (55); W.R.O., Coffer Accounts 1628-61, 26 Oct. 1632.
4. W.R.O., Coffer Accounts 1589-1627, 14 Apr. 1626.
5. B.L. Add. MS. 21,922, f.118v.

to join the army going north to fight the Scots, on account of the

> miserable estate of this poor city, consisting for the most part of poor mechanics who have no other means for maintenance of themselves, their wives and children, but what they get by their daily labours, from which if they be taken but for a month or two their families must of necessity perish or be sustained by the revenues of the chamber, which are so small, and the number of the poor thereby at this present relieved so many, that all will not satisfy their necessity, with the continual taxes laid upon the inhabitants in weekly payments upon them[1].

The most notorious government imposition was ship-money. Winchester had been included in this tax before and the proposal then had met with the same opposition as it did in the 1630s. In 1596 Southampton and other ports had complained of the burden on decayed towns of providing ships, and the Privy Council wrote to 'such cities or towns as are adjoining to the ports and by their situation take special benefit by them and whose safety is nearly depending upon the ports' (Winchester, Salisbury, and the Isle of Wight in the case of Southampton) asking for contributions[2]. Salisbury managed to limit the tax to the three or four merchants who used Southampton, and Winchester apparently made successful appeals to the Council and was excused payment[3]. In 1636 the city's assessment for ship-money was £170, but a petition to the Council in 1638 reduced Winchester's share to £150[4]. Like the other towns of Hampshire and the county itself, Winchester was constantly in debt to the sheriff for arrears[5]. Most of the sum due was eventually paid, but the sheriff encountered fierce resistance. No other tax had ever demanded as much as £150 in a year from Winchester before, though the totals of subsidies, tenths and fifteenths had been steadily rising and since 1625 had exceeded £100 at least twice. The seven surviving tax-lists from the twenty-five

1. Ibid., f.209. I owe this reference to Dr Caroline Hibbard.
2. Acts of P.C. 1595-6, 161-2.
3. W.R.O., Proceedings of the Corporation A, ff.42-3.
4. Cal. S.P. Dom. 1636-7, 542; ibid. 1637-8, 367.
5. Ibid. 1636-7, 217-18; ibid. 1637-8, 182; ibid, 1638-9, 22.

years between 1603 and 1628 show that the city (without the Soke) had paid at least £547, whereas the nine lists from the forty-five years of Elizabeth's reign add up to only £364. The leading inhabitants on whom taxation always fell had therefore been hard-pressed by parliamentary taxes already, and their opposition to ship-money was based as much on financial as on legal or constitutional grounds.

The combination in the early seventeenth century of all the factors described - plagues, food shortages, high prices, unemployment, industrial depression, impressment for the army, and heavy taxation - added thousands to the already large number of families and individuals in need of relief all over England, and it is no accident that the scale of philanthropy (as measured by Professor Jordan, and corrected for inflation[1]) rose in the early seventeenth century to meet the increased need. The only estimates of the number of Winchester's poor in the 1620s and 1630s derive from petitions, and suggest figures of 600 recipients in the city and 500 in the Soke, approximately 40% of the total population of each[2]. These figures were very high even if some exaggeration is taken into account, for Jordan concluded that the proportion of poor in most communities ranged from 8% to 20%, reaching the higher figure only in crisis years[3].

Like other authorities faced with the poor, the Winchester corporation's first concern was the preservation of order, and its treatment of vagrants was often punitive rather than constructive. The beadle was paid each year to drive away the beggars who swarmed into the city at the time of the Assizes and Sessions, and those found begging near the cathedral churchyard were whipped[4]. The cage, pillory, whipping post, and stocks

1. L. Stone, review of W.K. Jordan, Philanthropy in England, in History, xliv (1959), 260.
2. S.P. 16/88 (56); H.C.R.O., Q.O./2, f.29.
3. Jordan, Philanthropy in England, 68. Cf. Salisbury, where nearly half the population was on relief in the 1620s: P. Slack, 'Poverty and Politics in Salisbury 1597-1666', Crisis and Order in English Towns, ed. Clark and Slack, 171-2.
4. W.R.O., Proceedings of the Corporation A, f.56.

in the market-place were mended in the 1580s and again in 1631[1]. The separate responsibility of each parish and town for its vagrants encouraged them to congregate near boundaries for easy escape from arrest, and officials of the Soke complained that rogues stayed safely within the city liberty[2]. George Chaundeler, the owner of Hyde Barton on the outskirts of the suburb outside the Northgate, reported to county JPs that vagrants often sheltered in his outhouses 'to the great affrightment and putting in fear of him...and his household, they being a good distance from neighbours'[3], and two children born in the cowhouse of Hyde Barton were baptised in 1629. Not all homeless wanderers were dangerous, though most were treated harshly; a 'poor singlewoman', for instance, who had once lived in the Soke for a year, was sent from one village to another and finally back to the Soke when she became ill in 1638[4].

The forcible exclusion of people who might become a burden on the city's resources was extended to 'betterment' immigrants seeking work as well as vagrants in search of charity. The constables presented 'inmates' or illegal lodgers at every session of the town court, and in 1637 masters were prohibited from employing any journeyman or servant from outside the city without first giving security for his support, 'for that ...excessive burden and charge is now fallen upon the said city...for that many of such servants are now living in the same city, having families, and not of ability to maintain them without relief'[5]. From 1611 only poor children born in Winchester were to be eligible for a charitable apprenticeship fund[6]. A special ordinance was passed in 1622 to enable the corporation to expel Thomas Frend, a goldsmith who had set

1. W.R.O., chamb. acct. 22-3 Eliz.; W.R.O., Coffer Accounts 1628-61, 3 June 1631, 9 Sept. 1631.
2. S.P. 16/250 (2).
3. H.C.R.O., Q.O./1, p.502.
4. H.C.R.O., Q.O./2, f.144v.
5. 4th Bk. Ord., f.110.
6. 3rd Bk. Ord., f.166v.

up trade in Winchester without serving a seven-year apprenticeship there or becoming a freeman[1], but the ordinance failed to dislodge him and Frend was still in business in 1624, to the annoyance of rival goldsmiths born and apprenticed in the city[2].

Winchester's governors were no more enterprising in their treatment of poverty than of plague. Sixteenth-century legislation was applied half-heartedly and spasmodically; after 1590 the scale of the problem demanded more attention, but the mayor was reproved by the Justices of Assize in 1630 for 'not ordering his poor better'[3]. Winchester was not a town whose schemes influenced national legislation, rather it trailed behind it. A list of paupers was drawn up in 1551-2, but the Act of 1552 (5 & 6 Edw. VI, c. 2) establishing a weekly collection in each parish was not put into effect until 1555[4]. The corporation issued licensed beggars with metal badges in especially bad years and encouraged them to beg outside the city[5]. The unusual activity of the 1550s, as elsewhere, was prompted by urgent need: Edward VI's abortive grant of monastic lands referred to the large number of poor in Winchester[6], and in 1558-9 the chamberlains had to make up the total of a fifteenth and tenth which some inhabitants were too poor to pay[7]. References to the poor-rate do not appear until the 1590s, but its collection may have begun earlier. The corporation's casual attitude to poor relief was partly due to the existence of St John's Hospital and the Sistern House, both run by the city for the poor, and it was not until the end of the sixteenth century that relief outside institutions became a significant part of the city's expenditure.

Private benefactors too reduced the need for public relief. Hampshire's

1. 4th Bk. Ord., ff.25v.-6v.
2. W.R.O., 57/Bx./MC 2.
3. Diary of John Young, ed. Goodman, 87.
4. W.R.O., chamb. acct. 5-6 Edw.VI; 1st Bk. Ord., f.110.
5. W.R.O., chamb. acct. 2&3-3&4 P. & M., 5-6 Eliz., 38-9 Eliz.
6. E 318/39/2086.
7. W.R.O., chamb. acct. 5&6 P. & M. - 1 Eliz.

attitudes to philanthropy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have been studied in detail by Professor Jordan, mainly from wills, and his statistical conclusions are set out in Table 17, comparing Hampshire with the whole group of eight counties and two cities that he studied. Jordan's findings for Hampshire agree fairly closely with the trends in both public and private philanthropy found in Winchester. Between 1480 and 1660 the city received £17,393 in charity, approximately 20% of the amount given to the whole county and significantly more than was given to any other Hampshire town including Southampton[1]. The efficacy of charity was determined more by its form than by mere volume, however, and in this respect Hampshire benefactors were unusually short-sighted. Almost a third of the total donated was to provide capital for direct gifts to the poor, a far higher proportion than in other counties. Such bequests might be distributed as money, food, clothing, or fuel; they solved the immediate problem, but they could only be of temporary value and did not attack the causes of poverty. Even donors who gave money for other charitable causes usually left a small sum for alms to the poor as well, and it was common for inhabitants of Winchester to leave sums for the poor in their wills. The dean and chapter too favoured direct alms, and gave 13s 4d a week in 1618 for the city poor and a separate donation for the Soke[2]. The city paid the great majority of its expenditure on poor relief directly to the poor, as it was bound to do when it was directly responsible for their life or death. Weekly payments rose gradually, from 2d and 3d in the 1550s, to anywhere between 3d and 12d in the 1580s and throughout the first half of the seventeenth century.

Payments for poor relief were occasionally made from the coffer, especially for the fostering of poor children, but most of the corporation's

1. W.K. Jordan, Philanthropy in England 1480-1660, 241-2.
2. Diary of John Young, ed. Goodman, 62.

Table 17

Philanthropy in Hampshire 1480-1660

Purpose of benefaction	% of Hampshire's charitable wealth	% of total charitable wealth
The Poor	41.35	36.40
outright relief	32.27	18.87
almshouses	7.55	13.45
general charity	(1.53)	(3.91)
the aged		0.17
Social Rehabilitation	4.42	10.30
relief of prisoners	(0.25)	1.26
marriage subsidies		(0.43)
workhouses and stocks for the poor	1.65	0.96
loan funds	0.33	2.04
apprenticeship schemes	1.99	1.25
hospitals and care of the sick	0.20	4.36
Municipal Betterment	10.92	5.18
general municipal uses	8.03	1.47
to companies for public benefit	(2.64)	1.95
public parks and recreation		(0.01)
roads and bridges	0.25	1.75
Education	24.84	26.86
schools	11.31	14.47
scholarships and fellowships	3.58	4.67
colleges and universities	(9.95)	7.45
libraries		(0.27)
Religion	18.46	21.26
church general	1.67	1.31
prayers	1.17	4.82
church repairs	3.41	2.94
maintenance of the clergy	1.95	2.31
Puritan lectureships	2.53	2.27
church building	(7.73)	7.61

(Figures in brackets are not given by Jordan but may be found by deduction.)

Sources: W.K. Jordan, Philanthropy in England 1480-1660
W.K. Jordan, The Charities of Rural England
W.K. Jordan, The Charities of London

expenditure was made through St John's Hospital and was therefore recorded in the hospital's accounts. St John's Hospital received several benefactions of money or lands between 1480 and 1660, the largest being the gift of Ralph Lambe, a former auditor of Bishop Gardiner's revenues[1] and a kinsman of William Lawrence of Winchester. Lambe bequeathed the hospital £400 in 1558 to buy lands, the income from which was intended to maintain six old people in the hospital[2]. The money was used to purchase three tenements, a stable, and a garden in the city, and the prebend of Ratfyn in Wiltshire; the rents of these properties increased the hospital's income by about 20% in the 1560s, and by 100% in the 1630s, as rent from the land in Wiltshire increased while city rents remained low. In 1606 William Burton left several pieces of land to the city to provide alms totalling £7 for 100 poor people once a year[3], and the land was added to the St John's Hospital estates; in the same year William Symondes bequeathed lands at Chawton to the city for the maintenance of six aged poor people[4], and this charity too was taken over by the hospital. St John's Hospital therefore administered both funds donated for specific purposes and the city's general resources for the poor, and the two categories were easily confused. The accounts of its expenditure on alms to the poor, shown in Figure 9, reveal the rapidly growing scale of relief from the 1580s and the enormous increase during the 1620s and 1630s. Until 1620 the hospital's income from city rents was sufficient to cover the alms given - though repairs and the maintenance of the aged almspeople in the hospital had to be paid too - but after 1625 (the accounts for 1620-5 have unfortunately not survived) poor relief soared beyond all the hospital's combined sources of income.

1. W. Cath. MSS., Chapter Register V, f.20.
2. Prob. 11/41 (P.C.C. 42 Noodes).
3. H.C.R.O. wills B 1606.
4. Prob. 11/109 (P.C.C. 10 Huddlestone).

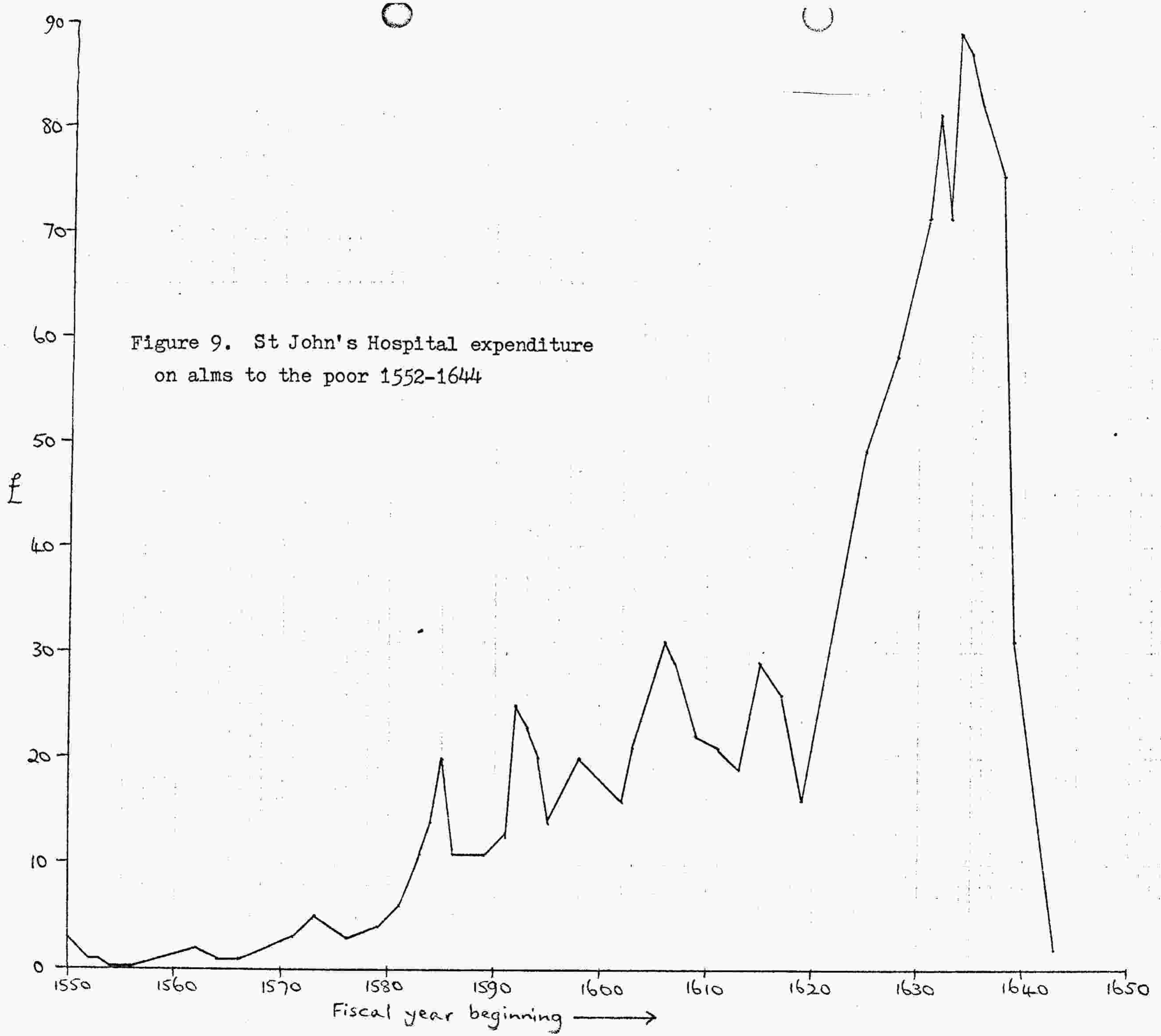


Figure 9. St John's Hospital expenditure on alms to the poor 1552-1644

In 1615 Winchester also acquired another almshouse, one of the fifteen established in Hampshire between 1480 and 1660. Its founder was Peter Symondes, who had left Winchester for London as a boy to be apprenticed as a mercer, and enjoyed a successful and lucrative career. Symondes retained trading connections with his family and with Winchester, and like many London merchants he directed that his wealth should finally be invested in his birthplace. Hampshire as a whole received many bequests from London[1], although not many of them concerned Winchester. Symondes' will of 1587 gave a total of £4,416 7s to charity, of which most was to benefit the city. An annual sermon on Good Friday in St Mary Kalender was endowed, and £100 established a fund for apprenticing poor boys. Two poor scholars who intended to become preachers were to be maintained at the universities. Symondes' almshouse was modelled on Christ's Hospital and Whittington College in London, and it was known locally as the Blue Coat Hospital or Christ's Hospital. Endowed with lands in Essex and Hampshire, it was to house six poor men, one poor woman, and four homeless boys; the adults must be single and over fifty, and must not be 'common drunkards, pickers, players at alehouses...common swearers or any other ill vice contrary to God's law'[2]. The hospital was not opened until 1615, for the Essex lands intended for its endowment had been sold by Richard Symondes, a kinsman of the testator, and the corporation spent over £200 on suits in Chancery and the Court of Wards which dragged on for over twenty years before the lands were recovered. The hospital was built at one end of Minster Street (which was renamed Symondes Street) using stones from the ruins of Hyde Abbey[3]. Like St John's Hospital it was governed directly by the corporation, and decisions concerning Christ's

1. Jordan, Charities of London, 426-7.
2. Ibid., 333 n.62; Prob. 11/71 (P.C.C. 51 Spencer).
3. E 134/7 Chas.I/Trin. 4 (deposition of William Whitheade).

Hospital were recorded in the Books of Ordinances. Symondes' hospital was by far the largest single gift for the relief of the poor in Winchester, yet in spite of a rapid turnover of almspeople it could never maintain more than a tiny fraction of the pauper population. Together with St John's Hospital, St Cross, and St Mary Magdalen Hospitals it supported a few of Winchester's aged poor, but almshouses were not a long-term answer to the problem of poverty.

The most adventurous and valuable benefactions were those in Professor Jordan's category of 'social rehabilitation', but few donors outside London and the largest provincial cities were prepared to risk their money in such dubious schemes, and the small proportion of Hampshire's charitable wealth devoted to them was typical of the rural counties. Winchester was better equipped for the care of the sick than the figures in Table 17 suggest; St John's Hospital acted as a medical hospital as well as an almshouse, and the city had more apothecaries and physicians than any village, though it is doubtful whether the poor benefited greatly from their presence. The relief of prisoners was another neglected charitable cause. Winchester benefactors often left small sums for prisoners, but they were always intended as outright relief, never as funds with which debtors might secure release. The dean and chapter and Winchester College also gave regular donations for the relief of prisoners.

Loan funds were not popular in Hampshire, but Winchester did attract several bequests for this purpose. One was provided in 1578 by a former serjeant-at-mace of the city, Robert Clifton, who left £20 to be lent to one inhabitant at a time for not longer than two years[1]. Richard Venables, a merchant tailor of London, left £100 in 1598 to be lent out for four years without interest to 'three honest occupiers of good fame and name' who were freemen, and 100 nobles to be lent to a clothier of the Soke[2].

1. H.C.R.O. wills B 1578.
2. Prob. 11/92 (P.C.C. 69 Lewyn).

Winchester also benefited under the will of Sir Thomas White, as one of twenty-four towns which received £100 in rotation, to be lent for ten years at a time, free of interest, to four young men with a preference for freemen and clothiers[1]. The object of loan funds was to provide capital for young tradesmen at the beginning of their careers, but the recipients in Winchester were not always the most deserving cases. The four nominees for Sir Thomas White's gift in 1599, for example, were William Colson, Richard Paice, Harry Bilston, and John Colly[2], of whom none was a clothier, their occupations being apothecary, tailor and draper, tailor, and haberdasher respectively. Paice had been a freeman for twenty years, and Bilston had been junior bailiff in 1587, which suggests that neither was at the beginning of his career. Colly, on the other hand, was made a freeman on the same day that he was nominated for the loan, perhaps in order to qualify. Nominees had to produce sureties for their repayment of the loan, but this requirement excluded the very people without local friends or families who were most in need of capital. By the 1660s the corporation was even charging interest at 6% on the loans under Sir Thomas White's gift[3], as well as on several local loan funds.

Similar to the loan funds, but more useful to the poor, were benefactions to apprentice poor boys and girls to masters. The corporation used some of its own money for apprenticeships, as did the county JPs, and the dean and chapter apprenticed the older cathedral choirboys. Winchester received at least three bequests for this purpose, besides Peter Symondes' gift; a bequest of £100 by Thomas Davison, a Fellow of the College, in 1586, one of £10 for four apprentices by John Taylor, a shoemaker, in 1603, and one of £5 by a widow in 1636[4]. Although this was

1. Jordan, Charities of London, 174-5.
2. 1st Bk. Ord., f.297.
3. 6th Bk. Ord., ff.22-2v.; W.R.O., Payments out of Coffer 1660-99,12 May 1665.
4. Bodl. MS. Top. Hants. c. 5, pp.30-1.

one of the most effective long-term forms of poor relief, it was even less popular over the country as a whole than in Hampshire.

The only other form of social rehabilitation which appealed to Hampshire donors was the provision of workhouses and stocks to set the poor on work, an idea described by Jordan as 'appealing but wholly impractical'[1]. Both private benefactors and the corporation continued to support the scheme, which was nearly always translated into practice as combing or spinning wool. Bishop Horne and Bishop Watson together gave £100 to the city to provide work before 1582, and a Chichester gentleman gave another £100[2]. A widow was employed by the corporation for two months in 1595 to teach the spinning of worsted yarn to children selected 'in respect that they are for the most part the children of poor men, and fatherless children'; after the training period the profits of the children's work were to be paid to their parents[3], but there is no evidence that this ingenious scheme ever became self-supporting. Part of the dean and chapter's contribution to poor relief in Winchester was made in wool for spinning which cost them 5s or more a week. Early in the seventeenth century the cathedral had offered to supply a whole tod of wool weekly for the city and Soke at a cost of £80 a year, which would discharge all their obligations to the poor, but in 1630 the dean believed that direct alms should be continued[4]. Any proposal which might provide a livelihood for a whole family was bound to be attractive, and small donations from the coffer to help the poor find work or to provide work were common: Humphrey Warren received 20s in 1622, for example, to buy him clothes 'that he may be fit to work at his trade, he being now so lowly and out of apparel that nobody will set him on work',

1. Jordan, Philanthropy in England, 272.
2. 1st Bk. Ord., f.224v.; Bodl. MS. Top. Hants. c. 5, pp.31, 37.
3. W.R.O., Proceedings of the Corporation A, ff.31, 34-5.
4. Diary of John Young, ed. Goodman, 87.

and 15s was given in 1633 to 'a poor shoemaker who hath been sick a long time, to prepare some leather to set him on work'[1]. Clothes were provided once for six poor boys sent to Virginia in 1625[2], but emigration was not a regular feature of Winchester's policy towards the poor.

No benefactions to found a workhouse in Winchester were needed because there was one in existence already: in 1579 Hampshire was one of the first counties to set up a House of Correction under the Act of 1576 (18 Eliz., c. 3). Sir Francis Walsingham, as custos rotulorum for Hampshire, took a close interest in the project and was described as its 'only beginner and founder'[3]. The house was established in Winchester Castle, whose buildings were unused except for the Great Hall. It was intended to house forty people, and the keeper was bound to provide employment for forty more people outside, paying them 'as much as they shall have at any clothier's hand'[4]. From the beginning the house was intended more for 'correction' than employment, though numbers were to be kept up by admitting the poor. The industries envisaged were the manufacture of woollen cloth and felt hats, glove-making, and smith's work, with labour for punishment in a mill which would full the cloths and grind wheat and malt, and the house was fully equipped for all stages of cloth-making and finishing. The city had a House of Correction of its own in 1610 in the tower of the disused church of St Peter in Macellis[5], but in 1619 the corporation asked to be allowed to send their rogues to the county House, and from that date the city paid £3 a year towards the keeper's fee[6]. By this time the workhouse had moved from the Castle to a house in the eastern Soke; it moved again in 1653 to the county

1. W.R.O., Coffer Accounts 1589-1627, 14 Nov. 1622; ibid. 1628-61, Sept. 1633.
2. Ibid. 1589-1627, 30 Dec. 1625.
3. B.L. Cotton MS. Titus B. v, f.425.
4. B.L. Cotton MS. Vesp. F. ix, ff.232, 250.
5. W.R.O., chamb. acct. 8-9 Jas. I.
6. H.C.R.O., Q.O./1, pp.171, 373-4.

gaol in Jewry Street, and finally settled in 1667 in the Sistern House[1].

Of Professor Jordan's other categories of benefaction, only education could be classed as in any way a part of the fight against poverty. Nearly a quarter of Hampshire's charitable wealth was given for education, though the total is inflated by Bishop Fox's foundation of Corpus Christi College at Oxford in 1517. Fifteen schools were founded or re-endowed in the county, but none was in Winchester. The city grammar school had ceased to function before the Reformation, but there are scattered references to small private schools in the seventeenth century. Laud's vicar-general in 1635 found two Catholic schools at Winchester, one in the parish of St Michael in Kingsgate Street, and another in the city run by Otho Polewheele[2]; Polewheele's establishment was a boarding-school specialising in music, with instruction in grammar by his son and later by John Imber, minister of St Clement's[3]. Imber had been teaching in the city since about 1628, when he married a widow, left his job as an usher at Winchester College, and set up as a schoolmaster in the city teaching grammar and Latin books. The corporation encouraged him and gave him the disused chapel of St John's Hospital as a schoolroom. In 1629 the College petitioned for the withdrawal of Imber's licence, on the grounds of competition, but the corporation protested; Imber was 'teaching all poor men's sons for God's sake only', they said, and the city had always been allowed schoolmasters, 'it being very populous and full of youth, especially poor'[4].

Winchester benefactors were as generous as the city could have hoped, but both they and the corporation which carried out their bequests lacked constructive ideas on how to attack the causes and effects of poverty.

1. H.C.R.O., 44M53/140, f.53v.; H.C.R.O., Q.O./3, p.178; Q.O./4, p.255; see p.293.
2. Cal. S.P. Dom. 1635, p.xlii.
3. Ibid. 1637, 92; ibid., Addenda, 1625-49, 558.
4. A.F. Leach, History of Winchester College, 330.

Professor MacCaffrey discerned a 'psychological revolution' among the rulers of Exeter: 'There was a new temper in these men...they showed tenacity, skill, and beyond that a boldness of purpose, a certain unscrupulousness, which their predecessors had not had. They were pushing forward to their aims with assurance and a newly found self-confidence.'[1] This new temper was exactly what was lacking at Winchester, and the lack may be explained largely by the non-existence of Puritanism in the city. Of the three donors whose bequests included money for annual sermons, two had spent their adult lives in London[2]. There were some ambiguous cases of possible Puritan feeling, such as refusal to contribute towards church vestments and furnishings in 1611-12[3], but signs of Puritanism at Winchester before 1640 were rare. In a period when many towns were demanding corporation lecturers, the only Sunday afternoon lecture in Winchester was organized by the dean and chapter[4]. The corporation made regular payments to bands of musicians and actors, and when alehouses were suppressed it was for reasons of grain-shortage and order rather than morality. William Hodson, a leading member of the corporation until his death in 1624, was the father-in-law of the Puritan Recorder of Salisbury, Henry Sherfield; Sherfield was very active in Salisbury's ambitious experiments in poor relief in the early seventeenth century[5], but Hodson showed no signs of Puritanism, and Winchester's responses to its social problems remained unimaginative and conventional.

The city's religious preferences still tended towards Catholicism as

1. W.T. MacCaffrey, Exeter 1540-1640, 135-6.
2. Peter Symondes was a London mercer; Richard Budd was an auditor of the king's revenues in London; George Pemerton was mayor of Winchester in 1606 and 1616. For the bequests of Budd and Pemerton, see Bodl. MS. Top. Hants. c. 5, pp.35, 53-4, 61.
3. W.H. Mildon, 'Puritanism in Hampshire and the Isle of Wight from the Reign of Elizabeth to the Restoration' (London Ph.D. thesis 1934), 94. Mildon greatly exaggerates the strength of Puritanism.
4. Diary of John Young, ed. Goodman, 63, 67, 81.
5. P. Slack, 'Poverty and Politics in Salisbury 1597-1666', Crisis and Order in English Towns, ed. Clark and Slack, 184.

in the sixteenth century, and bishops continued to deplore the prevalence of recusancy at Winchester. The ecclesiastical census of 1603 found forty-two recusants in the city but only twenty-seven non-communicants, while the Soke had twenty-two recusants and three non-communicants[1]. Laud's vicar-general reported from Winchester in 1635 that 'in these parts popery doth increase more than Puritanism, and many children are christened by popish priests'[2], and Laud himself noted the spread of recusancy in the diocese year by year[3]. The constables in 1631 presented more than thirty-six people for failing to attend church from the parish of St Clement's alone, and in 1640 sixty-two recusants were presented in the city[4], a significant increase since 1603.

The overwhelming problems of dearth, depression, and disease and the consequent poverty present a bleak picture of the period between 1590 and 1640, and yet, paradoxically, it was also a period of civic pomp and lavish spending. After spending £80 on emergency relief during the plague of 1625, the corporation was still willing to lend £100 in December to Sir John Philpott, a local gentleman, and in 1620 more than £150 was spent on rebuilding the market house. The best witness to this aspect of Winchester's life was John Trussell, a lawyer and member of the corporation, who compiled a series of writings on the city and its history. Trussell was probably born in Warwickshire, and he may have attended Winchester College in his youth[5]. He became a freeman of Winchester in 1606, was the senior bailiff in 1616, and served as mayor in 1624 and 1633. His two wives, both widows, were the daughters of a Winchester clothier and woollendraper respectively[6]. Trussell does not

1. B.L. Harl. MS. 595, ff.214-15.
2. Cal. S.P. Dom. 1635, p.xlii.
3. Works of Archbishop Laud, ed. W. Scott, v. 338-9, 348, 356, 363.
4. W.R.O., Town Court Roll 58/Bk. 1593-1631, f.202; ibid. 1638-40 (end of vol.)
5. Hampshire Pedigrees (Harleian Soc. lxiv), 223; T. Atkinson, 'The Trussell Manuscripts', Proc. H.F.C. xix (1955-7), 290.
6. Elizabeth Patten, daughter of Thomas Colly; and Margaret Luke, daughter of Christopher Smith.

appear in lists of students at the universities or the Inns of Court, but he practised as an attorney in the city and county courts and in King's Bench[1], and he may also have been the bishop's steward. He died in August or September 1648, and his career therefore spanned the first half of the seventeenth century in Winchester.

Two works by Trussell survive. The first, the 'Origin of Cities', was probably part of his four-book 'Touchstone of Tradition', of which the other three books have disappeared[2]. The 'Origin of Cities' was used by John Milner and the anonymous eighteenth-century historian of Winchester, and it contains descriptions of Winchester, lists of wards and parish churches, and other miscellaneous items. Trussell's second surviving work, sometimes referred to as the 'Benefactors to Winchester'[3], contains a long list of benefactors, lists of mayors and bailiffs to 1647, lists of documents kept in the Guildhall, and much other miscellaneous information. At the end of the manuscript is a long poem, entitled 'The Declaration of Caerguent's Lament, with Venta's Exclamation, in tears with fears of Winchester's Desolation'. The poem relates the city's entire history from its supposed foundation by Hudebras to the seventeenth century, and the last five of its eight pages are devoted to the war period between 1642 and 1644[4]. Trussell portrayed the later sixteenth century as a period of decline at Winchester:

> Yet trade decaying, usury increasing,
> Poverty rising, charity decreasing,
> The gentry and most merchants being gone
> And good householders having left me[5] none,
> The bishop absent little comfort sends,
> Only the Close and College, like true friends,
> In me their alms did weekly distribute
> And somewhat to my charges contribute,

1. H.C.R.O., Q.O./2, f.45v.; Sta. Cha. 8/144/1.
2. Hist. MSS. Comm., 4th Report (Mostyn MSS), 355. The 'Origin of Cities' is now with the Winchester city archives.
3. Bodl. MS. Top. Hants. c. 5.
4. For quotations from the section on the war, see p.242.
5. The poem is written in the first person, as if by the city itself.

> Some benefactions by the will of Heaven
> By charitably minded men are given,
> Whereby my poor from starving are preserved,
> Yet as it then was generally observed
> I only did but breathe not live...[1]

Trussell believed, however, that prosperity began to return in the early seventeenth century. He saw the turning-point as the visit of James I to Winchester in 1603, and the trial of Sir Walter Raleigh and others in the same year, when many noblemen visited the city bringing money and trade. He implied that recovery was well under way by 1642, and that all would have been well but for the Civil War. This interpretation of the city's fortunes is contrary to the very clear evidence of contemporary accounts and administrative records, which show that poverty was increasing rapidly at Winchester before the war. Trussell placed his 'golden age' of recovery in exactly the same years as his own residence in the city and his participation in its government, and it was natural for an old man to look back with some nostalgia. His poem was also intended as a lament on the hardships inflicted on Winchester by the war, and it therefore suited his dramatic purpose to magnify pre-war prosperity in order to heighten the contrast. Nonetheless, Trussell's rosy view of the early seventeenth century is a salutory reminder that not everyone in Winchester was suffering.

Indeed, members of the corporation, and particularly the small group at its head, had never lived so well. In 1613-14 the corporation dined with the Recorder, the dean, and several local gentlemen, and the mayor was attended by musicians[2]. In 1619 the freemen enjoyed wine at the mayor's house after the election of the minor city officers, and in 1632 the cofferers spent £4 11s on a set of linen to be used at corporation dinners[3]. The city was also accumulating gifts and purchases of plate.

1. Bodl. MS. Top. Hants. c. 5, p.95.
2. W.R.O., chamb. acct. 11-12 Jas.I; W.R.O., Coffer Accounts 1589-1627, 18 Mar. 1613/4.
3. W.R.O., chamb. acct. 17-18 Jas.I; W.R.O., Coffer Accounts 1628-61, 12 Oct. 1632.

Wealthy freemen often presented a piece of plate on their admission, and in 1625 a candidate was dropped from the mayoral election at his request on condition that he gave the city a silver basin and ewer worth £30[1]. Lancelot Thorpe bequeathed a great silver bowl to the city in 1635. Some pieces of silver were exclusively for the mayor's use, such as a silver salt bought in 1631 for £2[2].

The 'parade of civic formalities'[3] was particularly noticeable on Sundays, when the entire corporation attended services in the cathedral. The freemen escorted the mayor through the Close to the cathedral door; inside, there was a special seat in the choir for the mayor and ex-mayors, another for their wives, one for the Twenty-Four, and one for the freemen. After the service the corporation left in procession, and in 1610-11 the chamberlains paid for links to light the mayor and his brethren home from church[4]. The corporation's concern for its dignity helps to explain its otherwise pointless battles with the dean and chapter in 1636-41. The dispute began in December 1636 when the mayor claimed the right to rate inhabitants of the Close for ship-money, a claim without any foundation in law or custom[5]. In March 1637 he imprisoned two cathedral singing-men, and released them only after an order from the Privy Council. A second issue of dispute was raised by the dean's request that the mayor should leave his maces - the symbol of his authority - outside the cathedral, to which the corporation responded defiantly by bringing all three maces to the morning service and the afternoon lecture, after which the mayor left before the prayers without removing his hat. Both issues were decided by the Privy Council in favour of the dean and chapter; in 1641, however,

1. 4th Bk. Ord., f.42v.
2. W.R.O., Coffer Accounts 1628-61, 1 Apr. 1631.
3. 'The more precipitate the decline of a town the more it fought to parade the civic formalities of the past': Crisis and Order in English Towns, ed. Clark and Slack, 7.
4. W.R.O., chamb. acct. 8-9 Jas.I.
5. For details of the dispute, see Winchester Cathedral Documents in 17th cent. (Hants. Rec. Soc.), 1-18; Diary of John Young, ed. Goodman, 119-39.

the corporation took advantage of the times and reopened both questions, and the Council's orders were overturned[1]. The dispute makes sense only in the context of other towns' relations with their cathedrals, for Worcester, Chichester, Chester, York, and Canterbury, as well as Winchester, all had disputes over precisely the same issues in the 1630s[2]. Each town was well aware of the parallel battles elsewhere: Dean Young of Winchester obtained a copy of the order for Chichester[3], and the mayor of Chester sent for a copy of Winchester's claims[4]. There were no local reasons for hostility at Winchester, where relations between the corporation and the dean and chapter had always been good, and where the cathedral was making an important contribution to the city's poor relief.

Expenditure on civic ceremonial in the early seventeenth century was related to the beginnings of Winchester's development as a social centre for the local gentry. Only the first signs of this new role appeared before the Civil War, but the character of the city was already changing. A growing number of gentlemen appeared in subsidy lists as residents of the city and Soke from about the 1590s. The Clerke family, the new owners of Hyde Abbey, settled in the suburb of St Bartholomew, which was already the home of the Corham family, and of George Chaundeler of Hyde Barton who compounded for knighthood in 1630[5]. A later newcomer to the suburb was Sir John Powlett, an illegitimate son of the third marquis of Winchester, whose family was living in St Bartholomew by 1620 and remained there throughout the seventeenth century[6]. The city too was acquiring a new class of residents. In the late sixteenth century Sir Walter Sandys had been distinctive as the only person of high birth in the city, but

1. W.R.O., 4th Ledger Book, ff.171v.-3.
2. A.D. Dyer, The City of Worcester in the 16th century, 233; B.L. Harl. MS. 2173, ff.16-18, 74v.-5v.
3. Diary of John Young, ed. Goodman, 129, 133.
4. B.L. Harl. MS. 2173, f.17.
5. E 407/35.
6. 4th Bk. Ord., f.18. The marquises of Winchester called themselves 'Paulet' in the 16th century and 'Powlett' in the late 17th, but the Winchester branch of the family always used the spelling 'Powlett' or 'Pawlett'.

in 1628 inhabitants included Lady Frances Worsley and Lady Susan Caesar, both widows, Sir William Ogle, Sir Henry Davis, and two members of the Tichborne family, as well as Sir Richard Tichborne and Sir Henry Whitehead who were both taxed elsewhere[1]. A case heard in the city court about 1630 involved 'one that teacheth children how to dance or exercise their bodies', who had paid a craftsman to make two fiddles or viols, and the presence of such people suggests that a wealthier leasured class was beginning to form at Winchester[2]. An increasing number of gentlemen living in and around the city were receiving loans from the coffer in the early seventeenth century - £100 to William Corham in 1613, £100 to George Tarrant in 1628, £200 to Thomas Coteel in 1638, and so on - usually for periods of six months or one or two years, paying interest-rates from 4 to 10%. In many cases the funds lent out were charitable donations for poor relief, and short-term local loans were probably the most convenient form of investment by the city in a period of inflation when investment opportunities were limited. The corporation's involvement with local gentlemen also led it to open its ranks and admit more and more gentlemen as freemen. Of the freemen whose admissions were recorded in the Books of Ordinances, two out of thirty-five were gentlemen between 1590 and 1599, five out of twenty-seven between 1610 and 1619, and sixteen out of thirty-nine between 1630 and 1639 ('gentlemen' are defined here as men who claimed that rank and who were not engaged in trade).

One new attraction supported by Winchester's new clientele was the establishment of horse-racing on the downs just outside the city. The first references to racing come from 1591 and 1605, when the corporation provided quinces, sugar, and claret for gentlemen 'ad Communem Cursum, vocatum the Rase'[3]. John Trussell implied that the marquis of Winchester

1. W.R.O., 37/Bx./S.R. 1, no.17.
2. W.R.O., Town Court Roll 58/Bk. 1593-1631, f.182.
3. W.R.O., chamb. acct. 32-3 Eliz., 2-3 Jas.I.

and the earl of Southampton were the main sponsors of the race:

> The illustrious John, Lord Marquis, well incites
> Southampton's Earl and many lords and knights
> And other generous gentlemen to meet
> And here an horse race keep each Easter Week[1],

and the city entered an obligation to the marquis and the earl for the provision of a cup each year[2]. The gentlemen of Hampshire contributed £195 towards the costs, but the city also spent freely; each cup was worth £24 and was engraved with the city's arms, for which a collection was made among leaders of the corporation and more money was taken out of the coffer[3]. The city also paid in 1631 'for mending the ways near the race post against the Lords came to the race that year'[4]. Several lords were indeed attracted to Winchester by the races: the earl of Pembroke feasted the king and queen in 1631 after his 'extraordinary great winnings' at the Winchester races[5], the earl of Southampton took a close interest until he reformed and sold his race-horses in 1635[6], and the earl of Salisbury regularly competed at Winchester[7]. The Civil War put a temporary stop to race-meetings, but racing was revived at Winchester after 1660[8].

Thus the period 1590-1640 saw a growing disparity between the ruling class of Winchester and the city's ordinary inhabitants - the first living comfortably, concerned with civic ceremonial and dignity and developing new links with the country gentry, while the second were wholly preoccupied with the need for food, shelter, and employment. At the same time a parallel rift was developing within the corporation, between the powerful elite at the top and the younger and less successful

1. Bodl. MS. Top. Hants. c. 5, p.95.
2. W.R.O., 4th Ledger Book, f.211.
3. Ibid.; Bodl. MS. Top. Hants. c. 5, p.59; 4th Bk. Ord., f.85.
4. W.R.O., Coffer Accounts 1628-61, 20 May 1631.
5. J.P. Hore, The History of Newmarket and the Annals of the Turf, ii. 148.
6. L. Stone, Crisis of the Aristocracy (abridged edn.), 260.
7. L. Stone, Family and Fortune, 148.
8. See p.304.

men below. Ex-mayors held the mayoralty for a second or third term in twenty-one of the years between 1600 and 1639[1], and more and more city business was transacted privately by the mayor and ex-mayors alone. In 1591, for example, the only people present at the mayor's swearing-in were the Recorder and five of the brethren[2]. As a result, the lower ranks in the corporation felt excluded from power, and enthusiasm for city government waned. The number of payments for avoiding offices such as bailiff of the commons began to increase, and the fine for refusing to become a freeman was raised in 1593 and 1595[3]. The ordinance imposing a fine for absence from meetings of the boromote was repeated in 1580, and attendance at mayoral elections declined steadily from then until the Civil War[4].

The disenchantment in the corporation apparently reached its peak in 1622, in an outburst of discontent which is mentioned by John Trussell but does not appear in any of the city's official records. Two complaints were made: the first came from the bailiffs, who were obliged to pay the whole fee-farm without receiving all the bailiffs' traditional rents, fines, and perquisites, were not consulted in the leasing of the 'bailiffs' lands', had been bypassed in the choice of a serjeant, and were not allowed access to the Books of Ordinances[5]. The second grievance came from the Twenty-Four, who claimed, in John Trussell's words: 'We are of the council of the city, and are wronged if we are not called into the Counsel House and made acquainted with the affairs of the city and the passages of things there, as well and as far forth as the mayor and his brethren'[6]. Trussell deplored the 'humour of contradiction' in such complaints and demanded, 'What warrant is there in humanity or divinity

1. See p.114.
2. 1st Bk. Ord., f.267.
3. Ibid., ff.273, 284.
4. Ibid., f.216; see Figure 5, p.107.
5. Bodl. MS. Top. Hants. c. 5, p.85.
6. Ibid., p.90.

for your alehouse private conventicles or your close consultations to make confederacies against the mayor and his brethren; sure it must either arise from presumption or from an overwheening conceit of your own abilities, neither of which are commendable, if either lawful'[1]. He therefore undertook to refute the dissidents' claims by reference to scripture and the city charters, and to collect observations on 'moral obedience' as owed to the officers of a city. Trussell's views of order are entirely conventional, and owe much to the sixteenth-century government homilies on obedience and works such as the Mirror for Magistrates. Order, he wrote, is 'the light of decency, the beauty of nature, the master of arts, the nurse of amity, and the only life of traffic and commerce without which no republic, private family or city can long subsist'[2]. Citizens owe obedience to their mayor, 'not looking to the person, but whom he representeth, that is the mayor the king, the king God'[3]. 'He is the God of Order, and he hath appointed some to be sovereigns, some subjects; the sovereign hath power by himself or his lieutenant to command, the inferior must have will to obey'. The mayor is 'the head, the laws are the soul, and the people the entrails of the Republic; all are members of one body, but diversified in the politic as they are in the natural'[4]. Therefore, Trussell concluded, 'let patience...possess your souls, and be contented with the place wherein you are seated until the heavenly providence shall in due time promote you higher'[5]. The bailiffs and the Twenty-Four were unsuccessful in their attack on the power of the oligarchy, and Winchester was ruled by the same small group of men until the 1640s. In other towns oligarchies were becoming more powerful, and were being attacked, just as at Winchester, but revolts

1. Ibid., p.89.
2. Ibid., p.83.
3. Ibid., p.84.
4. Ibid., p.88.
5. Ibid., pp.89-90.

against them were often more successful elsewhere[1]. Between 1590 and 1640 the number of the poor amd the powerless had increased and their condition had worsened, while their lives were ruled by a tiny group for whom conditions were improving. By 1640 Winchester was no longer either a unified or a united community.

1. Crisis and Order in English Towns, ed. Clark and Slack, 21-2, 151, 162 n.98.

CHAPTER 7

'These ill and unhappy times': 1640-62

The concept of seventeenth-century England as a collection of 'communities', which inspired more loyalty and a greater feeling of identity than did the nation-state, is now a familiar one and has been stressed by recent studies of the impact of the Civil War on individual counties. For the inhabitants of towns, local loyalties were doubly strong; as townsmen their interests often differed from those of the rural county and had to be upheld separately, but their many links with the gentry who ruled the county and their economic ties with the land bound them also to the larger community. The response of towns to the War and Interregnum, therefore, like that of the counties, can be seen both as a struggle by local interests against wider issues represented by orders from London, and as a crisis that divided the local community against itself. Historians of Winchester's part in the war have always been of the 'Great Rebellion and Sectarian Republic' school and have followed John Trussell and his fellow-Royalists in stressing the enormity of armed opposition to the king; the real tragedy, however, lay in the divisions within the city, and even within families, that were created by the conflict. In particular, national politics gave official sanction to the minor disputes and personal vendettas that would normally have been dealt with within the community, but which were now magnified into major feuds between cliques leading to law-suits and exclusion from the corporation.

The parliamentary elections of 1640 gave the city two Hampshire

gentlemen as its representatives who were to choose opposite sides in the war. John Lisle had been Recorder of Winchester since 1636[1], and was therefore a natural choice. His previous career had been legal and military, and he rose rapidly in the service of Parliament after 1642. Lisle took a prominent part in the king's trial in 1649 and signed the death-warrant, and shortly afterwards he became one of the Commissioners of the Great Seal and a member of the Council of State[2]. His main duties and interests therefore lay in London, but he was also prominent in city and county affairs. Sir William Ogle, the other MP elected in 1640, was not originally a Hampshire man but he had married the widow of a former Winchester MP and settled in the city, and he had been captain of the city militia from 1631 to 1637. Like Lisle he fought against the Scots, but he then wavered until 1643 and finally joined the Royalist army[3]. Ogle was disabled from sitting in June 1643, and in November 1645 Nicholas Love was elected for the city in his place.

Though the city's MPs took different sides, Winchester's inhabitants showed their allegiance to the king at an early stage in the war when they opened the city gates to retreating Royalist troops. Since most towns favoured Parliament, the reasons behind Winchester's Royalist sympathies invite examination. A majority of the Hampshire gentry sided with Parliament and twenty of the twenty-eight MPs for the county were Parliamentarian, and on the face of it, Winchester too might have sympathised with Parliament since the city had suffered from most of the grievances commonly leading to opposition to the king. Troops had been

1. 4th Bk. Ord., f.103v.; cf. M.F. Keeler, The Long Parliament 1640-1, 50.
2. D.N.B.
3. Keeler, The Long Parliament, 289-90.

billeted there, the cloth industry was declining and had been affected by government policies, and heavy taxation and ship-money were highly unpopular. But there were mitigating factors: Winchester was not used for billeting as much as the coastal towns, the city was in no state to compete economically with London and could not therefore resent the capital's dominance, and above all, loans and taxes fell almost exclusively on the small group of richer inhabitants who tended to be conservative by virtue of belonging to the ruling class. Some leading citizens did favour Parliament - Edward White, for example, the mayor in 1640, was a commissioner in 1647 for raising money for the army in Hampshire[1] - but the mayors elected in 1639, 1641, and 1643 were certainly Royalist. Unlike the situation in many towns, where the lower ranks of the governing class and those excluded from it were together strong enough to overrule traditional leaders and determine the town's allegiance[2], in Winchester the tiny ruling group (the mayor and his brethren) had successfully preserved their power, and it was their sympathies which prevailed[3].

Nor should Winchester's strong and continuing tradition of being a 'royal city' be forgotten: Queen Mary had been married there, every Tudor monarch had visited Winchester, and James I and Charles I had both passed through frequently on their way to hunt in the New Forest.

Religious feeling too predisposed Winchester towards favouring the Royalist cause. In spite of the disputes with the dean and chapter just before the war, relations between city and Close were generally harmonious, and the city derived considerable economic advantages from the presence of the cathedral and its clergy. The cathedral clergy also ministered to

1. Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, ed. C.H. Firth and R.S. Rait, i. 975.
2. P. Zagorin, The Court and the Country, 130, 147.
3. Chester's Royalist allegiance was similarly determined by a small leading group: A.M. Johnson, 'Politics in Chester during the Civil Wars and the Interregnum 1640-62', Crisis and Order in English Towns, ed. Clark and Slack, 210.

most of the city parishes - of the eight parishes in the city in 1640, five were served by three minor canons and two more by a chanter in the cathedral - so the high Anglicanism of the Close directly influenced lay religious feeling in the city. The absence of Puritanism in the early seventeenth century has already been noted, and Catholicism remained strong and socially respectable - the innkeeper at the George, for example, was discovered to be Catholic in 1637[1]. There were individual citizens with Puritan leanings, and their numbers probably increased after 1642: William Harwood, a member of the 'new corporation' of the 1650s, was bequeathed £10 by his brother in 1644 'upon condition he doth leave the faction of Puritanism and frequent his parish church, there to hear divine service kneeling'[2], and theirs was doubtless not the only family divided by religion; but Puritanism at Winchester was never strong enough to turn the city against the king.

As events turned out, Winchester's viewpoint had little effect on its fate. The city's known Royalist sympathies were the excuse for a heavy fine for the Parliamentary army, but those sympathies did not prevent the sack of Winchester and constant pillaging by Royalist troops as well as by their enemies. For the first three years of the war the city was in the midst of the fighting. Situated in á county between the Parliamentarian south-east and the Royalist west, close to Portsmouth and Southampton, and sufficiently near the Great West Road to harass traffic from the south-west to London, Winchester was too strategically placed for either side to be willing to leave it in enemy hands. Though the city had once been strongly walled and protected by the Castle, the defences had been unused so long that they were hardly an obstacle. The walls had been repaired in 1564 by the marquis of Winchester and again

1. Cal. S.P. Dom. 1636-7, 48.
2. H.C.R.O. wills P.C.C. 1644 (will of John Harwood).

in the 1630s by the city, but by 1645 they had collapsed in several places[1]. The Castle was in better repair since it had passed into private hands, and had been strengthened in the 1630s by the earl of Portland[2]. But Winchester's defences had not been seriously tested since the thirteenth century, and by the sixteenth century they were valued so little that William Lawrence had been permitted to make a door in the wall for the access of carts to his fields outside[3].

Winchester was involved in the war almost as soon as fighting broke out. In December 1642 a small band of Royalists under Lord Grandizon was chased out of Marlborough by Sir William Waller and fled to Winchester, 'a place most likely to give him entertainment of any place thereabouts, being full of malignant spirits'[4]. The Royalists retreated into the Castle and demanded food from the citizens, which was provided, but the pursuing Parliamentary force was too strong for them and the Castle surrendered at dawn the next day[5]. With his soldiers eager to sack the city to punish the inhabitants who had resisted their entry, Waller demanded a £1,000 composition from the mayor; the money was hastily gathered together and paid, but the soldiers were let loose in the cathedral nevertheless. Furniture was smashed, the organ was pulled down, and the soldiers made a bonfire of all the cathedral's books and the caskets of bones from Saxon royal burials.

During 1643 Winchester was never free from roving bands of soldiers of either army, who would descend on the city and demand food and lodging, search the houses of known Catholics, take money, horses, and arms, and depart without paying. On one market day, a group from Waller and

1. 1st Bk. Ord., f.138v.; W.R.O., Coffer Accounts 1628-61, 17 Apr. 1632; Bodl. MS. Clarendon 26, f.114.
2. Camden Misc. xvi (Camden Soc. 3rd ser. lii), 51.
3. 1st Bk. Ord., ff.100, 139.
4. Bodl. Smith newsb. e. 78 (11): A True and Exact Relation of a Great Overthrow...in Winchester.
5. Bodl. MS. Top. Hants. c. 5, p.96; J. Adair, Roundhead General, 51.

Haslerigg's companies drove off all the horses they could find and held a horse-fair on Magdalen Hill. Some time later Colonel Norton's troops, angered by the city's delay in paying a levy of £9 a week, rode in and defaced the market cross and plundered recusants' houses[1]. Waller stationed a troop of horse in Winchester in March 1643 and levied £350 from the inhabitants and £150 from Sir Henry Clerke of Hyde Street[2]. The mayor and aldermen were seized for non-payment of levies and taxes on several occasions, and it was common practice in both armies to capture local gentlemen and raise money by holding them to ransom[3]. By the autumn of 1643 the Royalist Sir William Ogle (the city's former MP) was ensconced in the Castle, demolishing houses and stables and cutting down trees in an attempt to improve the fortifications. With a Royalist garrison nearby, Winchester was safer than before from Parliamentarian attacks, but the Royalists were no less destructive. More than 5,000 men were quartered in or near the city, so that food and clothing became very scarce, and the country people were reluctant to bring produce to the market because the soldiers often confiscated horses and carts and demanded money for their return. At Christmas the soldiers killed thirty-six of St Mary Magdalen Hospital's flock of 120 sheep, took their fodder, and broke down doors, furniture, and the church pews for firewood[4].

John Trussell's poem 'Caerguent's Lament', written in 1644, paints a vivid and harrowing picture of the constant pillage and its effects on the city. Trussell was deeply disturbed by the social upheaval of the times, and his description of the material and social damage to Winchester is that of an old man dedicated to peace and order and

1. Bodl. MS. Top. Hants. c. 5, pp.96-7.
2. G.N. Godwin, The Civil War in Hampshire 1642-5, 55.
3. T.C. Dale, 'An Episode of the Civil War', Genealogists' Magazine, N.S. i (1925), 66-7.
4. Anon., History and Antiquities of Winchester (1773), ii. 254.

horrified by the events he has lived through.

> The hope of thoroughfare, or help of trade,
> The use of fairs and markets are decayed,
> The former course of Assize and Sessions is lost
> And expectations of such meetings crossed,
> Taverns and inns have neither wine nor hay
> To entertain guests, all is fetched away...[1]
>
> Children for meat, servants for wages call,
> Landlords for rent, but all want wherewithal
> Contentment to procure...[2]
>
> Here ends the first scene of my tragedy
> But now appears my greater misery,
> For where before those that thus bent ye brow
> Were but of mean or middle fashion, now
> All alike suffer, and both sides alike
> Upon me as a washing block do strike...[3]
>
> Their scores they paid with chalk, their reckonings they
> Unto their hosts with filthy language pay,
> If not with blows; all the recusants
> And whom they pleased to nominate malignants
> They re-replundered, and left them not
> So much as pewter, bed, brass, spit, or pot...[4]
>
> But when free billet went throughout ye town
> And no man could be master of his own,
> When common soldiers must have bedding found,
> When owner, wife, and children on the ground
> Chalk out their lodging; when the honest woman
> Must be observant to her that is as common
> As any barber's chair; when ragged grooms
> In every house must have the private rooms
> To make them stables for their horse...[5]
>
> The soldiers love good liquor, night and day
> The alehouse keepers labour what they may
> To brew strong heady drink to heat ye brain,
> And by that course their drunkenness maintain.
> Nay which is worse, they sell it at that rate
> Which vintners heretofore good wine sold at.
> Now every second house almost is made
> A member of the strong aledraper's trade,
> And it is greatly to be feared, unless
> Some course be took such members to suppress
> And good and wholesome usual beer be brewed
> And the excess of guzzling be eschewed,
> That more strange and strong fevers and dropsies more
> Will be this fall than were long time before...[6]

1. Bodl. MS. Top. Hants. c. 5, p.95.
2. Ibid., p.96.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p.97.
5. Ibid., p.98.
6. Ibid., p.99.

To my no little fear and fright, the number infinite
Of wounded and sick soldiers, day and night,
Brought hither into hospitals do change
My mansion houses, my inhabitants estrange
Themselves from their own dwellings, being unable
To endure to be encumbered with a rabble
Of miserable wretches...[1]

These and suspicions of worse dangers make
The most of my best able to forsake
Their shops, trades, dwellings, and leave all things here
At six and seven...[2]

Now what they said they would do, they have done,
In making poor and rich men's estate all one;
The rich no rent, the poor their houses get,
The rich no money have, the poor no meat,
The poor would raiment have, so would ye other,
For scarcely either thereof have wherewith to cover
Their bare; linen and woollen so divided are
That poor and rich thereof have equal share,
Feathers the poor, bed ticks the rich do lack
(With them the troopers clothe their Chivalls back).
Orchards and gardens unenclosed stand,
Whereof both poor and rich have like command.
There is no wine, the poor and rich I think
Content must be with our own country drink.
The poor and rich may now for company
Travel on foot for horse there is not any.
The plate is gone, glasses are broke in pieces,
And rich and poor are forced to drink in dishes.
Woe worth the while, what shall become of me,
When poor and rich are thus in one degree...[3]

It was while the Royalist garrison was in residence in 1643 that the Royalist mayor, Richard Brexton, and the aldermen sent all the city plate to the king; it was valued at only £58 16s 3d, but such importance had been attached to it before the war as a symbol of the dignity and authority of the corporation that the gift was a real sacrifice. Since two of the aldermen who signed the agreement favoured Parliament, the donation may not have been voluntary[4].

1644 brought a fresh offensive against the dwindling areas of Royalist mastery in the south. In March, Waller achieved a decisive

1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p.100.
4. W.R.O., Coffer Accounts 1628-61, 30 Dec. 1643.

victory against Lord Hopton in the Battle of Cheriton, five miles outside Winchester. As the Royalists fled from the battle Waller followed them to the city, which prudently opened its gates to him, but he was unable to take the Castle[1]. Two weeks later the citizens rose against the troops quartered on them, after hearing rumours that the king was on his way with a large army. Waller returned and blew open one of the gates, plundered the city yet again, and retreated with twenty-eight prisoners and 1,000 arms[2]. Winchester was full of sick and wounded men from the battle, and St Maurice parish register confirms Trussell's account of a heavy death-rate with a burial figure for 1644 surpassed only by that of the plague in 1625, and indeed comments in the register show that there was plague in Winchester in 1644 as in many garrison towns[3]. By the summer of 1644, Winchester Castle and Basing House were the only two Royalist strongholds left in the south-east, and their garrisons made their presence felt by frequent raids; the Winchester garrison, for example, took cloth worth £10,000 from Andover[4]. Winchester was becoming known as a Royalist centre, and as one area after another was taken by Parliament, Royalist sympathisers made their way to the city[5]. Many were gentlemen, but support for the Royalists also came from the Hampshire club-men, who rose in 1644 and 1645 against Parliamentarian troops and who were reported to include Catholics and many of the bishop of Winchester's tenants[6].

The climax came in 1645 when the Commons voted £5,000 to enable Cromwell to lead a strong force south to stamp out the pockets of

1. Godwin, Civil War in Hampshire, 134-5.
2. Hist. MSS. Comm., Letter Books of Sir Samuel Luke 1644-5, 644.
3. C. Creighton, History of Epidemics in Britain (2nd edn. 1965), i. 546.
4. Cal. S.P. Dom. 1644, 300, 307.
5. Cal. Comm. for Advance of Money, i. 522, 560.
6. Ibid., iii. 1429; B.L. Add. MS. 24,860, f.137.

resistance. Sir William Ogle had spent the preceding months in strengthening and provisioning the Castle in preparation for a siege, with the co-operation of the city[1]. On 28 September, Cromwell and his troops arrived outside the walls and took the eastern, northern, and southern suburbs of Winchester without resistance. The Royalists decided that the city was untenable, and they retired into the Castle, allowing Cromwell to enter the city without incident. Then for a whole week the Parliamentary guns battered at the Castle defences. The most westerly row of houses in the Gold Street area was used as cover for the guns, and the Royalists made a sortie to capture them but succeeded in setting alight only part of the row. Guns were also placed outside the Northgate and to the west of the city. On the fifth day of the siege Cromwell began to use mortar grenades fired from inside the city, a new terror for the garrison; in one day the grenades demolished the roof of the mansion house inside the Castle, killed the horses working the horse-mill in the courtyard, and terrified the Royalists into sleeping in the open court instead of the buildings. Finally a breach was made in the north wall, and with his troops deserting in large numbers Ogle was forced to surrender. The garrison was allowed to march out to Woodstock, and Cromwell moved on immediately to Basing House, which he took after fierce and prolonged resistance. One reason for the Castle's fall, according to a member of the Royalist garrison, was that Ogle had been obliged to use men from the town to supplement his troops. Every time there was a lull in the firing, their wives and children would come to the walls and call for their husbands, 'all pearled with sweat and blubbered faces with wringed hands, casting themselves upon their knees', and would entreat the men to give up the

1. 4th Bk. Ord., f.153.

Castle and come home, and towards the end of the siege most of the townsmen deserted[1].

This was the last major campaign in which Winchester was involved, but the disorder and insecurity created by the presence of troops disappeared only gradually. The number of constables appointed to keep order in the city was increased from four to six for the duration of the war in November 1645, and it was not until the following June that the garrison was removed[2]. In October 1646 the cathedral was raided again, and this time the soldiers concentrated on the chapter house and its muniments, which they burnt, threw into the river, and scattered over the city[3]. Life slowly returned to normal, though Winchester was always suspect as a potential centre of Royalist revolt and was liable to be occupied by troops. After reports of a 'great confluence of Cavaliers and disaffected persons' in the summer of 1648, 300 men were quartered in the city for several months[4]. In December 1648 when Charles I spent a night in Winchester on his last journey from the Isle of Wight to London, the mayor and aldermen defiantly went out to meet the prisoner and offered him the keys of the city, an act of loyalty which was turned to good account by the mayor's son in 1662[5]. The city's military potential was finally destroyed when orders came that the Castle was to be slighted. The medieval foundations proved to be too solid for complete destruction, but enough was pulled down to ensure that the Castle would never again be of military value[6]. The County Committee was ordered to begin the work in August 1649, but nothing had been done by December 1650 and the Castle only finally fell

1. Bodl. MS. Clarendon 26, ff.114-17.
2. 4th Bk. Ord., f.157; Commons' Journal, iv. 591.
3. Winchester Cathedral Documents in 17th cent. (Hants. Rec. Soc.), 57.
4. Cal. S.P. Dom. 1648-9, 57.
5. Ibid. 1661-2, 270.
6. B.L. Add. MS. 24,861, f.44.

in 1651[1]. The Great Hall had been repaired in 1646 and continued to be used for Quarter Sessions, Assizes, and other county meetings, while the stone from the ruins of the rest of the Castle was used by the city for street repairs.

Independent evidence shows that John Trussell's picture of disruption during the war was not greatly exaggerated. During the period of Winchester's sporadic involvement in the fighting, from 1642 to 1646, almost every aspect of the city's administration was suspended. The leases recorded in the 4th Ledger Book stopped abruptly after September 1642 and did not begin again until May 1646. Entries of payments into the coffer ceased from October 1643 to April 1646 with only one exception, and no payments were made from the coffer from August 1644 to December 1646. Assizes and Quarter Sessions were held at the Castle in the first half of 1642, but after that date no meetings were held until 1646, when both were transferred to Wolvesey, and it was not until October 1647 that they returned to the Castle. Only the most essential city assemblies were held and appointments made; the elections of a mayor, bailiffs, and chamberlains continued throughout the period, but admissions of freemen dropped from forty-three in the decade 1631-40 to eighteen in 1641-50, with none at all in 1642, 1645, 1648, and 1650.

The result of this interruption was a formidable backlog of the small administrative tasks on which city government depended. No chamberlains' accounts had been passed each year, the bailiffs had not paid the fee-farm, and the streets were badly in need of repair because householders' obligations had not been enforced. A substantial part of the city's income was derived from rents, which had fallen behind during the war. Ordinances in 1646 and 1647 threatened legal action against tenants who

1. Cal. S.P. Dom. 1649-50, 180, 294; ibid. 1650, 471; ibid. 1651, 11, 57, 117.

refused to pay arrears of rent, and the corporation did pursue some of its debtors as far as the courts[1]. Like other plaintiffs, the city sometimes had difficulty in proving its case because of the loss of corporation documents through plundering by soldiers, and had to resort to the courts of equity to establish claims for which the evidence no longer existed[2]. Not only had the war caused an interruption of income, but the need for expenditure had increased. The Westgate had been badly damaged during the siege of the Castle, and at least £200 was spent on its repair in 1651-2. The bridges in and just outside the city were also in poor condition and had to be mended. More money was spent on gradually replacing the plate given to the king. The greatest debt to be repaid was the £1,000 hastily collected and given to Sir William Waller in 1642. The city had borrowed money from everyone in the corporation who could lend it, and repayments of small sums were still being made in 1657.

As a corporate body the city suffered greater financial loss than did its leading members individually. Perhaps because the men involved in urban affairs at Winchester were neither great landowners nor wealthy merchants, only one member of the city oligarchy appears in the records of the Committee for Compounding or the Committee for Advance of Money; this was Robert Tooker, mayor in 1637, who was exempted from holding all other offices and was the son of a former dean of Lichfield, clearly an untypical member of the ruling class. Outside that class, however, at least fifteen people connected with Winchester suffered sequestration or fines. John Foyle, steward to the marquis of Winchester, and his son Henry who was steward to the dean and chapter, were both convicted Royalists; so was the dean himself, and several of the prebendaries were accused of sending aid to the king. Several Royalist gentlemen, such as William Philpott

1. 4th Bk. Ord., ff.162, 165v.
2. E.g. C 2/Chas.I/W.13/38.

of Compton and Sir Gerard Fleetwood of Crawley, had estates sequestered near Winchester. Three men living in the Soke were fined, and the Master of St Cross fled to France. Roger Corham of Hyde Street was forced to compound, as was Robert Mason, son of the Recorder of Winchester of 1627-35. It is difficult to establish what happened to the Winchester property of gentlemen during the Interregnum, but most of those resident in the city before the war returned in the 1660s, and it appears that all except Henry Foyle agreed to compound and avoided the sale of their houses. Nonetheless, there were individual cases of hardship due to adherence to the Royalist cause. Thomas Chaundeler accumulated debts of £2,000 and tried to mortgage the Hyde Barton estate to two London lawyers to clear himself[1]. Edward Thorpe, the town clerk, forfeited his lease of the St Mary's Abbey mills during the 1640s to his father-in-law John Pescod for failing to repay a loan on £400; though the reason for the debt was not stated, his brother compounded for delinquency and Edward was probably a Royalist[2]. Another Chancery case illustrates the point that sequestration of property after the war was not the only cause of poverty. William Longland the elder, a Winchester grocer with Royalist sympathies, refused in 1643 to buy the lease of a dean and chapter farm because 'if it were known that he...had any interest either in the said farm or stock it would be more prejudicial to him than the same was worth, he being before taken notice of by the [Royalist] garrison to be a very wealthy and rich man'[3]. The turnover in the families holding city office was higher than usual in the 1640s and 1650s, but political changes alone account for this and there were no obvious cases of city families ruined by their part in the war.

The section of Winchester's population most obviously affected by the

1. C 5/390/51.
2. C 5/27/86; Cal. Comm. for Compounding, 1976.
3. C 5/413/96.

war was the clergy. Bishop Curle took an active part in the fighting and was inside the Castle during the siege of 1645. He died in 1647 at Soberton, and was thus spared the sight of the dispersal of the bishopric's property which began in that year. Sales of the lands of the see continued until 1657 and brought in over £89,000, more than from any other bishopric[1]. The bishop's property in and around Winchester was administered until its sale by Nicholas Love, one of the city's MPs from 1645. His father, Dr Nicholas Love, had been Warden of Winchester College, and he himself was born in Winchester and was educated at the College and later at Oxford and Lincoln's Inn. Love was a member of the original County Committee for Hampshire, and in the 1650s he was described as 'of Wolvesey'. The bishop's manor of Milland, next to St John in the Soke, and some other bishopric lands were sold to Nicholas Love[2]. It has often been assumed that Wolvesey Palace, the bishop's residence, was demolished at the same time as the slighting of the Castle[3], but its actual fate was less dramatic. Parts of the medieval buildings were 'greatly ruinated' by the end of the sixteenth century[4], and few of the early seventeenth-century bishops used the palace, but it was still safe enough in 1635 to be hastily repaired when Charles I was expected[5]. Meetings of the Assizes and Quarter Sessions were held at Wolvesey in 1646 while the Castle was being repaired. Some 'low buildings' were put up there for Nicholas Love[6], but otherwise little was done to Wolvesey during the Interregnum; by 1660 it was 'much dilapidated and ruined although not quite demolished'[7], but the decay stemmed from neglect and not from Parliamentary destruction. Bishop Duppa (1660-2) spent £700

1. G.B. Tatham, 'The Sale of Episcopal Lands during the Civil Wars and Commonwealth', E.H.R. xxiii (1908), 107.
2. J.H. Burn, 'An Account of the Sale of the Manors...belonging to the See of Winton...during the Civil War', Trans. British Arch. Assoc. 1845, 48.
3. E.g. J. Milner, History...of Winchester, i. 410.
4. Hist. MSS. Comm., Salisbury MSS, vi. 408.
5. Camden Misc. xvi (Camden Soc. 3rd ser. iii), 50.
6. Lambeth Palace MSS, Register of Archbp. Tenison, ii (2), f.311. I owe this reference to Ian Fisher.
7. Bodl. MS. Tanner 140, f.39v.

on piecemeal repairs to the palace[1], but the rebuilding of Wolvesey was the work of Bishop Morley (1662-84) and his successors.

The cathedral and Close also suffered from the removal of the dean and chapter. Chapter meetings continued until 1645 when the dean and canons left the city for their country parishes. Most of them were eventually turned out of their benefices, but they stayed in the area and remained close to events in Winchester. Dean Young retired to Over Wallop and died there in 1654. The property of the cathedral was taken over by Parliament and entrusted to the chief sequestrator of the county, John Woodman, who took up residence in the Close and used the former steward's house as a store-house for sequestered goods[2]. The rest of the houses were given to other officials or used as offices; the Committee for Sequestrations, for example, was sitting in the Close in 1649 and kept watch from there on the corporation's activities[3]. The deanery itself was assigned to Nicholas Love. Like Wolvesey, the cathedral needed constant care and expenditure, and without them its condition deteriorated. Three men were accused of taking lead from the church in 1651[4]. In the same year a committee of Parliament even considered the demolition of cathedrals, a proposal which provoked a petition from the inhabitants of Winchester and the rest of Hampshire stressing the usefulness of the building[5]. In the absence of other bodies responsible for the cathedral's maintenance some small repairs were financed by the city, and in 1657 a bill was introduced into the Commons to donate the cathedral to the city, though the scheme came to nothing[6]. Despite Charles II's remark in 1660 that 'Winchester Cathedral had exceedingly suffered in these late times, and that they had turned it

1. Ibid., f.50.
2. Winchester Cathedral Documents in 17th cent. (Hants. Rec. Soc.), 71, 89.
3. 5th Bk. Ord., f.147.
4. Assizes 24/21 f.177.
5. Winchester Cathedral Documents in 17th cent. (Hants. Rec. Soc.), pp.xxix-xxx, 97; 'Account of the State of the Churches of Winchester', Trans. British Arch. Assoc. 1845, 109-10.
6. Commons' Journal, vi. 489, 536.

into brewhouses, malthouses, etc.'[1], the building survived twenty years of neglect remarkably well, and at the Restoration far more was spent by the dean and chapter on rebuilding the Close than on repairing the church.

St Cross and the Hospital of St Mary Magdalen continued to function as almshouses throughout the Interregnum. The Master of St Cross, William Lewis, fled to France in 1646, though he claimed to be merely studying there, and the hospital's estates were sequestered. He was replaced temporarily by John Lisle, and John Woodman replaced the former steward and was later accused of keeping the income from two of the hospital's parsonages for his own use[2]. At the Restoration William Lewis was restored as Master. Neither hospital appears to have suffered much material or economic damage, apart from the raid on St Mary Magdalen by soldiers in 1643.

That Winchester College survived almost unscathed is more surprising, for it was a wealthy institution known to be a centre of recusancy and was therefore a likely target for plundering and political attacks. Its salvation lay in the judicious use of money and influence, administered by Warden Harris. Harris wrote afterwards in his own defence, 'I never parted with any money of the College to the king's use before such time as this city was made a garrison, and if it appear any such thing has been done since, it was only ad redinendam vexationem, to keep the College from being made a garrison or being oppressed by the violence of Sir W. Ogle'[3]. The influence was chiefly that of two former pupils of the College, Nicholas Love and Nathaniel Fiennes, son of Lord Saye and Sele. In spite of two visitations, the College managed to keep the number of ejections

1. Elias Ashmole: Notes, Correspondence, etc. ed. C.H. Josten, ii. 780.
2. Cal. Comm. for Compounding, 282-3, 2693-5; C 5/415/140. For the career of John Woodman, see p. 261.
3. W.C.M. 418. I am grateful to Mrs H.M. Stowell of Durley, Hants., for permission to use her transcripts of this and the other College documents quoted here.

to a minimum, and though 'there were frequently wedged in some lads untowardly educated, yet there was always enough of the old leaven left in the school to convert any boy from the principles of those ill times'[1]. In 1646 Love undertook to have the College exempted from the excise duty, and he also recommended a lawyer to represent the College at the Assizes whenever necessary[2]. Thus the school buildings were left virtually untouched, the personnel was not greatly altered, and none of the College lands were sequestered.

Winchester's parish clergy had no such protection. Three of the seven incumbents who shared the city and Soke livings between them in 1641 held benefices there after 1660, and some stayed in Winchester throughout the Interregnum and received money there from the Trustees for the Maintenance of Ministers[3], but their former influence was gone. Two cathedral preachers were appointed and were given allowances of £200 a year and houses in the Close[4]; one was Humphrey Ellis, and the other was Leonard Cooke, replaced in 1657 by Theophilus Gale, a young Congregationalist. Ellis was a man of greater ability than most clergy concerned with the city; some of his sermons were published, and he was a member of several committees in the county. Nevertheless he had a hard time steering his congregations between the high Anglicanism which they favoured and the extremes of the sects which sprang up and flourished in a period of change and confusion. In a sermon printed in 1647 Ellis gave stern warnings against false teachers, and in 1650 he published an account of the 'Grand Impostures, Horrid Blasphemies, Abominable Practices, and Gross Deceits' of a man and woman claiming to be the Messiah and the Virgin Mary, who had

1. W.C.M. 445, 447.
2. Ibid. 421, 446.
3. W.H. Mildon, 'Puritanism in Hampshire and the Isle of Wight from the reign of Elizabeth to the Restoration' (London Ph.D. thesis 1934), 180.
4. Ibid., 209-11, 213; Winchester Cathedral Documents in 17th cent. (Hants. Rec. Soc.), 83-4.

appeared in north Hampshire and attracted many followers including a minister and his wife[1]. But in Winchester more support was given to ministers who continued to use the old Prayer Book service. Ellis and Cooke petitioned against a former prebendary who had taken over the vacant church of St Michael in Kingsgate Street, 'being countenanced and abetted therein by a malignant party in and about this city disaffected to religion', which supported him and attended services using the Prayer Book. The offender was assisted by one of the minor canons, 'a profane, scandalous, drunken, ignorant fellow', and several other minor canons once ministers in the city were said to be giving private administrations of the sacrament[2]. Even leading members of the corporation in favour with Parliament opposed the government-appointed preachers. Cornelius Hooker, the Recorder, spread a remark by Ellis 'that if all tongues and pens were at liberty it would make the Protector as black as the blackest devil in Hell'[3], and in 1650 or 1651 an angry crowd led by alderman John Woodman broke down the church doors of St Maurice, abused the minister, deprived him of his Bible, and sent him away[4].

In spite of popular opposition many administrative changes were made in accordance with government religious policy, and signs of an unfamiliar Puritanism began to appear. Before the war began, the Commons had ordered in 1642 that parishioners of Winchester, Southampton, Alton, New Alresford, and Andover should be allowed to appoint and maintain civic lecturers, an order as antipathetic to the wishes of the majority in Winchester as was the campaign against recusants carried out at the same time[5]. Again in 1648 the Commons tried to encourage preaching by augmenting ministers' salaries out of the income from former dean and chapter estates[6]. By 1655,

1. H. Ellis, Two Sermons...preached in the sometime Cathedral Church of Winchester (1647); H. Ellis, Pseudochristus (1650).
2. B.L. Add. MS. 24,861, f.113.
3. 5th Bk. Ord., f.123.
4. Ibid., ff.96v.-7.
5. Commons' Journal, ii. 432.
6. Ibid., v. 525.

however, the initiative was coming from the city, which passed an ordinance stating that one of the two official ministers was to preach on the day before the mayor's election each year, for which he would be paid by the chamberlains[1]. Ordinances regulating social or economic behaviour too began to show a Puritan influence, but not until the 1650s. Children playing in the streets or the cathedral churchyard on the Lord's Day were ordered to be sent to the mayor, poor relief was made conditional on church attendance and limited to the deserving poor, and poor children were to be sent to school and catechized by the ministers[2]. Though nonconformity had begun to take root in Hampshire, there was as yet little sign of it in Winchester. In 1658 the county gaol in the city contained seven Quakers, but none had been arrested in Winchester[3].

The most beneficial administrative change of the Interregnum pertaining to religion was the reorganization of parishes and parish churches. Bishop Fox's amalgamations in the 1520s and one more in 1580 had still only reduced the intra-mural parishes to eight, and the value of clerical stipends since then had fallen sharply because of inflation. In practice it was common in the early seventeenth century for one man to hold several parishes in or near the city in plurality; St George and St Mary Ode were usually held with St Maurice, the same man held St Laurence and St Mary Kalender, and St Peter Chesil and St John in the Soke always shared an incumbent. In practice, too, several of the parish churches had been abandoned. St Mary Kalender was described by John Trussell before 1640 as 'apparent to be the highest roofed parish church in Europe, for by all this time it hath had no other cover but the skies', and by 1660 the church was used as an alternative to the river for disposing of butchers' waste, in spite of its central position

1. 5th Bk. Ord., f.83v.; W.R.O., chamb. acct. 1657-8.
2. 5th Bk. Ord., ff.107v., 109-10.
3. Cal. S.P. Dom. 1658-9, 148-9.

on the High Street[1]. Without the clergy, most of the parish churches which had been in use before the war also fell into disrepair. St Clement's had been used as a court of guard for soldiers and was 'miserably ransacked and torn in pieces', the main arch at the east end of St Thomas had collapsed by 1660, and St Peter Colebrook was 'extremely untiled' with grass and nettles growing through the floor[2]. For all these reasons, and because only two ministers had been appointed to serve the city, there were good grounds for a drastic reorganization of parishes. The reorganization was in fact part of a national policy, and was not peculiar to Winchester. A special commission for rationalising parishes, set up for the whole county, included among its members John Lisle, Thomas Muspratt, and John Hildesley, Recorder of Winchester 1650-2[3]. St Maurice and St Thomas were chosen as the two largest parish churches, and the other parishes were united to them by the Committee for Plundered Ministers in 1652; thus St Mary Kalender and St Peter Colebrook joined St Maurice, and St Clement's, St Laurence, and St Swithun upon Kingsgate joined St Thomas[4]. The inclusion of St Swithun is questionable, since in the sixteenth century it had always been accounted one of the Soke parishes, but Trussell had listed it among city churches and there seems to have been a growing feeling in the seventeenth century that it belonged to the city. St Swithun was also involved in a union of parishes in the Soke, said to have been procured by Nicholas Love, by which St Peter Chesil, St John, St Michael in Kingsgate Street, Winnall, and part of St Swithun became one large parish[5]. In spite of the obvious practicality of the amalgamations, the old parishes were restored in 1660 and it was only in 1682 that St George, St Mary Ode,

1. W.R.O., John Trussell, 'Origin of Cities', f.29; 'Account of the State of the Churches of Winchester', Trans. British Arch. Assoc. 1845, 107.
2. 'State of the Churches', 107-8.
3. W.H. Mildon, 'Puritanism in Hampshire' (London Ph.D. thesis 1934), 318.
4. W.R.O., 5th Ledger Book, 1st folio.
5. 'State of the Churches', 108; Cal. S.P. Dom. 1657-8, 376.

St Mary Kalender, and St Peter Colebrook were permanently united to St Maurice. The corporation's policy towards the churches during the Interregnum suggests that it did not regard the current political and religious situation as permanent: St Peter Colebrook church was leased in 1653 but the lessee was prohibited from breaking up the floor or carrying stones from the site, and St Clement's was similarly leased with a proviso that the city could re-enter if it ever wanted to use the church again[1]. St Mary Kalender was written off as a church, and the site was leased in 1652 to Edmund Rigges, who undertook to build at least one tenement there within three years[2]. St Laurence, which was in good repair, but was too small for large congregations, was used by the city for a school, perhaps to replace John Imber's school held in St John's Hospital before the war[3].

The effects of the war and Interregnum on office-holding in Winchester were similar to those experienced in county government. Though recusants and the most prominent Royalists dropped out in 1640, the city government before 1649 (like the first county committees) included most of the families which had been accustomed to rule before the war. Indeed, the mayor of Winchester elected as late as September 1648, Joseph Butler, was said to have lost an estate of £3,000 for his loyalty to the king[4]. From 1648, however, pressure from the House of Commons began to focus on the personnel of local government. A Winchester alderman was disfranchised in April 1648 and another was restored by order of the Commons, and in September 1649 an Act of Parliament effectively created a 'new corporation' by appointing Edmund Rigges as the next mayor and naming three new aldermen, seven new benchers or JPs, and ten new members of the Twenty-Four[5]. No reaction from the city is recorded, but the Act must have seemed an enormous

1. 5th Bk. Ord., ff.58, 92v.-3.
2. W.R.O., 5th Ledger Book, f.16v.
3. 'State of the Churches', 112; for Imber's school, see p. 224.
4. Cal. S.P. Dom. 1661-2, 99.
5. Commons' Journal, v. 535; ibid., vi. 294; House of Lords MSS., petition of old corporation 1660.

and unprecedented intrusion into the city's independent sphere of action, for the nomination by outside authorities of new members of the oligarchy, some of them not even freemen, was quite unknown. The policy was not peculiar to Winchester. It had been foreshadowed in August 1649 by an Act seeking complaints against 'malignant or delinquent magistrates, or other ill-affected officers'[1], and the governments of Hull and Norwich were altered less drastically at the same time as Winchester's. Other towns affected by the policy included Bedford, where the corporation was remodelled as the result of a petition from one group in the town[2], High Wycombe, whose mayor was appointed by Parliament in 1650[3], and Southampton, which lost its mayor and high sheriff and an alderman in 1655[4].

Such a measure inevitably created a divide between the 'old' and 'new' corporations. Only three of the new men appointed by the Act were already freemen of Winchester: John Complin had been bailiff in 1641 and 1642, John Woodman had been a freeman since 1639, and William Harwood since 1647. Several others did already have connections with the city, however, and were not complete strangers. Edmund Rigges was the son of Ralph Rigges, a former mayor who died in 1647 after serving on several Parliamentary committees in the county. The family was unusual in that it had been closely associated with the bishopric - Ralph had held the lease of the bishop's manor of Fareham, as had his family for over a century - but supported Parliament. Thomas Rigges, Edmund's brother, was appointed a bencher by the Act of 1649 but he rarely attended city meetings, and Anthony Yalden, another of the new benchers, was Edmund Rigges' brother-in-law[5]. Thomas Muspratt, whose successful political career in Winchester dated from the Act of 1649, had lived in the city before the war, for his name appeared

1. Commons' Journal, vi. 281.
2. Minute Book of Bedford Corporation 1647-64 (Beds. Hist. Rec. Soc. xxvi (1948)), p.xxxiii.
3. 1st Ledger Book of High Wycombe (Bucks. Rec. Soc. xi (1947)), p.xiii.
4. Hist. MSS. Comm., 11th Report (Southampton Corporation MSS), 30.
5. I am grateful to Mrs F.L. Wood of Winchester for information on the Rigges family.

on jury lists for the town court from 1633[1]. Even if some of the new magistrates were known in Winchester, however, they were 'new men' in the sense that none of them had any previous experience of city government, and their sudden advancement upset the established pattern of steady progression up the ladder of offices. The Act of 1649 was the last intervention by Parliament in the composition of Winchester's corporation until 1660, but the influx of new men at the top brought more changes further down. At the mayoral election in September 1650 twenty-seven freemen were listed who had not been present in 1648, of whom only four (Edmund and Thomas Rigges, Christopher Hussey junior, and John Bagger) were from families which had contributed freemen before. No doubt some of the new freemen, whether born in Winchester or not, would have entered the corporation in more normal times, but others owed their admission to influential political friends. John Lisle was active in this kind of patronage until his resignation as Recorder in 1650. William Atwood was admitted freeman in December 1649 'upon the request of my Lord Commissioner Lisle', but he never attended meetings and was not listed after 1650[2]. When the office of town clerk fell vacant in 1649 the corporation favoured Ferdinand Bye, brother-in-law of the previous incumbent, but Bye was a Royalist and his appointment was vetoed by Lisle, who recommended instead the clerk to the Committee for Sequestrations, Stephen Welstead. The corporation deliberated, and decided that it would be wise to placate Lisle,

> in policy to secure themselves and the said city from ruin and destruction...forasmuch as this city was then under the power of the Parliament, and the Committee then sitting in the Close near Winchester, and the said John Lisle being then one of the Committee and a person then in great power being one of the late king's judges, and the said mayor and aldermen and the most part of all the citizens and inhabitants of the city having engaged themselves for the late king against the then Parliament[3].

1. W.R.O., Town Court Roll 58/Bk. 1633-4.
2. 5th Bk. Ord., f.23v.
3. Ibid., ff.146-7v.

Lisle was also accused of having procured the Act of 1649 remodelling the corporation, in conjunction with Sir Henry Mildmay and Nicholas Love[1].

Between them, the men named by Parliament and others introduced after 1649 held the mayoralty of Winchester in every year but one from 1649 to 1659, and their tight hold on power is shown by the fact that mayors were elected unanimously in every year except 1656. They differed in at least two respects from the men who had served as mayor before the war. Most obvious was their sudden and rapid rise: only one mayor between 1649 and 1659, Nicholas Purdue, had served as bailiff first, and he was the only man who had been in the corporation before the war. The second difference was that most of them were apparently outside the trading community in Winchester; apart from Purdue, a mercer, and Thomas Muspratt, a shoemaker, the leaders of the new corporation were mostly officials - John Champion (mayor in 1651 and 1658) was a solicitor for the city from 1649 and deputy Clerk of the Peace for Hampshire in 1654[2], Richard Dennett (mayor in 1656) acted as clerk to the bishop after 1660 and may have been a notary before the war[3], and even Thomas Muspratt the shoemaker (mayor in 1650 and 1657) acted as rent-collector on the bishopric estates for Nicholas Love in the 1640s[4]. The bailiffs of Winchester during the Interregnum, on the other hand, were all involved in trade. Their careers in city government differed from those of their pre-war predecessors too, for most had to wait only two or three years after admission as a freeman before becoming bailiff. None of the thirteen Interregnum bailiffs managed to survive the Restoration politically and become mayor, whereas four Interregnum mayors outlived the swing against them and held the mayoralty again after 1660. The total number of freemen (shown in Figure 5, p. 107) remained between fifty and

1. House of Lords MSS., petition of old corporation 1660.
2. S.P. 28/230.
3. Bodl. MS. Tanner 140, f.73; H.C.R.O., 5M53/247.
4. T.F. Kirby, Annals of Winchester College, 308 n.1.

fifty-five for most of the Interregnum, with a sharp rise in 1650 after the influx of new men following the Act of 1649, and a slow decline between 1655 and 1659 as the political outlook became uncertain. Attendance at election meetings was understandably low in the 1640s while disorder reigned, but it remained above thirty or thirty-five at each meeting for most of the 1650s. The attendance figures do not suggest a new excitement or participation in politics among the freemen; the elite at the head of the new corporation was as powerful as the old, and changes in city policies during the Interregnum should be attributed to the new mayors and their advisors, not to any new democracy involving the lower ranks of the corporation.

The new members of the corporation were united by acceptable political opinions, but they did not act as a group and they provoked many disputes against their predecessors in office and even between themselves. One of the most contentious people was John Woodman, whose career was in many ways characteristic of the period and is worth tracing in detail. Woodman was probably not a native of Winchester, but he set up trade there as a grocer in the 1630s, was taxed as an artificer in 1636, was on the jury of the town court by 1637, and became a freeman in 1639[1]. In that year he served as one of the constables, and was presented for swearing at the Clerk of the Market's jury[2]. The war provided his opportunity for a rapid rise to power, and after a brief period in the Parliamentary army he became solicitor for sequestrations for Hampshire and moved into the Close. In the execution of his duties Woodman displayed an unattractive zeal, which made him many enemies; in 1648 he sent the committee a list of 'some that are not sequestered, though deserving it', and added, 'Many who have

1. C 5/9/98; C 5/415/139; 4th Bk. Ord., f.107; W.R.O., Town Court Roll 58/Bk. 1637-8.
2. W.R.O., Town Court Roll 58/Bk. 1638-9, no.44.

estates have been recusants in arms, which saddens the well-affected'[1]. In 1649 he was appointed alderman of Winchester by Act of Parliament, but he lost his place on the sequestrations committee in the general purge of administration in that year, and from 1650 his record as sequestrator was under investigation. In addition to the two St Cross parsonages never accounted for by Woodman, he was accused of withholding food and pensions from the hospital's almsmen[2]. It was also found that he had sequestrated the living of Itchenstoke without any order[3], and had kept a tenement in the Close and obtained a forged grant of it from the former tenant, whom he persuaded that the house would thus by saved[4]. The dean and chapter library, entrusted to Woodman for the use of the city ministers, had instead been sold to two Londoners, and was returned to Winchester by order of Parliament in 1652[5]. At the same time Woodman was in trouble with the city government. Only a year after he became an alderman he was suspended from the corporation for slandering Edmund Rigges and Thomas Muspratt when they were mayors, and for leading a riot against the mayor and one of the ministers at St Maurice, and his application in 1656 for reinstatement was rejected[6]. Meanwhile in 1652 he had been involved in a tavern brawl with the city's Recorder, although on that occasion Woodman was awarded damages and freed from blame[7]. Four years later Woodman appeared before the county Quarter Sessions on a charge of perjury and his case was transferred to the Upper Bench, which shortly afterwards issued a writ to the mayor of Winchester[8]. The nature of the case is not

1. Cal. Comm. for Compounding, 104.
2. H.C.R.O., Q.O./3, f.135.
3. W.H. Mildon, 'Puritanism in Hampshire' (London Ph.D. thesis 1934), 167-8.
4. Cal. Comm. for Compounding, 385-6.
5. Winchester Cathedral Documents in 17th cent. (Hants. Rec. Soc.), 71-4.
6. 5th Bk. Ord., ff.96v.-7v.
7. Ibid., ff.119v.-20.
8. H.C.R.O., Q.I., Easter 1656; W.R.O., Coffer Accounts 1628-61, 24 July 1657.

known, but it may have been an attempt by Woodman to force the corporation to re-admit him; he voted in the mayoral election of 1657, but no formal re-admission was recorded, and after that year he was not even listed among the freemen. He was finally expelled from the corporation for good by the commissioners after the Restoration. Woodman continued to live in the Close, but in the summer of 1662, amidst rumours of a rising planned in Hampshire, the JPs intercepted a treasonable letter from him and sent him to the county gaol[1]. A bad attack of fever, probably caused by conditions in the gaol, prevented his being sent to the Gatehouse in London as ordered, and after several months in prison he was freed on bail[2]. At the same time Woodman's record as sequestrator was under attack in an Exchequer suit against him. Personal antagonism to him was evident on all sides: his adversary in the Exchequer wrote, 'I hope we shall make this Woodman pay heartily for the trouble, which I shall requite'[3], and the JP who granted his release on bail explained, 'I had rather he should live to the gallows than die in prison, if he deserves it'[4]. After 1662 Woodman disappeared from public view, apart from an undated certificate stating that he was attending services in the cathedral and had settled in St Peter Chesil[5], where he witnessed the will of a prominent recusant in 1666[6]. John Woodman's career illustrates the opportunities for an ambitious man in a period of social upheaval. Although such upstarts infuriated the Royalist gentry over whom they were given authority, Woodman's occupation as a grocer, and his admission as a freeman of Winchester in 1639, indicate a certain level of social respectability, and if he had used his power less blatantly to his own advantage he might have retained it longer.

1. B.L. Add. MS. 21,922, f.251v.
2. Ibid., ff.255, 260v.
3. Cal. S.P. Dom., Addenda, 1660-70, 668-9.
4. B.L. Add. MS. 21,922, f.260v.
5. H.C.R.O., C/7/A-4a, no.53.
6. Prob. 11/333 (P.C.C. 83 Penn, will of Bartholomew Smith).

John Woodman was not the only trouble-maker in the new corporation. The number of disputes in the 1650s gives the impression of a general atmosphere of slander and hostility, but on investigation most cases turn out to revolve around John Woodman, William Harwood, or Cornelius Hooker. Harwood attempted to remove the evidence of his misdeeds by cutting pages out of the 5th Book of Ordinances and scribbling over entries relating to himself, but his method of crossing out is distinctive enough to be recognised wherever it occurs and some of the entries are still partly legible. Harwood had become a freeman in 1647, before the Act creating the new corporation, but he was promoted by it to alderman and was mayor in 1653. In 1651 he was temporarily suspended and fined twenty shillings for slandering Edmund Rigges as mayor[1]. When Harwood became mayor he erased the entry of his suspension in the 5th Book of Ordinances, an act which was cited afterwards as 'the beginning and cause of all ye discords and differences in the corporation', when it was alleged that he had been persuaded to erase the entry by Cornelius Hooker, who then betrayed him by producing evidence of their complicity[2]. A petition to Parliament in 1653 by William Harwood as mayor against the aldermen was probably a result of this episode[3]. At the end of his term of office he refused to proceed to the election of a new mayor, and the assembly appointed Thomas Muspratt to organize the election instead[4].

Cornelius Hooker caused even more trouble than Harwood. Appointed Recorder in September 1652 immediately after the election as mayor of Edward Hooker, probably his kinsman, he was declared in 1657 to be 'ye principal occasion of ye manifold differences that hath been in ye corporation these five years'[5]. His brawl with John Woodman and alleged

1. 5th Bk. Ord., f.32.
2. Ibid., f.120.
3. Cal. S.P. Dom.1653-4, 287.
4. 5th Bk. Ord., f.67v.
5. Ibid., f.119v.

evil influence over William Harwood have already been mentioned, and he had an especial hatred of Thomas Muspratt, whom he called a drunkard, a swearer, and a knave, and whom he threatened to 'destroy or ruin...although he made his way through blood'[1]. Hooker repeatedly imprisoned one of the chamberlains without cause, and declared openly in the Counsel House that 'there were none to be found fit to be aldermen, unless they were dropped out of Heaven'[2]. His description of the freemen of Winchester as 'a company of beggarly fellows' provoked a strong reaction from the rest of the corporation, which declared that his remark 'must needs stand to the disparagement of the citizens who have daily trade and commerce in London and other places, and to the disabling of this city to be trusted with ye management of that power which for some hundreds of years it hath been trusted withal'[3]. Hooker was suspended from the office of Recorder in 1657, in a move led by Thomas Muspratt whose election as mayor he had just opposed. No new Recorder was appointed, but the legal representation of the city was taken over by John Champion who had already acted as its solicitor, and Hooker accused Muspratt of sitting as judge in the city courts and receiving fees as if he were Recorder, though he had no legal training[4]. Hooker was still officially the Recorder in December 1660 - when he refused to attend the city Quarter Sessions at Winchester on the grounds that his last journey there from London had cost him £12[5] - but he was replaced in January 1661 by a Royalist lawyer, Richard Goddard[6]. On Goddard's death in 1666 Hooker was bold enough to petition the king for the office again, claiming that he had been dismissed for loyalty, but the corporation acted with exceptional speed and forestalled him by appointing another candidate[7].

1. Ibid., f.122v.
2. Ibid., ff.120v., 122.
3. Ibid., f.122.
4. Hist.MSS. Comm., 7th Report (House of Lords MSS), 86.
5. W.R.O., Proceedings in Quarter Sessions 1660-1716.
6. 5th Bk. Ord., f.161v.
7. Cal. S.P. Dom. 1666-7, 82; 6th Bk. Ord., f.29.

The new corporation of the 1650s brought an unfamiliar spirit of energy into city government at Winchester as well as a new bitterness in its internal feuds. At one meeting on 31 October 1656 over twenty major ordinances were introduced, and measures passed during the Interregnum covered every aspect of city life from poor relief to the dignity of officials. Yet the programme was entirely conservative; the new men fought to retain their power, but they had no intention of using it to promote reforms, and their achievement was no more than the 'general administrative reform in the interests of conservative efficiency' undertaken by the central government in 1654[1]. City records were sorted and labelled, and there was a thorough review in 1654 of leases granted by the corporation. Benefactions due to the city which had lapsed during the war were recovered by numerous lawsuits, helped by the enquiries of the Commissioners for Charitable Uses appointed in 1650 and 1660 to discover unpaid bequests[2]. Householders' responsibilities for paving the streets in front of their houses were revived, and a weekly rate on all inhabitants of Winchester was introduced to support the scavengers, who were renamed 'surveyors of ye streets and [causeways?] within ye city' so as to attract 'persons of good quality'[3]. An ordinance of 1656 set out in great detail the number and kinds of gowns to be worn by citizens on special occasions: the mayor and aldermen had three gowns, one of which was to be worn to church on Sunday mornings and a different one on Sunday afternoons, and the requirements and fines for lesser citizens were graded 'according to their degree'[4]. Freemen were to accompany the mayor from the market cross to the cathedral and back in their gowns, so that they might be 'an ornament to ye said city'. The ordinance enjoining attendance at assemblies was repeated

1. C. Hill, God's Englishman, 141.
2. W.R.O., Coffer Accounts 1628-61, 10 Mar. 1647/8, 6 Aug. 1652; C 93/20/9; C 93/25/6.
3. 5th Bk. Ord., ff.54, 104, 112.
4. Ibid., f.100v.

twice and the penalty for absence was increased to ten shillings, and new fines for 'uttering unseemly words', disturbing meetings, or divulging city business were introduced[1]. Many of these measures were simply re-issues of earlier ordinances repeating the original wording with little or no alteration. Thus the members of the new corporation looked backwards and not forwards in their policies; they presided over Winchester's gradual recovery from the war, but their goals were as limited as those of the pre-war corporation.

The only imaginative measure of the 1650s - which was never put into effect - was a proposal in 1656 to introduce a secret ballot for the mayor's election, an idea revolutionary by comparison with contemporary ordinances at Winchester. The intention behind the proposal was to avoid the 'rancour and ill blood' caused by open voting, though it was emphasised that any citizen could still lawfully make known his vote and his reasons for it. Each citizen present at the election was to be given one red and one white bullet, whose meaning in terms of candidates would be explained by the current mayor; citizens would drop the appropriate bullet into a box and the remaining bullets would be privately collected[2]. Secret ballots using balls or bullets were already known in England, and some towns in the seventeenth century had a secret written ballot[3]; but the idea had received wider publicity in 1656, the same year as the Winchester proposal, through the publication of James Harrington's Oceana which advocated a similar scheme. The origin of the idea at Winchester is not known, but if Harrington was the inspiration it would be interesting to know who was reading current political theory and was enthusiastic enough to attempt its implementation in the city. The secret ballot

1. Ibid., ff.53v., 77, 104v.-5, 108.
2. Ibid., ff.99v.-100.
3. C. Gross, 'The Early History of the Ballot in England', American Hist. Rev. iii (1897), 458-60.

was not adopted, for the vote of each freeman was recorded against his name from 1657 as usual.

One policy revived with full force after the war was the attempt to exclude all 'foreign' traders who might create competition for established businesses in the city. The problem had increased during the 1640s, not because Winchester was a thriving economic centre which attracted immigrants, but because the disorder of the war had prevented the enforcement of regulations and at the same time had increased the amount of movement around the country. In December 1646 the grand jury presented more than thirty newcomers to the city who were likely to be chargeable 'or take away from the livelihood of the ancient inhabitants'[1]. Presentments of newcomers had been common in the pre-war period, but the unusual feature in 1646 was the number of people listed who later became prominent citizens: Alexander Woodson, for example, became serjeant-at-mace in the 1650s, and William Moulton served as bailiff in 1656 and 1657. These were not vagrants but respectable craftsmen and traders. The reasons for some of this migration are suggested by a section in another presentment headed 'soldiers married'[2]. Many bands of soldiers from both sides had passed through Winchester or been quartered there, bringing men who would never otherwise have visited the city, and some married local girls or decided to settle there. A Frenchman, Monsieur James Piniett, had married in Winchester and was presented (with twenty-four others) for selling beer without a licence[3]. Joseph Belbin married a widow's daughter, moved into the house of a pewterer, and was presented for using the trades of milliner and bookseller[4]. Apparently he gave up these occupations, for at his death in 1665 he was a joiner and also kept an inn or alehouse[5]. The same willingness to change trades when

1. Winchester City Library, W.H. Jacob scrapbook, pp.13-14.
2. Ibid., pp.35-6.
3. Ibid., pp.13-14.
4. Ibid., pp.13-14, 46.
5. H.C.R.O. Adm. 1664 (administration of Humphrey Gale); Adm. 1666 (administration of Joseph Belbin).

challenged was shown by another immigrant, William Snow, a soldier who married a local girl[1]. A petition (probably dating from 1646) by seven cutlers, all of whom had been apprenticed in Winchester and had 'great families of children and servants' to support, protested that Snow had never served an apprenticeship in that trade and yet was selling his wares openly in the market[2]. Snow survived to enter the corporation under the Act of 1649, became bailiff in 1653 and 1654, and in 1662 he was described as a linendraper[3]. Despite the central government's relaxation in 1654 of apprenticeship qualifications for discharged soldiers, one of the ordinances of October 1656 imposed heavy fines both on traders who had not been apprenticed in the city, and on anyone who let foreign traders lodge in their houses[4]. The impression of an unusually large number of immigrants settling in Winchester during this period is confirmed by the very high figures of unfree artificers taxed in the 1650s (shown in Figure 6, p.177). Collection of the tax was disrupted in the 1640s and numbers were below those of the 1630s, but in 1651 the corporation re-affirmed its legal right to tax 'artificers and others inhabiting and using trades within the same city and not free thereof, as for ye opening of their shop windows'[5], and from a low point of seventy in 1652 the totals of artificers taxed soared to ninety-five in 1653, 113 in 1655, and 121 in 1658. The rise coincided with a stationary or slightly declining total of freemen, which suggests either that there was some reluctance to become a freeman, or - more likely - that the corporation was refusing to admit newcomers as freemen in the later 1650s.

1. Winchester City Library, W.H. Jacob scrapbook, pp.35-6.
2. Ibid., p.45.
3. W.R.O., Proposal Book no.1, 1662-1704.
4. M. James, Social Problems and Policy during the Puritan Revolution, 173; 5th Bk. Ord., f.103v.
5. 5th Bk. Ord., ff.30v.-1.

An equally intractable problem was the continuing influx of paupers. According to the accounts of St John's Hospital and the city chamberlains, poor relief given in the form of alms shrank almost to nothing during the war, totalling less than £2 in 1644-5 and 1647-8[1]. In the 1650s alms recovered their pre-war level, with totals of £40 in 1650-1 and £62 in 1653-4, and in 1656-7 and 1657-8 over £100 was paid out by the Hospital[2], surpassing the figures for the 1620s and 1630s even when inflation is taken into consideration. The conservative efficiency of the new corporation extended to its methods of poor relief, which were described in an ordinance of 1656. Vagrants and beggars were to be arrested by the beadle and taken before the mayor and JPs. The able-bodied would be given work and compelled to do it if necessary. Alms were restricted to the deserving poor, defined as the impotent, aged, infants, orphans, idiots, the blind and lame, and 'such as are overcharged with children', whose names were to be entered in a book and reviewed quarterly. Alms were also conditional on attendance at church on Sundays and other prescribed days. The ordinance showed especial concern for the moral welfare of children, many of whom, it alleged, were 'bred up like atheists after a sordid loose and undisciplined manner'; they were to be sent to school, taught to read and write, catechized, and then apprenticed[3]. Thus methods of poor relief remained much the same as before the war, with the addition of some Puritan severity. Whether the actual execution of this policy was any more efficient than before the war is unclear. Certainly lists of paupers were drawn up, children were taught, clothed, and apprenticed, and widows were supported much as before[4]. Poor people, probably squatters, were occupying a decayed tenement in Gold Street,

1. W.R.O., 3/Bx./S.J. 15, nos.190-1.
2. Ibid., nos. 192, 194-5. No.193 (1653-4) has no details of alms, which were entered instead on the chamberlains' account for that year.
3. 5th Bk. Ord., ff.109-10.
4. W.R.O., chamb. acct. 1657-8; W.R.O., Coffer Accounts 1628-61, 16 Sept. 1653, 23 Feb. 1654/5, 28 Jan. 1659/60.

formerly leased by the dean and chapter to Sir William Ogle, in 1649[1]. Two men were given rooms in St John's House by the corporation in 1655 to set the poor to work at spinning and button-making[2]. But there is no evidence as to the numbers left without relief, and only the negative fact that the distress experienced elsewhere in 1649 and 1658-60 left little trace in city records suggests that municipal policy was more effective than in the 1620s and 1630s, or at least that the increase in direct alms in the late 1650s was sufficient to contain the problem[3].

In the Soke old methods of poor relief used by the county JPs, including the return of vagrants to their parish of origin and the provision of work (and punishment) in the House of Correction, remained in operation throughout the Interregnum. As in the 1630s, too, the Soke suffered greater hardship than the city from the same economic conditions. Wolvesey and the College had been exempted from the monthly assessment on the Soke, and certain houses in the Close which had formerly paid a substantial proportion of the Soke's taxes were decayed, which left only the impoverished inhabitants to pay the whole sum[4]. Some poverty was due to the impressment of men for the army, which deprived their families of a breadwinner: in 1652, for example, a woman in Kingsgate Street was left with two small children and nowhere to live when her husband was taken for the army in Ireland[5]. A petition to the JPs from the parish of St Michael in Kingsgate Street in 1659, pleading for help with its large number of poor (and pointing out that the tiny parish of St Swithun had no recipients of alms at all), shows that the economic depression of the late 1650s affected the Soke if not the city itself[6].

1. W. Cath. MSS., Cupboard 2, Survey of Dean & Chapter Lands 1649, f.34.
2. 5th Bk. Ord., f.83.
3. Cf. A.L. Beier, 'Poor Relief in Warwickshire 1630-60', Past and Present, xxxv (1966), which establishes that during the Interregnum in Warwickshire poor relief was more efficient than before the war in spite of greater need.
4. H.C.R.O., Q.O./3, pp.61-2; W.C.M. 392-3.
5. H.C.R.O., Q.O./3, p.111.
6. H.C.R.O., Q.O./4, p.9.

The city's funds for poor relief were augmented from 1656 by a scheme which neatly combined charity with economic regulation. Complaints had been made at the city Quarter Sessions that fuel prices in Winchester were being driven up by excessive numbers of alehouse-keepers brewing their own ale and beer; the corporation therefore devised a scheme whereby two 'common brewers' were given a life monopoly of brewing in the city (at a cost of £20 a year each, to be used for poor relief), and alehouse-keepers' licences were made conditional on a £20 obligation not to sell drink brewed by anyone but the two common brewers. The two brewers were prohibited from malting their own grain, and prices for their products were to be set by the Quarter Sessions[1]. The two recipients of this profitable monopoly were Nicholas Purdue and Edmund Fifield, following the tradition of giving the most lucrative offices and leases to prominent members of the corporation - Purdue had just completed his first term as mayor, and Fifield had been one of the chamberlains for the previous two years. When the 'oppressed victuallers' of Winchester petitioned Parliament against the monopoly after the Restoration, however, their target was not the brewers themselves but Thomas Muspratt. Muspratt, they said, 'being a great maltster', had caused the brewhouses to be set up and 'by his tyrannical power' forced victuallers to buy all their drink there, 'though never so ill brewed' and at intolerable prices. Thus, said the petitioners, many inhabitants who had previously prospered by brewing, 'being able to pay taxes and relieve others', were now impoverished[2]. The ordinance establishing the scheme had not mentioned Muspratt and there is no way to determine whether he was responsible for it or not, or whether as a maltster he was profiting from the monopoly. The timing of the petition, however,

1. 5th Bk. Ord., ff.106-7; W.R.O., 5th Ledger Book, ff.73v.-4. In practice some unauthorised brewing was tolerated: W.R.O., Coffer Accounts 1628-61, 29 July 1659.
2. Hist. MSS. Comm., 7th Report (House of Lords MSS), 93.

immediately after the Restoration on 5 June 1660, suggests that Muspratt was being attacked as much for his power in the new corporation as for his part in the brewing monopoly. Certainly he had done well during the Interregnum; appointed a bencher or JP by the Act of Parliament creating the new corporation in 1649 (when he was not even a freeman), he had been elected mayor in 1650 and 1657, and he had also been active in county government, holding positions such as treasurer for the Trustees for the Maintenance of Ministers and a member of the commission for rationalising parishes[1]. Muspratt's humble origins - two petitions against him pointed out that he had been a mere journeyman shoemaker - and his rapid and unorthodox rise to power - attributed solely to his 'adhesion to the enemies of the late king'[2] - made him the least popular of Winchester's new rulers, and his enemies were not slow to take their revenge. Muspratt was one of the first three men expelled from the corporation after the Restoration by order of the House of Lords[3]. The sequel to his story, however, proves him a consummate politician: for after feelings against the new corporation had subsided somewhat, Muspratt applied for reinstatement in 1665 with the support of Lord St John[4], was restored to the corporation, became mayor for the third time in 1668, and remained a leading citizen until his death in the 1680s.

The Restoration was greeted in Winchester with jubilation and relief, and £34 was spent from the coffer on celebrations[5]. Beginning in June 1660 there was a sudden spate of freemen's admissions, particularly of Royalist gentry; the first was Lord St John of Basing, the marquis of Winchester's son and heir, and by the end of the year eighteen new members with similar sympathies had been added to the corporation. It was soon

1. W.H. Mildon, 'Puritanism in Hampshire' (London Ph.D. thesis 1934), 202, 318.
2. Hist. MSS. Comm., 7th Report (House of Lords MSS), 86, 93.
3. Lords' Journal, xi. 139.
4. W.R.O., S 3/Bk., Book of Orders 1665, f.112v.
5. W.R.O., Coffer Accounts 1628-61, 18 May 1660.

clear to the group which had dominated city government since 1649 that they could not hope to remain in power, and they were not left in peace for long. On 13 June 1660 the surviving members of the old corporation, calling themselves the 'ancient citizens of Winchester', sent a petition to the newly restored House of Lords against the new corporation with a statement of its 'notorious crimes and abuses'. The crimes they listed were all concerned with policy towards the city's churches: bells had been taken down and sold, tombstones and fonts had been removed, and several churches had been leased to tenants who used them for storage, stabling animals, brewing and baking, and (in the case of St Peter Colebrook) as a tannery. The petition added that the new corporation had exercised 'very arbitrary and tyrannical power' in governing the city, by making unjust rates, imprisoning opponents, and setting up monopolies[1]. The petition provoked a rejoinder by an anonymous 'friend to the city of Winchester', who argued persuasively that the ruinous state of most of the city churches was due to neglect by the old corporation, who were now objecting to the amalgamation of parishes and the repair of those churches chosen to continue in use. The author recognised that the petitioners had seized upon the issue in order to attack the men who had replaced them in power, and asked, 'Do you not seem to cloak much of malice under pretence of zeal for churches?'[2] The House of Lords appointed the earl of Southampton (later replaced by Lord Robartes[3]) and the marquis of Winchester to pacify the two parties, but in August 1660 they reported that reconciliation was impossible; the Lords therefore ordered the immediate expulsion from the corporation of Thomas Muspratt, John Champion, and Thomas Lambert, 'for the better bringing of the said city to a peace', and ordered Muspratt and Champion to surrender

1. House of Lords MSS., petition of old corporation 1660.
2. 'Account of the State of the Churches of Winchester', Trans. British Arch. Assoc. 1845, 105-15.
3. Lords' Journal, xi. 130-1.

their keys to the coffer to the mayor and aldermen without delay[1]. Legal fees and expenses in the dispute had already used up £26 from the coffer by July 1660, and another £41 was paid out in October 1661 after its settlement[2].

The three expulsions pacified the old corporation for the time being, and for two years there was an uneasy truce. Elections to city offices immediately after the Restoration produced a mixture of political allegiances. The mayor elected in September 1660 just qualified as a member of the old corporation, having been admitted in 1647, but the two bailiffs had entered the corporation in 1652 and both were ejected by the commissioners in 1662. In 1661 the veteran James Guy, who had become a freeman in 1618 and had held both bailiwicks before the war, was elected mayor, but again both bailiffs were entrants of the 1650s, though neither was subsequently expelled. On 1 August 1662 the commissioners for regulating corporations arrived in Winchester, established themselves in the White Hart, and summoned witnesses to testify on the political sympathies of members of the corporation[3]. On 7 August all the freemen were summoned to the Guildhall by the commissioners to learn their fate, though most of the new corporation stayed away[4]. In addition to the three ejected in 1660, seventeen members of the corporation were expelled for 'their disloyalty to the king's majesty that now is, and being nonconformists to the church government', and one more man was put out of the Twenty-Four. John Colson, who had been bailiff just before the war and was said to have been expelled during the Interregnum for loyalty, was recommended by the commissioners as the next mayor, and he was duly elected a month later. Two gentlemen were

1. Ibid., 139; W.R.O., 5th Ledger Book, f.120.
2. W.R.O., Coffer Accounts 1628-61, 27 July 1660; W.R.O., Payments out of Coffer 1660-99, 11 Oct. 1661.
3. W.R.O., 5th Ledger Book, f.141v.
4. 5th Bk. Ord., ff.177-7v.

ordered to be admitted and made benchers 'for their constant loyalty', five were elevated to the Twenty-Four, and five were recommended as new freemen. Of the twenty-one men introduced by the Act of Parliament of 1649, three were already dead (Edmund Rigges, Stephen Golledge, and John Complin), eight more had disappeared from Winchester, Muspratt, Champion, and Lambert had been expelled in 1660, and Woodman, John Hildesley, and three others were expelled in 1662, leaving only two survivors: William Harwood, in spite of his unpopularity, was left in the corporation by the commissioners as a seventh alderman, and Edward Hooker was overlooked, probably because he lived at Chilcomb two miles outside the city. The reprisals against the new corporation had not been excessive by comparison with similar expulsions in other towns, for the twenty-one removed represented fewer than half the freemen, unlike Gloucester, Newcastle-under-Lyme, and Shrewsbury, for example, where more than half the corporation was expelled in 1662[1]. Nor were all the removals permanent, for most of the men prominent in the Interregnum stayed in Winchester, and some eventually returned to power if their ability and personal standing in the city had been sufficient to override political disfavour. Of the ten mayors elected between 1660 and 1669, all but two had held offices during the Interregnum, and they included Thomas Muspratt, Nicholas Purdue, Edmund Fifield, and Richard Dennett, all of whom had been mayors in the new corporation.

The ecclesiastical establishment in Winchester returned very quickly to its pre-war state. The dean and chapter came back to the Close and began rebuilding on a large scale. Both of the government-appointed cathedral preachers were ejected; Humphrey Ellis was given a parish in Dorset, but in August 1662 the JPs discovered his secret return to Winchester and had him arrested on suspicion of involvement in the rising planned in

1. P. Styles, 'The Corporation of Bewdley under the later Stuarts', Univ. Birmingham Hist. Jnl. i (1947-8), 98 n.19.

Hampshire. In 1664 he was instituted to another parish, in the Isle of Wight, and he remained there until his death[1]. The union of Winchester parishes of 1652 was abandoned completely, despite its practicality, and the returning minor canons once more assumed the spiritual care of the city's congregations.

The events of 1660 in Winchester were indeed a 'restoration' and a return to normality. The city had been exposed to new leadership and new ideas, but they left hardly a trace, and the Winchester of 1665 was so much like the city of 1635 that the catastrophe of Civil War and Interregnum might never have happened. The political and religious controversies of the times had created factions and bitter conflicts within the city, but the rapid rehabilitation of Thomas Muspratt and his friends shows how quickly unity was restored. There had been social upheaval, and an unusual influx of newcomers into the city, but they were quickly absorbed into Winchester society and became as conservative as their predecessors. Material damage to the city took longer to repair, and the Castle was gone for good, but its site now belonged to the corporation which had purchased all but the Great Hall from Sir William Waller for £260 in 1656[2]. Religious nonconformity had gained a foothold in the city, but was still insignificant in numbers. In its essential social and economic characteristics, and in the attitudes of its inhabitants, Winchester had changed remarkably little since 1640. The Civil War and Interregnum can therefore be seen as a massive and prolonged interruption of the city's customs and social order; the Reformation a century earlier had been a similar intrusion on local custom, imposed from outside, but the forces of the Reformation had been successful in slowly changing the city's way

1. A.G. Matthews, Calamy Revised, 182; B.L. Add. MS. 21,922, ff.252v.-3, 256.
2. M. Portal, The Great Hall of Winchester Castle, 64-5; W.R.O., Coffer Accounts 1628-61, 2 May 1656.

of life, whereas the outside forces of the 1640s and 1650s were removed in 1660 and were forgotten in Winchester as quickly as possible. Their legacy was an even stronger determination by local communities to control their own fate, with renewed conservatism and resistance to people and ideas from beyond their gates. In Winchester the Great Revolution of the mid seventeenth century was a failure, if indeed it ever happened at all.

CHAPTER 8

Restoration Winchester

An examination of Winchester in the late seventeenth century reveals much that had scarcely altered over 150 years. The city was still a market centre, still the capital of diocese and county, and a small oligarchy of leading families controlled its government as tightly as ever. Yet there had been changes too, and memories of the sixteenth century were already dim; by the 1650s, for example, the ruined carnary at the west end of the cathedral was known as the Temple of Dagon[1]. From a declining industrial town looking back to its prosperous past, Winchester had adjusted to its post-medieval size and status and had become a social and service centre for the surrounding countryside, the function which was to sustain the city for the next two hundred years. No single date between 1520 and 1670 can be assigned as the watershed, for adjustment and development proceeded gradually and different aspects of them appeared at different times. Population had probably already reached its lowest point in the city's history by 1520, whereas the built-up area continued to contract for several decades more. Winchester's medieval cloth industry finally faded away somewhere in the early seventeenth century, but the city's gradual development as a social centre had already begun by 1600. The final chapter of this thesis will survey the city in the decade after 1660, to discover what was new - and what unchanged - since the early sixteenth century.

All the old series of city records continued unchanged after 1660 (with a return to Latin in the chamberlains' accounts and town court rolls), but the desire in Winchester to break with the immediate past and to forget

1. Winchester Cathedral Documents in 17th cent. (Hants. Rec. Soc.), 97.

the 'late troubles' of the Interregnum led to new departures in record-keeping. From 1660, for example, the coffer accounts were kept in two books instead of one, for payments into and out of the coffer; in 1665 a 'book of orders' was drawn-up, containing definitions of the duties of office-holders; and the first book of proceedings in the city Quarter Sessions also dates from 1660. Even the minutes of the smallest inner ruling group are available from 1662, in the new series of 'proposal books' recording matters to be raised at general assemblies. Another important source for the 1660s is the Hearth Tax of 1665 (the only fully legible list for Winchester)[1]. Its purpose and methods of assessment impose limitations on its use, but it does provide some information comparable with the subsidy of 1524.

One piece of information which can be derived from the Hearth Tax is an estimate of total population, which together with the evidence of the Compton Census of 1676 yields an approximate figure for the late seventeenth century. The Hearth Tax figures show the number of households, taxed and untaxed; it is impossible to estimate their accuracy, but 10% has been added to the total (as was done with the 1524 subsidy) to allow for households omitted, and even with this addition the resulting totals must be regarded as minimum figures. In 1665 425 households were listed inside the city (of which fifteen were empty) and another fourteen in the Close. Outside the walls 307 households were listed, of which seventeen were empty. With 10% added the total of occupied households comes to 466 in the city and 319 in the suburbs. Recent studies of towns larger than Winchester have adopted a multiplier of between 4.5 and 5 people per household[2], and community-

1. E 179/176/565.
2. E.g. G.C.F. Forster, '17th-century York', V.C.H. Yorks., City of York, 163; R. Howell, Newcastle-upon-Tyne and the Puritan Revolution, 8; W.G. Hoskins, Industry, Trade and People in Exeter 1688-1800, 114.

listings of the 1690s also support an average of 4.75[1]. Local variations were important, however, and the surviving listings for several Southampton parishes in the 1690s suggest a smaller figure: household sizes in five parishes ranged from 3.7 to 4.7 people, and the average for the five was 4.03[2]. Since Southampton was urban, poor, and in the same geographical region as Winchester, and the listings are fairly close in time to 1665, this lower multiplier of 4.03 has been adopted; there was after all no shortage of housing in Winchester to raise the average household size. Using these assumptions, the population within the walls in 1665 comes to 1,878, and outside the walls to 1,286. It is therefore safe to conclude that population in 1665 was at least 1,850 in the city and 1,250 in the Soke.

The Compton Census of 1676 was a count of people old enough to receive communion in the Church of England, and 33⅓%-40% should be added to its totals for children, as in 1603. Number of adults in each parish were as follows:

St Mary Kalender	194
St Laurence	158
St Maurice	387
St Peter Colebrook	119
St Thomas & St Clement's	400
Total	1,258
St John in the Soke	150
St Peter Chesil	146
St Michael in Kingsgate Street	208
St Swithun upon Kingsgate	189
St Bartholomew	116
St Cross	114
Total	923

These figures give population estimates of 1,880 to 2,100 for the city and

1. P. Laslett, 'Size and Structure of the Household in England over three centuries', Population Studies, xxiii (1969), 211.
2. Ibid., 204.

1,380 to 1,540 for the Soke. If the estimates derived from the Hearth Tax are indeed too low, in addition to the deficiency caused by the omission of inhabitants of the College, Wolvesey, and the hospital at St Cross, the totals for the two dates were probably roughly the same.

Comparison between these figures for the late seventeenth century and those for 1524-5 and 1603 shows only a slightly decreasing proportion of inhabitants living in the Soke. The changing proportions in the city and Soke over the whole period are shown in Table 18.

Table 18

The proportion of Winchester's population inside and outside the walls, 1524-1676

	Units	% inside walls	% in Soke
1524-5	taxpayers	55.7	44.3
1603	communicants	51.8	48.2
1665	households	59.4	40.6
1676	communicants	57.7	42.3

The fact that nearly half the inhabitants of 'greater Winchester' lived outside the walls, even in a period when there was plenty of space for settlement inside the city, shows that the Soke parishes were not true suburbs but semi-independent communities; though their origins lay in overspill from the crowded medieval city, by the sixteenth century they constituted a distinct settlement, largely because the Soke was administered like a rural parish by the bishop and not like an urban one by the corporation[1].

1. Cf. Exeter, where the suburbs (administered by the city) contained about a quarter of the population in 1524-5: W.T. MacCaffrey, Exeter 1540-1640, 13; and York, with only a sixth of the population in the suburbs in 1639: D.M. Palliser, 'Some Aspects of the Social and Economic History of York' (Oxford D.Phil. thesis 1968), 22.

Population at Winchester had increased by a little over 10% since 1603, a rate which can be seen in better perspective if the total numbers of adults (communicants) in other Hampshire towns in 1603 and 1676 are compared, with the percentage increase between the two dates (Table 19). In the rural parishes and in Hampshire as a whole, population had increased markedly over the seventeenth century. Portsmouth was a special case, owing its spectacular growth to the development of its dockyards, but its expansion is in accordance with the trend revealed by Table 19 for smaller towns to grow more rapidly than the old-established centres. Winchester's rate of growth was much lower than the average, even though the city was still doing better than Southampton.

The Hearth Tax list of 1665 and the ecclesiastical census of 1676 were separated by the epidemic of 1665-6 - the last outbreak of plague in England - and it would be useful to know the extent to which the population of Winchester had been affected. Unfortunately the parish registers are even less satisfactory for the 1660s than for the 1620s. However, the disruption of administration, the issue of a brief on behalf of the city[1], and the panic shown by the dean and chapter all indicate that this was a serious epidemic, though less disastrous than the plague of 1625. News of the plague at London in 1665 provoked the usual regulations about watching the gates and keeping out travellers from infected places[2], but it is doubtful whether the orders were strictly observed: Southampton was one of the few provincial towns affected in the summer of 1665[3], and the exclusion of all goods and people from Southampton would have had serious economic consequences in Winchester. Regulations against Londoners were in any case relaxed to allow the High Court of Admiralty with all its personnel to be

1. W.A. Bewes, Church Briefs, 280.
2. W.R.O., Proceedings in Quarter Sessions 1660-1716 (June 1665).
3. Cal. S.P. Dom. 1664-5, 510.

Table 19

Population increase in Hampshire towns 1603-76

	Communicants		
	1603	1676	% increase
Portsmouth	469	2,560	445.8
Fareham	485	1,000	106.2
Whitchurch	400	787	96.7
Bishop's Waltham	458	870	90.0
Petersfield	385	708	83.9
Andover	872	1,557	78.5
Basingstoke	1,000	1,591	59.1
Alton	700	1,065	52.2
Romsey	1,317	1,850	40.5
Titchfield	654	918	40.4
Ringwood	1,199	1,384	15.4
Fordingbridge	833	943	13.2
Winchester and Soke	1,956	2,181	11.5
Kingsclere	913	1,002	9.7
Southampton	2,138	2,291	7.2
Christchurch	1,236	1,277	3.3
Hampshire	59,335	75,220	26.8

Sources: 1603 B.L. Harl. MS. 595
1676 Compton Census (Salt MS. 33)

transferred to Winchester from London, and in September thirteen of its members were made freemen[1]. By October, however, the first payment to the mayor for the use of the town ponds was made by the cofferers, and pesthouses were probably built in that month[2].

By the spring of 1666 the plague was well established in Winchester. In April the county Quarter Sessions were transferred to Basingstoke, and meetings were not held in Winchester again until a year later[3]. The cofferers ceased to record expenditure between March 1666 and August 1667, although a general assembly was held in August 1666. Apparently the pesthouses were too small to house all those infected, for a poor glover and his family were sent out of the city and shut up at Dean in the parish of Sparsholt[4]. The College sent its pupils home or to its property at Crawley when the epidemic reached the Soke, and the school remained closed from August to December[5]. The inhabitants of Kingsgate Street stayed away from the cathedral, fearing infection from the city, so the dean and chapter closed the great west door and forced the mayor and aldermen to walk round to Kingsgate to enter the Close. Services in the cathedral eventually ceased, and the canons probably fled to their country benefices; at all events, no one died in the Close[6]. A tax on parishes within five miles of Winchester for the relief of the city failed to raise enough money for the infected poor, and the tax was extended to the whole county[7]. No payments out of city funds to the poor are recorded (unlike 1625 when over £80 was paid from the coffer), which suggests that the sum of £160 allotted to the

1. Ibid., 461; 6th Bk. Ord., f.27.
2. W.R.O., Payments out of Coffer 1660-99, 17 Oct. 1665.
3. H.C.R.O., Q.O./4, pp.225, 248.
4. H.C.R.O. wills B 1667 (will of Jehu Tomes).
5. T.F. Kirby, Annals of Winchester College, 355.
6. W.H. Jacob, 'Notes on the Plague in Winchester', Jnl. of British Arch. Assoc. 1 (1894), 275.
7. H.C.R.O., Q.O./4, pp.231, 239.

city and Soke from the county tax was indeed collected and used. The eastern Soke also received a good deal of private charity from local gentlemen, the College, and the dean and chapter, and parishes as far away as the Isle of Wight sent provisions[1]. Burials in the cathedral graveyard continued for a time, but most plague victims were buried in mass graves on Magdalen Hill and Compton Down east of the city, and the College contributed in 1667 towards the cost of covering the graves[2]. According to local tradition, the country people around Winchester, too frightened to enter the city, would leave their produce at the cross at the junction of the Romsey and Stockbridge roads outside the Westgate, and in return the inhabitants left money for the goods at the same spot[3]. The Society of Natives, which erected an obelisk on the site of the cross nearly a century later, originated in an annual feast held at Winchester from 1669 to commemorate recovery from the plague, and it became a charitable institution whose funds were lent to tradesmen, given to poor widows, and used for apprenticing poor boys[4].

A petition by the corporation in 1670 for the reduction of the fee-farm listed among the city's troubles 'ye late dreadful visitation of ye plague there raging', and claimed that it had killed 'many hundreds' of the inhabitants[5]. This is the only contemporary estimate of plague victims, and its inclusion in a petition alone casts considerable doubt on its accuracy. Nor are other records much more helpful. In many parish registers the deficient registration of the war and Interregnum continued into the 1660s, and no figures can be extracted. St Michael in Kingsgate Street is the only Soke parish with complete entries for the 1660s, and it seems not

1. The Early Churchwardens' Accounts of Hampshire, ed. J.F. Williams, 235-6.
2. Jacob, 'Notes on the Plague in Winchester', 275; Kirby, Annals of Winchester College, 356.
3. Anon., History and Antiquities of Winchester (1773), ii. 132.
4. B.B. Woodward, History of Hampshire, i. 260-2.
5. S.P. 29/272 (190).

to have been greatly affected by the plague; total burials in 1665, 1666, and 1667 were thirteen, eleven, and four respectively, with an annual average for the years 1663-70 of 9.5. St Maurice, on the other hand, the only intra-mural parish with even partial coverage of the decade, recorded at least forty-seven burials in 1666, higher than in any previous year except 1625 (eighty-eight) and 1644 (fifty-five), both plague years. The number of wills proved and administrations granted also increased in 1666, indicating unusually high mortality: in the Consistory Court totals were six in both 1664 and 1665, thirty-two in 1666, and eighteen in 1667, before dropping to a normal level of eight in 1668[1]. There is no reason to suppose that the plague of 1666 was a demographic disaster at Winchester, but the farmers of the Hearth Tax complained in 1668 of 'houses continuing void... as in Colchester, Winchester, etc.'[2], and any epidemic was a setback to a small community with a slow rate of natural growth.

Analysis of the 1665 Hearth Tax returns for Winchester reveals a more balanced community than that of 1524. The figures for different sizes of household, average number of hearths per household, and percentage of exemptions are given in Table 20 for Winchester (city and Soke combined[3]) and seven other towns for comparison. Whereas in 1524 Winchester had lacked a substantial 'middle class' to provide custom and employment, in 1665 more than a third of the households listed had between three and nine hearths, and their inhabitants could afford to live well above subsistence level. The mayor in 1665, William Taylor, for example, was a grocer whose house had four taxable hearths. The proportion of households exempted from the tax varied widely from one town to another, and probably from one assessment to another as well, but the proportion at Winchester was

1. The Archdeaconry Court probate records are missing after 1665.
2. Cal. Treasury Books, ii. 296.
3. The vill of Sparkford - the community around St Cross Hospital - has been omitted from Table 20 because it was a separate settlement, though technically part of the Soke.

Table 20

Hearth Tax data for Winchester and seven other towns

		Winchester	Lincoln	Ely	Leicester	Chester	York	Exeter	Newcastle
% households with:	1 hearth	29.5	27.7	45.2	52.4	66.9	33.0	45.3	61.1*
	2 "	29.0	20.6	24.2	17.1		67.0	24.4	13.9
	3-5 "	27.2	39.6	22.9	23.0	21.4		19.0	17.4
	6-9 "	10.9	12.1	6.3	5.7	9.2		8.6	4.9
	10+ "	3.4		1.4	1.8	2.5		2.6	1.3
average hearths/household		3.1	-	2.4	2.4	-	3.2	2.6	2.1
% households exempt		28.8	-	11.4	27.4	41.0	20.4	39.5	41.3
total number of households		732	470	734	1,024	1,618	2,124	2,368	2,513

* The percentages given for Newcastle households total 98.7, because 6 houses had no hearth, and the returns for 27 more are missing. The other figures for the town are not affected.

For sources of the figures in this table, see next page.

Table 20 (continued)

Sources

Lincoln (1662): J.W.F. Hill, Tudor and Stuart Lincoln, 210.

Ely (1674): V.C.H. Cambs. iv. 277.

Leicester (1670): V.C.H. Leics. iv. 156-7.

Chester (1665): E.J.D. Morrison, 'The Hearth Tax in Chester', Jnl. of Chester and N. Wales Arch. Soc. xxxvi (1946), 32-3.

York (1672): V.C.H. Yorks., City of York, 164.

Exeter (1671-2): W.G. Hoskins, Industry, Trade and People in Exeter 1688-1800, 117.

Newcastle (1665): R. Howell, Newcastle-upon-Tyne and the Puritan Revolution, 350-2.

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significantly lower than the 39.5% at Exeter, 41.3% at Newcastle, and 61.7% at Norwich; all these were large industrial cities, where exemptions granted to industrial premises and the presence of many poorly paid workers caused high exemption rates[1]. Winchester, on the other hand, had no large-scale industry in 1665.

Unlike the subsidy lists of the 1520s, the Hearth Tax assessment of 1665 for the city is not divided into parishes or aldermanries, so one cannot compare different areas inside the walls. The list for the Soke, however, is divided into the East Soke (the 'parishes of St John and St Peter Chesil), the vill of Milland (outside and to the morth of Durngate), and the West Soke, which covered all the western and southern suburbs as well as the cathedral Close. The vill of Sparkford, which was the settlement around St Cross, was listed separately. Since these areas had rather different characteristics, the details for each are shown separately in Table 21, together with a detailed breakdown of the figures for the city. Households identifiable as belonging to the cathedral Close have been separated from

1. P. Corfield, 'A Provincial Capital in the late 17th century: the case of Norwich', Crisis and Order in English Towns, ed. Clark and Slack, 266, 302 n.18.

Table 21

Size of Winchester households 1665

	City	Close	East Soke	Milland	West Soke minus Close	Sparkford
total households	425	14	119	48	126	14
- chargeable	318	14	60	28	101	7
- exempt	107 (25.1)	-	59 (50.7)	20	25 (19.8)	7
- empty	15	-	10	4	3	-
households with 1 hearth	116 (27.3)	-	44 (37.0)	18	38 (30.2)	6
2	129 (30.4)	-	37 (31.1)	18	28 (22.2)	5
3	56 (13.2)	1	18 (15.1)	3	11 (8.7)	3
4	42 (9.9)	-	7 (5.9)	6	15 (11.9)	-
5	17 (3.9)	1	8 (6.7)	1	13 (10.3)	-
6	24 (5.6)	2	2 (1.7)	2	8 (6.3)	-
7	12 (2.8)	1	-	-	6 (4.8)	-
8	13 (3.1)	2	1 (0.8)	-	2 (1.6)	-
9	3 (0.7)	1	-	-	1 (0.8)	-
10	3	1	-	-	-	-
11	1	1	-	-	1	-
12	2	-	1	-	-	-
13	2	3	-	-	-	-
14	-	1	-	-	1	-
15	3	-	-	-	1	-
16	1	-	-	-	-	-
17	-	-	-	-	1	-
18	-	-	1	-	-	-
23	1	-	-	-	-	-
total hearths	1,329	126	290	104	424	25
average hearths per household	3.1	9.0	2.4	2.2	3.4	1.8

Figures in brackets are percentages.

the West Soke, and the three large institutions in the suburbs have been omitted, since they were not ordinary households. Winchester College was the largest, with fifty-five hearths. Wolvesey Palace was assessed at twenty-three hearths; Bishop Morley, who began the rebuilding of the palace, had succeeded to the see of Winchester in 1662, but it is doubtful whether work had started there by 1665, and the building put up for Nicholas Love in the 1650s was probably the only part of the palace fit for use[1]. The hospital of St Cross was also listed and all its fifty hearths were declared chargeable.

More than half the households in every area of the city and its suburbs (apart from the Close) had only one or two taxable hearths. These houses must have been very small, and their inhabitants were often poor or widowed; but the occupants of two-hearth houses, at least, included craftsmen and traders who were not paupers. Three inventories attached to wills and administrations proved in 1666 can be identified as belonging to houses taxed on two hearths in 1665, as follows:

John Allen[2], cordwainer
rooms: hall, buttery, chamber next the garden, chamber next the street, next little chamber, shop with furnace
total value of inventory: £62 11s

William Barfoot[3]
rooms: forechamber, cockloft, inner chamber, parlour, hall, buttery, woodhouse
total value of inventory: £58 4s

Humphrey Bishop[4], glover
rooms: buttery, chamber, shop, hall at the Phoenix
total value of inventory: £9 12s 6d

Even Humphrey Bishop was not a poor man, for his inventory omits £58 in

1. See pp. 250, 309.
2. H.C.R.O. Adm. 1666.
3. Ibid.
4. H.C.R.O. wills B 1666.

shop-goods, and £30 cash and two leases which he had bequeathed to his daughters. Several of the less prominent freemen lived in two-hearth houses, although the average for freemen was higher. A study of the Hearth Tax in Chester shows that there too some very small houses were occupied by people like vintners, tanners, tailors, and butchers[1]. The practice of a craft, however, even a relatively skilled one, was no guarantee of a livelihood, and householders at Winchester exempted from the tax for poverty included two tailors, two cordwainers, a baker, and a smith, as well as labourers and the town-crier and bellman. In the East Soke, the poorest area, two-thirds of all households had only one or two taxable hearths and three-quarters of them were declared exempt. In the city just under half the smallest houses were too poor to pay, while the more prosperous West Soke had the smallest proportion of small houses (52%) and less than 40% of them were exempt.

In addition to the settled poor there were itinerants and lodgers, who were omitted from the Hearth Tax list and whose numbers remain unknown. Together they constituted a formidable problem of poor relief - it has been estimated that more than a fifth of the country's population was in receipt of poor relief at the end of the seventeenth century[2], a figure which is quite plausible for Winchester - but the corporation was short of money and devoid of new ideas. In 1660 the poor relief ordinance of 1656 was re-enacted almost word for word, omitting the clause on the education of poor children and commending the unsuccessful pre-war policy of supporting the cloth industry in order to provide employment for the poor[3]. All the old measures were continued, including the removal of vagrants by the beadle, the use of charities to provide bread and alms for the poor, and the apprenticing of poor children, Most of the poor relief duties of the city parishes had been

1. E.J.D. Morrison, 'The Hearth Tax in Chester', Jnl. of Chester and N. Wales Arch. Soc. xxxvi (1946), 41-2.
2. W.G. Hoskins, Industry, Trade and People in Exeter 1688-1800, 22.
3. 5th Bk. Ord., f.160.

taken over by the corporation, but the inhabitants of wealthy parishes were still reluctant to pay for paupers outside their own parish. In 1662 the city Quarter Sessions ordered the inhabitants of the small parish of St Laurence, which had no paupers, to contribute towards poor relief in St Maurice and St Peter Colebrook, which had many. A year later it was reported that the scheme 'hath not taken that good effect as was hoped it would have done, there being nothing levied by virtue of the said order'[1]. Private bequests to the poor were still common and provided another source of relief: one benefactor provided 13s for fourteen poor people every Sunday, a clothier received a charitable loan of £50 in 1668, and in the same year one of the cathedral canons left the city £10 towards a workhouse, which was given to the House of Correction[2]. The almshouses in the city too helped a small number of poor people. Christ's Hospital was still administered by the corporation, with a strong preference for aged and impoverished freemen as its almsmen. The Sistern House accommodated sixteen poor families, in a building designed for only twelve people, and in 1665 the corporation decided to remove them and to lease the house to a clothier or any other person who could provide employment for the poor[3]. This plan came to nothing, and in 1667 the building was leased to the county as a House of Correction; the rent was fixed at only 2s a year, but the fine of £120 on the lease was a financial windfall for the corporation[4]. St John's Hospital had been extensively repaired in 1663-4 and it too was still used as an almshouse[5]. The corporation told Bishop Morley in 1666 that the whole revenue of St John's was distributed to the poor each year, and that there was an annual deficit of £1 16s 6d[6], a claim which ignored the years in which the hospital

1. W.R.O., Proceedings in Quarter Sessions 1660-1716.
2. W.R.O., Payments out of Coffer 1660-99, 4 Oct. 1667; Payments into Coffer 1660-1711, 8 May 1668, 4 Dec. 1668, 25 June 1669.
3. W.R.O., Book of Orders 1665, f.112.
4. 6th Bk. Ord., f.43.
5. W.R.O., Payments out of Coffer 1660-99, 19 June 1663, 3 June 1664; H.C.R.O. wills B 1665 (will of Anne Payce).
6. W.R.O., 5th Ledger Book, f.203.

account showed a profit which was paid to the chamberlains.

One new and profitable, though short-lived, method of raising money for poor relief in the 1660s was the issue of token coins by the corporation. The widespread shortage of small coins led to the issue of private tokens by at least seventeen Winchester tradesmen from 1657[1]. By 1669 so many were in circulation that some tokens had lost their value and were not recognised as valid tender, and the corporation decided to replace private tokens with its own brass halfpence and farthings. Freemen were to be compensated for calling in their own tokens, and any profit made by the city was to be paid to the poor[2]. In 1669 £2 of a regular £5 donation to the poor under a legacy was given in the city's tokens, and in 1669 and 1670 alone the profit made on them by the corporation amounted to over £35[3]. The scheme was brought to an early end, however, by the royal proclamation of 1672 banning token coinage[4].

In the Soke parishes the only new element in poor relief after 1660 was frequent use of the Act of Settlement to deport the chargeable poor[5].

Winchester College was still an important source of charity, mostly given to the poor of the eastern and southern suburbs, but also to the city. During the plague of 1666 prisoners in the county gaol were deprived of their usual gifts from benefactors, of which the 'large allowance' by the College was the most necessary[6]. The hospital of St Mary Magdalen survived the Civil War, but in 1665 it was commandeered by the king for the accommodation of Dutch prisoners of war, and it proved so convenient that French prisoners were sent there in 1666[7]. The resulting damage to the building was so great that in 1671 the master of the hospital took a lease of some tenements in

1. J.L. Wetton, The Hampshire 17th-century Traders' Tokens, 30-2.
2. 6th Bk. Ord., f.55v.
3. W.R.O., Payments out of Coffer 1660-99, 29 Oct. 1669; Payments into Coffer 1660-1711, 26 Oct. 1669, 1 April 1670, 4 Nov. 1670.
4. R. Steele, Bibliography of Royal Proclamations 1485-1714, i. 432.
5. E.g. H.C.R.O., Q.O./4, pp.107, 118, 189-90.
6. Ibid., p.237.
7. Cal. S.P. Dom. 1665-6, 35; ibid. 1666-7, 41.

Colebrook Street instead, and the inmates moved down into the city[1].

Despite the general impression of inactivity and inefficiency in Winchester's dealings with the poor after 1660, the sense of crisis prevalent before the Civil War had disappeared. Perhaps the Act of Settlement made it more difficult for vagrants to reach the city, or other towns had replaced Winchester as the goal of the homeless poor of Hampshire. The reduction in the rate of national population growth, possibly even stagnation, lessened the pressures of rural communities which had been among the causes of migration, and many towns in the seventeenth century found that immigration was slackening off[2]. The problem of the settled poor remained, but the combination of corporation relief and private charity was sufficient to contain the problem and prevent disorder, though it was far from being a real solution.

The owners and occupiers of Winchester's middling and large houses in 1665 can be separated into two groups, those owing their social position and wealth to trade, and the professional and gentle-born classes. Movement took place between the two groups and there were individuals who fitted into both or neither, but the distinction was a real one. People living in houses with three to five hearths were almost all tradesmen and craftsmen, as were the majority in the six to nine-hearth group. Only Lincoln, of the towns in Table 20, had as high a proportion of households taxed on between three and nine hearths as Winchester, and Winchester's average number of hearths per household was also high. Not all the occupants of middling houses were prosperous - they included labourers and bricklayers, for instance - but most were sufficiently well off to constitute the 'middle class' which was an essential part of the city's social structure by the 1660s. Most of the heads of smaller households were obscure and their

1. B.B. Woodward, History of Hampshire, i. 244.
2. Crisis and Order in English Towns, ed. Clark and Slack, 18.

occupations are not known, but it is possible to identify many of those occupying houses of five to nine hearths; they are listed below according to occupation, in the same categories used in analysing the subsidy of 1524[1]:

Cloth	
mercer, woollendraper, dyer	6
Clothing	
shoemaker, cordwainer	5
Drink	
innkeeper, victualler	3
Food	
grocer, butcher, baker	5
Crafts	
gunsmith, pewterer, plumber, blacksmith	4
physician, apothecary, barber, barber-surgeon	4
basket-maker	1
Officials and gentlemen	16
Women	8
Occupations unknown	17
(of whom 5 were probably officials or gentlemen)	
Total	69

Dealers and manufacturers of cloth were still prominent, but they no longer enjoyed their near-hegemony of the early sixteenth century, and they were limited to the ranks of the moderately wealthy: only one of the thirteen householders with more than nine hearths was probably connected with the cloth trade. Clothing, food, and crafts had increased slightly in importance with the fall of the staple industry, though the four medical men listed under crafts should perhaps be placed with other members of the professions and officials. The drink trade appears to have declined markedly from its previous importance, but the figures are misleading, for innkeepers by necessity lived in very large houses and are therefore shown among the elite. The

1. See p.25.

high proportion of officials and gentlemen is the most striking new feature of social structure in 1665, and their rise will be discussed below.

Using more comprehensive evidence than the Hearth Tax lists, the fundamental changes in the city's economy since the early sixteenth century emerge clearly. The decline of the cloth industry and the corporation's efforts to revive it have already been described, and the post-Restoration period had little to add. The pre-war trend of diversification and experiment with other materials, methods, and products also marked the later seventeenth-century cloth industry at Winchester. A rug-maker was mentioned in 1664, and a linen-weaver in 1667[1]; there were feltmakers in the city in the 1650s and 1660s[2], and a worsted-comber was listed in the Hearth Tax. In contrast to Norwich and Exeter, however, where such industries replaced the manufacture of woollen cloth and became the bases of renewed growth and prosperity, Winchester's experimentation always lacked capital and confidence, and cloth-making remained a small and scattered occupation.

One interesting variation on woollen cloth which emerged in the later seventeenth century was a small silk industry. Silk-weavers were mentioned in 1653, 1663, and 1672, at least one of them resident in Kingsgate Street[3]. Only the weavers were recorded, and the thread was probably imported. A silk-mill was established in the St Mary's Abbey grounds at the end of the eighteenth century[4].

No single industry ever replaced the making of cloth at Winchester. Since the countryside had taken the city's manufacture - though even in the countryside of Hampshire the cloth industry was almost dead by 1660 - the city came to rely on a function which country villages could not fulfil, the

1. W.R.O., Proceedings in Quarter Sessions 1660-1716; W.R.O., 5th Ledger Book, f.209.
2. W.R.O., 5th Ledger Book, f.60v.; Assizes 24/1.
3. W.R.O., Coffer Accounts 1628-61, 16 Sept. 1653; Assizes 24/1; Hants. Notes and Queries, v. 106.
4. V.C.H. Hants. v. 488 n.111-12.

provision of a wide range of specialised goods and services. Every country town had played this role for centuries, but the concentration and specialisation of agriculture and industry increased the need for towns which could provide diversity and distribution. When fullers and shearmen disappeared from lists of occupations at Winchester, their places were taken by hempdressers, ironmongers, button-makers, stocking-makers, and fellpullers. The second half of the seventeenth century also saw the city's first bookseller, watchmaker, and pipemaker.

The rise of the distributive trades was most marked in the case of the grocers. Four grocers, and the widow of another, lived in houses of five to nine hearths in the city, and at least one lived in a similar house in the East Soke and another in the West Soke. Three more in the city lived in four-hearth houses, and another two in smaller houses. One mayor of Winchester in every thirty-year period since 1520 had been a grocer, but between 1640 and 1669 two grocers became mayors[1]. They had not been represented among the bailiffs before the late sixteenth century, but between 1640 and 1669 no fewer than five grocers became bailiffs[2]. None of these men were as wealthy as the greatest drapers and mercers of the sixteenth century, but they were firmly established as part of the urban trading elite. Another indication of their influence was the number of grocers who issued trade tokens: of the seventeen tradesmen at Winchester who issued tokens, ten were grocers (the others were a cutler, an ironmonger, a tallowchandler, an innkeeper, and a draper, while the occupations of two are unidentified)[3]. The grocers' need of small change in circulation was greater than wholesalers', for they dealt in small quantities.

1. See Table 13, p. 170.
2. See Table 14, p. 171.
3. J.L. Wetton, The Hampshire 17th-century Traders' Tokens, 30-2.

The making and selling of drink had been a common occupation of the wealthy in the 1520s, and continued to be so throughout the early modern period. By 1660, however, a change of emphasis had occurred: the most common and profitable process was no longer brewing - no one at Winchester described himself as a beerbrewer after 1650 - but malting. The rise of the maltsters had begun in the early seventeenth century and was a phenomenon found all over England in areas where barley was grown[1]. The only mayor and bailiff of that occupation between 1520 and 1670 both held office between 1640 and 1669. In 1667, a year of abundant harvests[2], the city Quarter Sessions proclaimed that

> there are within this city an unnecessary and superfluous number of maltsters, and persons who taken upon them the art and mystery of malt-making; and do buy their barley to be converted into malt before the same doth come into the market, and do cause the same to be brought to their houses in this city, on such days as are not market days, on purpose to avoid the payment of such tolls and customs as do belong to this city; by means whereof the market is very much lessened and impaired[3].

The characteristic of the maltsters was not so much their wealth - none of the known maltsters in 1665 lived in a house with more than four hearths - but their large numbers, and malting was probably combined with other trades as brewing had been in the sixteenth century.

The city's inns continued to flourish as they had done throughout the period. Since innkeepers lived in large houses they appeared among the gentry in the Hearth Tax; the largest house in Winchester with twenty-three hearths, inhabited by Richard Golledge, was probably the Bell, the fifteen-hearth house of John Warner was the White Hart, and other men known to be innkeepers lived in houses of ten, eight, and seven hearths. The

1. A. Everitt, Change in the Provinces: the 17th century (Occasional Paper, Dept. of English Local Hist., Univ. of Leicester, i), 32.
2. W.G. Hoskins, 'Harvest Fluctuations and English Economic History 1620-1759', Ag. H.R. xvi (1968), 29.
3. W.R.O., Proceedings in Quarter Sessions 1660-1716.

city was prevented by its location from becoming a thoroughfare town, but the inns served an essential purpose nonetheless. In 1686 a military survey of stabling and beds for travellers gave the following figures for the main towns of Hampshire[1]:

	Beds	Stabling
Winchester	336	1,048
Southampton	179	287
Portsmouth	164	87
Basingstoke	104	357
Andover	212	582

Winchester had more accommodation than any other Hampshire town, which is consistent with its role as a centre for Assizes, Quarter Sessions, and county and episcopal administration, and as a growing social centre. The figures for stabling are unusually high: the only other provincial towns in England with room for more than 1,000 horses in 1686 were Cambridge, Exeter, Bristol, St Albans, Leicester, and Warwick. All towns which were regional centres showed roughly the same proportion of two or three times as much accommodation for horses as people - Norwich, for example, could take 550 people and 930 horses, and Salisbury 548 people and 865 horses. The explanation must be, as Professor Everitt suggests[2], that such towns attracted large crowds to their markets and to regular events such as Assizes and elections, so there was a greater need for temporary accommodation for visitors and their means of transport than for places to stay overnight. Another source of custom for inns and tradesmen was the presence of soldiers. Musters had been held at Winchester before the Civil War because it was the county town, and it also stood conveniently in the centre of the county and close to the ports. Dutch prisoners were kept there in the 1650s, and French and Dutch captives again in the 1660s, all with troops to guard them who required food and entertainment.

1. W.O. 30/48 pp.159-67. Andover's growth (see Table 19) and plentiful accommodation both reflect the town's position on the Great West Road.
2. A. Everitt, Change in the Provinces, 25, 39-41.

The largest houses in Winchester, those with ten or more hearths, accounted for 3.4% of the total, a larger proportion than in any other town in Table 20. Winchester's population included all the groups of people likely to build and inhabit large houses - innkeepers, gentlemen, cathedral clergy, professional men - and the town was so small that this element in the population formed a significant group. The occupations of inhabitants of large houses in 1665 are given below:

innkeeper	3
goldsmith	1
haberdasher	1
physician	1
porter of the Close	1
gentleman	4
unknown	2
Total	13

The Soke had twelve houses of more than nine hearths, six of which belonged to the cathedral canons in the Close; of the others, four were occupied by gentlemen and the remaining two by gentlemen's widows. There were alehouses in the Soke and several inns, but they must have been smaller than inns inside the city. The wealthy industrial employers, principally clothiers and tanners, who had lived outside the walls in the sixteenth century, had either disappeared or had no taste for building large houses.

The label 'gentleman' was so widely applied in the seventeenth century that some subdivision of the species is desirable, and the separation of the 'pseudo-gentry' - the professional classes who lived like gentlemen but had no land behind them - is a useful clarification[1]. In 1524 legal and ecclesiastical officials had formed an important group among the elite of Winchester, and such men were to be found in most county and cathedral

1. Ibid., 43-5.

towns. A very similar group was prominent at Winchester in 1665. Richard Dennett, the bishop's clerk[1], had a house with nine hearths. The porter of the Close, Richard Edwards, was taxed on fifteen hearths, and Richard Goddard, the Recorder of Winchester, on twelve. The group had expanded since 1524, however, with the addition of self-employed professional men. Edward Harfell, a notary public, lived in a six-hearth house, and the range of his work is shown by a suit he brought against a yeoman of Woodmancott, who had employed Harfell to represent him in the courts of Common Pleas, King's Bench, and Chancery, the Winchester city court, and the bishop's Consistory Court[2]. Stephen Welstead was another such man: he had been dismissed from his post as town clerk at the Restoration, but he stayed in the city, became Solicitor for Assessments for the county, and in 1671 was re-admitted as town clerk[3]. Richard Stanesby, who had been solicitor to the Committee for Plundered Ministers in Winchester during the Interregnum, also stayed and became Clerk of the Peace for Hampshire[4].

Physicians were prominent among the 'pseudo-gentry' in the 1660s. Nicholas Stanley had a house with fifteen hearths; the son of a headmaster of Winchester College, he had studied at Oxford and Leyden, but settled in Winchester where he became a freeman. His son Nicholas followed him in medical practice at Winchester[5]. Arthur Taylor, another physician, was taxed on eight hearths in 1665, and he was buried in the cathedral in 1674[6]. One of the city's apothecaries, Shadrack Lyne, also achieved the social accolade of burial in the cathedral in 1701[7]. There was a clear social distinction between Lyne and a man like Alexander Woodson, described sometimes as an

1. H.C.R.O., Eccl. 2/155952.
2. C 5/366/32.
3. Cal. Treasury Books, iii (1), 577; 6th Bk. Ord., f.70.
4. W.R.O., Coffer Accounts 1628-61, 18 Feb. 1652/3; E. Stephens, The Clerks of the Counties 1360-1960, 94.
5. Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714, ed. J. Foster, iv. 1410.
6. Alumni Cantabrigienses to 1751, ed. J. and J.A. Venn, iv. 203.
7. S. Gale, History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Winchester (1715), 56.

apothecary and sometimes as a chirurgeon or a barber-surgeon: Woodson could be called on to treat a wounded prisoner in the county gaol[1], for instance, while Stanley, Taylor, and Lyne reserved their services for the respectable and wealthy. .

Other professional services also appeared in Winchester to meet the needs of the upper classes; the gunsmith, goldsmith, pipemaker, bookseller, watchmaker, and gardener all served the wants of the upper ranks of provincial society. The 1686 figures for beds and stabling in Southampton show how far that town had declined, and without competition in its own county Winchester became a minor provincial centre for polite society. In Restoration drama, written for London audiences, 'Hampshire' was a synonym for all that was dull and backward in provincial life, in contrast to the sophisticated delights of the capital[2]. No provincial centre could offer the facilities or the society of London, but small towns such as Winchester provided inns, shops, sporting events, and a fashionable meeting-place for the country gentlemen of the neighbourhood. The city's facilities for entertainment in the 1660s were certainly meagre. Winchester had no theatre or organised 'assemblies' before the eighteenth century, and the corporation feasts were limited to freemen[3]. There were archery butts on the Castle Green, which by 1631 was also used as a bowling-green[4], and this was the only permanent provision for sport or entertainment apart from the city's inns and alehouses.

Winchester's greatest social asset, however, was not its permanent facilities but the annual horse-races held on the downs outside the city. After their beginnings in the 1590s the races had flourished, but the Civil War and Interregnum put an end to easy travel and large social gatherings;

1. H.C.R.O., Q.O./4, p.193.
2. Crisis and Order in English Towns, ed. Clark and Slack, 40, 56 n.122.
3. E.g. W.R.O., Payments out of Coffer 1660-99, 16 Sept. 1664, 20 Aug. 1669.
4. W.R.O., 4th Ledger Book, f.66; W.R.O., 5th Ledger Book, ff.47, 129.

races were held in 1642, 1647, 1649[1], and then in 1657, by special agreement 'on behalf of the gentry of the country' with Richard Cromwell, the Protector's son, who was living nearby at Hursley[2]. Lord Sandys won the city cup in 1663[3], and in 1664 the corporation announced in The Intelligencer its intention of reviving the race on the Wednesday of Easter week and presenting a piece of plate for the winner[4]. By 1676 the date of the races had been changed to the end of August, and the city and the marquis of Winchester each provided a plate for a day's racing. Three four-mile heats were run each day on the downs, and only gentlemen were eligible to enter[5].

The revival of the Winchester horse-races was an important factor in attracting the gentry back to the city after 1660, and the races also caught the attention of the king. The story of Charles II's interest in Winchester and its effects on the city lies outside the time-span of this thesis and can only be summarised briefly. Charles' first visit to the Winchester races was in 1682, in response to the corporation's offer to establish a new race on a day convenient for the king. He took an immediate liking to the city, decided to build a large royal palace on the ruins of the Castle, and paid frequent visits to Winchester until his death in February 1685. The palace, known as the King's House, was designed by Sir Christopher Wren and was almost ready for roofing when Charles died and building ceased abruptly. James II and his successors showed no interest in Winchester or the palace, and the city's chances of becoming a second Windsor evaporated as quickly as they had arisen.

Eighteenth-century visitors noted the 'abundance of gentry...in the

1. W.R.O., Coffer Accounts 1628-61, 22 Apr. 1642, 18 May 1647, March 1649.
2. Ibid., 3 Apr. 1657.
3. Ibid., 19 June 1663.
4. J.P. Hore, The History of Newmarket and the Annals of the Turf, iii. 110.
5. Ibid., iii. 133-4.

neighbourhood'[1] and the 'elegant and numerous' country-seats in villages near Winchester[2], and the county was indeed well supplied with gentlemen: to take only the villages within five miles of the city, South Twyford in 1665 had two houses of eight or more hearths, Owslebury had three, Compton had two, and Sparsholt had one[3]. An approximate map of the area served by Winchester as a social centre can be constructed from the homes of thirty-five people who were parties to statute merchant bonds drawn up in the city and recorded in the 5th Ledger Book between 1651 and 1672 (Figure 10). All thirty-five were of the rank of esquire, gentleman, or higher, and many bonds were made between two country gentlemen, perhaps as the record of a loan. The sums in which debtors were bound varied from as little as £30 to as much as £10,000, but most were between £200 and £800. The line between use of Winchester as a social centre and as a market town is a shadowy one, and the bonds may reflect the economic rather than the social activities of Hampshire gentlemen, but in the absence of other evidence Figure 10 does at least show the places from which gentlemen were travelling to the city. The map confirms that people from up to twenty miles away, and from all the surrounding counties, found it worthwhile to visit Winchester. The absence of gentlemen from north-east Hampshire or from Surrey reflects the extent of London's influence, but to the west Salisbury apparently offered little competition.

Most of Winchester's custom came from visiting gentlemen, but several eminent and wealthy people with their families and households settled in the city during the 1660s. The Powlett family, resident at Hyde since the early seventeenth century, has already been mentioned. Like many other Royalists, Essex Powlett had retired to the country during the Interregnum

1. D. Defoe, A Tour through Great Britain, ed. G.D.H. Cole, 186.
2. Anon., History and Antiquities of Winchester (1773), ii. 154-5.
3. E 179/176/566.

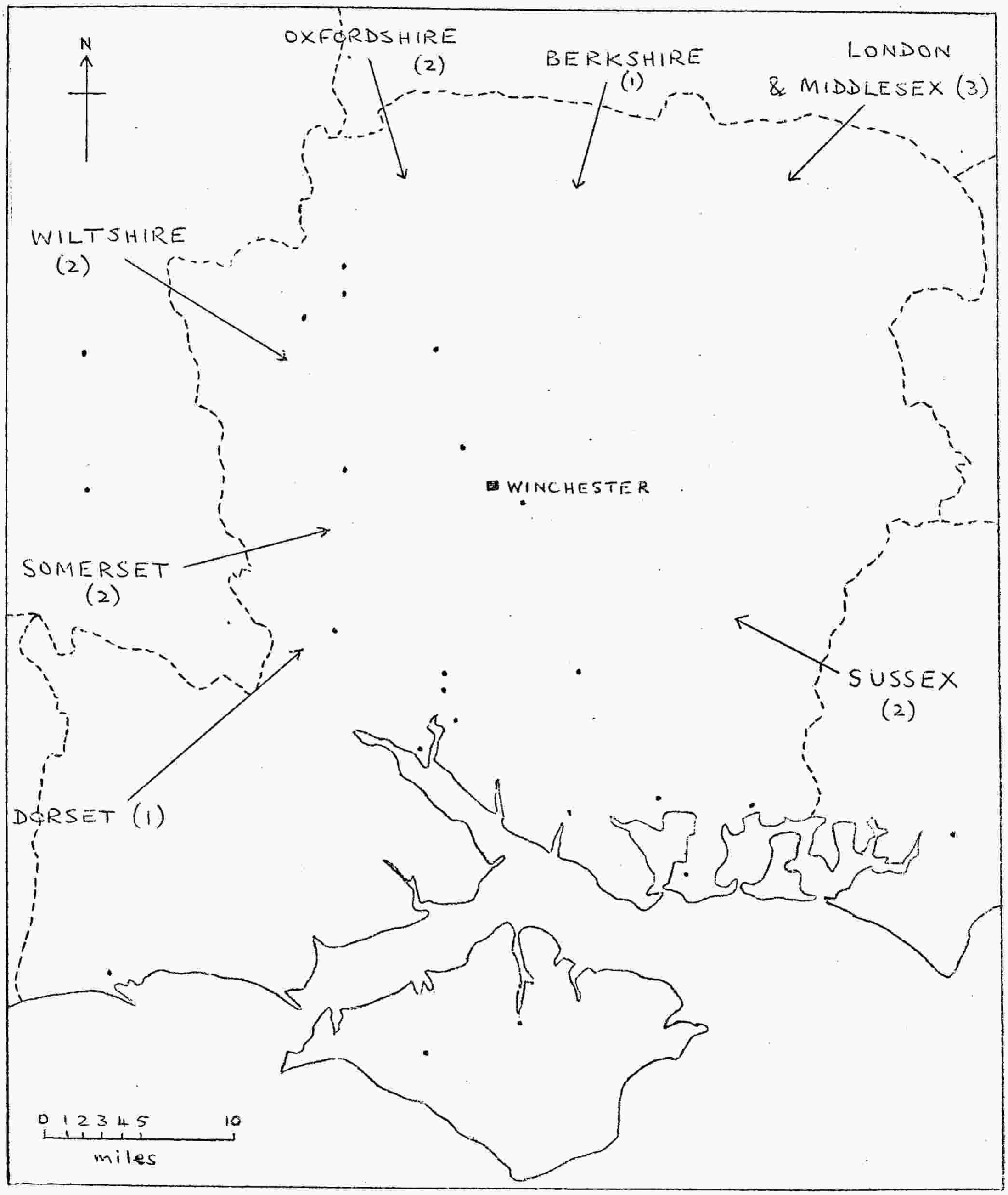


Figure 10. The homes of gentlemen visiting Winchester 1651-72

but returned to Winchester after 1660[1], and his house was taxed on seventeen hearths in 1665. Sir Robert Mason, whose father had been Recorder of Winchester 1627-35, was another gentleman who settled in the city. He leased the site of the former Dominican friary near the Eastgate from Winchester College, and by 1665 had built a large house there[2]. Eastgate House was the second largest house in the city in 1665, with sixteen hearths. Sir Robert was made a freeman in 1661, and was elected MP for Winchester at a by-election in 1666[3]. Sir John Clobery became a freeman in 1668 and took up residence in the city. Like Sir Robert Mason he was an MP for Winchester, in the three short-lived Parliaments of 1679-81. Clobery died in 1687, and was commemorated by an elaborate monument in the cathedral. Burial in the cathedral was becoming the accepted end to the lives of gentlemen connected with the city, unless they had rights in a rural parish church.

Lord St John of Basing, son of the marquis of Winchester, never lived in Winchester but he took an active interest in the city's affairs. He was the first freeman to be admitted after the Restoration, though he had been elected MP for Winchester early in 1660, and in 1668 he was made High Steward in place of the earl of Clarendon who had fled abroad[4]. He was instrumental in Thomas Muspratt's re-admission to the corporation in 1665, and in 1670 the city was warned not to confirm the appointment of a town clerk without notifying him[5]. His secretary was employed on city business in 1669 and received a gift of £40 from the coffer[6]. Lord St John was in some sense the first lay patron Winchester had had; while the bishops had wielded strong political and economic influence in the medieval period and

1. C 5/30/98.
2. V.C.H. Hants. v. 5.
3. 6th Bk. Ord., f.32v.
4. Ibid., f.45.
5. Cal. S.P. Dom. 1670, 138.
6. W.R.O., Payments out of Coffer 1660-99, 12 Nov. 1669.

the sixteenth century, in the seventeenth their local power had faded, leaving a gap which was filled by the leading county family.

The most visible result of Winchester's modest success as a social centre was a spate of new building and re-building. The period since 1500 had seen unusually little building in the city, either public or private, for there was very little capital available to finance it. Christ's Hospital and the new market house were the only new buildings put up by the corporation, and Hyde Abbey, St Mary's Abbey, and later the Castle lay in ruins for years before their stone was re-used. The most important stimulus to building activity by the corporation was the urgent need to repair the damage done by neglect or attack during the war. The city gates and bridges had been repaired in the 1650s at a cost of over £300, and in 1663-4 another £160 was spent on St John's House and the council chamber[1]. The Guildhall too was in very poor condition, and was eventually pulled down and rebuilt on the same site in 1713[2].

The cathedral was also in need of repair after years of neglect, but it received prompt attention, and when Thomas Fuller visited Winchester about 1661 he recorded his pleasure at seeing it 'so well amended by the sovereign medicine of gold or silver, charitably applied by its good bishop'[3]. The houses in the Close, which were basically the old priory buildings with additions and repairs of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, had suffered more damage. Some had been taken over by committees and officials during the Interregnum, some had been damaged on the two occasions when the cathedral was sacked by soldiers, poor families had moved into the Close[4], and repairs on all the houses had been neglected. Nevertheless, the dean and chapter's claim in 1660 that only four out of thirteen houses were still

1. Ibid., 19 June 1663, 3 June 1664.
2. V.C.H. Hants. v. 8.
3. T. Fuller, The Worthies of England, ed. J. Freeman, 216.
4. H.C.R.O., Q.I., Mich. 1659.

standing was grossly exaggerated[1]. By 1663 building in the Close was well advanced and £8,500 had been spent, with an estimated £4,500 needed to finish the work[2]. The amount of money available to the dean and chapter was incomparably larger than the budget on which the corporation was trying to patch up the city, for between 1660 and 1670 fines on leases and copyholds brought in over £43,000[3]. It is hardly surprising that laymen envied such wealth, and that the canons felt obliged to defend themselves against the belief 'that ye revenue of cathedrals does...wholly centre in ye prebendaries' purses'[4]. By 1665 there were fourteen houses in the Close, six of which had ten or more hearths, and by 1674 the large houses had increased to nine.

Wolvesey Palace too needed extensive repairs before it could house the bishop and his household. Bishop Duppa (1660-2) patched up just enough of the palace to make it habitable, but his executors calculated that it would cost at least £40,000 to rebuild it completely[5]. His successor Bishop George Morley (1662-84) continued the piecemeal repairs, but he also began an entirely new building south of the old palace, and spent £2,200 on it before his death[6]. By July 1684 a new front block was finished, and the chapel and a wing adjoining it were under construction. Morley left £500 in his will for the completion of the palace, 'to the end that my successors in the see of Winchester may have an house near their cathedral large enough to receive them and their families (though not so large stately and magnificent as there was formerly)'[7]. Bishop Trelawney (1707-21) finished the new palace with a third wing[8].

1. Cal. S.P. Dom. 1660-1, 340.
2. Ibid. 1663-4, 277; Bodl. MS. Tanner 140, f.117.
3. Bodl. MS. Tanner 140, f.118.
4. Bodl. MS. Tanner 48, f.71.
5. Bodl. MS. Tanner 140, f.50.
6. B.L. Stowe MS. 541, f.139v.
7. Prob. 11/377 (P.C.C. 134 Hare).
8. B.B. Woodward, History of Hampshire, i. 93.

In addition to building by public bodies - the corporation, bishops, dean and chapter, and later the king with his new palace - there is some evidence of building by private citizens. Private building was encouraged by the corporation through rewards and incentives in its leases: a plot in Kingsgate Street where a house had formerly stood was leased by the city in 1655 with the proviso that the house should be rebuilt[1], the Warden of the College received a lease of his house near Kingsgate without a fine in 1664 because of his 'late great charges of building there'[2], and William Cradock's lease was extended from forty to eighty years in 1665 'in consideration of building'[3]. William Taylor, one of the aldermen, had a 'house new built' in the High Street in 1677[4]. Small-scale building by private citizens is rarely well documented, but evidence from city property in Winchester does suggest an increase in house-building in the second half of the seventeenth century.

Building by gentlemen who lived in Winchester was on a grander scale, and helped to change the city's appearance. Most of Winchester's large town houses date from the early eighteenth century, but the transformation of the western end of the city began before 1700. Sir John Clobery built a large house on the east side of Parchment Street before 1674[5]. Further up the hill, Roger Corham of Hyde Street built a house about 1673 in Fleshmonger Street[6]; he already owned another large house there, which he sold on completion of the new building to Bartholomew Smith, a wealthy Catholic (like Corham himself) of the Soke[7]. In the eighteenth century the south-west quarter of Winchester - much of which had been burned or bombarded

1. W.R.O., 5th Ledger Book, f.42v.
2. 6th Bk. Ord., f.18.
3. Ibid., f.24v.
4. Ibid., f.104.
5. E 179/247/30; B.B. Woodward, History of Hampshire, i. 21 n.10.
6. E 179/176/569 ('Roger Corham's new house'); Hampshire Registers, i (Catholic Rec. Soc. xlii (1942-3)), 93.
7. Hampshire Registers, i. 2.

in the war - was the most favoured by gentlemen, and a number of large houses were built along Southgate and Gold Streets[1]. Sir Robert Mason's new mansion, Eastgate House, was unusual in being at the east end of the city.

The advantages to the city of the residence and interest of men of means were seen clearly by the corporation, which did all it could to encourage them. So many gentlemen were admitted to the freedom after 1660 that a special oath for freemen who were 'noblemen and persons of quality' was drawn up in 1663, omitting all specific duties except loyalty to the king and preservation of the city's rights and privileges[2]. The spate of gentlemen's admissions at Winchester after 1660 has been interpreted as an attempt by the Court to pack the corporation in order to influence elections. Winchester had four elections in the 1660s: one in early 1660 for the Convention Parliament, one in early 1661 for the Cavalier Parliament, and two by-elections caused by deaths in November 1666 and October 1669. When the chronology of admissions is examined, it becomes clear that there was no packing in 1660 or at either of the two by-elections, for not more than three freemen were admitted during the six months preceding each election. In 1661, however, fourteen men were admitted together on 22 March, the very same day as the election[3]. Court influence became more marked in the city in the 1680s, when Charles II began to take a personal interest in Winchester. The leaders in the corporation, Royalist by temperament, were in any case so anxious to serve their own economic and social interests by keeping the favour of Court and county that packing was hardly necessary. Perhaps the most blatant example of their efforts to please the king was the corporation's decision, when Charles announced his intention to build

1. T.D. Atkinson, A Survey of the Street Architecture of Winchester, 7.
2. 6th Bk. Ord., f.8v.
3. 5th Bk. Ord., f.164.

a palace in Winchester, to sell him the Castle site in 1683 for only five shillings, after paying £260 for it themselves[1].

Traditional economic and social controls in towns were gradually breaking down by the late seventeenth century; whether because of expansion and prosperity, as at Norwich[2], or because of poverty and the irrelevance of old regulations, as in towns like Winchester, it was increasingly difficult to persuade people to become freemen, submit to economic regulation, and accept expensive civic offices. The total number of freemen at Winchester fluctuated sharply in the 1660s (see Figure 5, p.107) according to the number of gentlemen recently admitted, but attendance at mayoral elections was as low as it had been before the war, for the gentlemen rarely attended meetings of the boromote and civic affairs were losing their appeal even for the ordinary citizens. The freemen's admission fee was increased in 1664 from £1 10s to £2, spread over thirty-six years instead of sixteen, although those already admitted were allowed to pay their arrears at the old rate[3]. Any large increase in freemen's money was out of the question, for it would simply have raised the number of people refusing to accept admission. At the same time there was growing reluctance to serve in city offices, a feeling probably exacerbated by the dispute between the old and new corporations. In 1658 the bailiff of the commons and one of the chamberlains were elected in their absence, and were threatened with £20 fines if they would not come to take their oaths[4]. Two years later the bailiff of the commons refused the oath of office, though he later submitted under pressure, in 1661 one of the chamberlains had to be forced into office, and in 1662 the bailiff of the Twenty-Four refused to accept the position and was

1. 6th Bk. Ord., f.152.
2. P. Corfield, 'A Provincial Capital in the 17th century: the case of Norwich', Crisis and Order in English Towns, ed. Clark and Slack, 273-4.
3. 6th Bk. Ord., f.17.
4. 5th Bk. Ord., f.129.

eventually replaced[1]. One of the corporation's sources of income in the 1660s consisted of fines, usually of several pounds, or gifts of pieces of plate, in return for examption from office. A proposal in 1667, that 'citizens that upon their requests are free from offices etc to have no benefit of the city privileges', was defeated and never suggested again[2].

The corporation had good reasons for clinging to every potential source of income. A petition to the king for a renewal of the remission of part of the fee-farm in 1670 claimed that Winchester 'was never in so low and mean condition as now it is'[3], and there were indeed signs of financial strain after the war. In 1665 all corporation feasts were suspended for a year,

> considering that, according to the saying of the wise man, there is a time for all things, as well for mourning as for feasting, the latter of which being not at all suitable with the present times, when so sad and heavy judgements as the sword [the Dutch war] and noisome pestilence do so much threaten this kingdom

and the money saved was added to city income[4]. Two years later feasts were again suspended for a year, and this time the reason given was the need to get the city out of debt and to make up benefactors' gifts which had been lost[5]. Financial difficulties inspired a number of small reforms in administration. The bailiffs had found it difficult to pay the fee-farm since 1660, as part of their income was derived from rents and dues which had lapsed during the war and could no longer be collected. (Their problem was shared by the dean and chapter, whose rent-collector managed to collect only £29 of the £44 due from property in the city in 1661[6].) In 1664, therefore, the bailiffs' responsibilities and sources of income were reorganised, leaving the payment of the serjeants-at-mace as their only responsibility[7], an arrangement which

1. Ibid., ff.144, 171, 182.
2. W.R.O., Proposal Book no.1, 10 May 1667.
3. S.P. 29/272 (190).
4. 6th Bk. Ord., f.26.
5. Ibid., f.39v.
6. B. Carpenter Turner, 'The Return of the Church', Winchester Cathedral Record, xxix (1960), 19.
7. 6th Bk. Ord., f.15.

completed the gradual transfer of power and status in the city hierarchy from the bailiffs to the chamberlains. The mayor's income was also reorganised by an ordinance first passed in 1655 and repeated in 1663[1].

Economic controls were breaking down too: after 1660 the annual taxation of unfree artificers gradually lapsed, and only four lists of those taxed were drawn up in the decade 1660-70 (see Figure 6, p.177). Instead the corporation returned to its old system and imposed a single fee on new tradesmen, 'for licence to live and be an inhabitant in this city'[2]. Far from welcoming new workers to Winchester, however, the corporation responded to the breakdown of old restrictions by the imposition of new ones. Like Norwich, where there were riots against immigrant craftsmen[3], and Lincoln, which resumed a strictly protectionist policy after the Restoration[4], Winchester attempted to exclude new traders in order to preserve custom and employment for its own citizens. Strangers wishing to set up trade in the city required the consent of the boromote, and the Proposal Books show that more tradesmen applied than received permission. Two collarmakers were admitted in December 1666[5], but many applicants were rejected; an edgetool-maker from Hurstbourne Priors who applied in 1666 was turned down even though he found two sureties[6], and a glover from Romsey was admitted only on his second application in 1667[7]. The numbers of artificers taxed in the 1660s were as high as the 1620s and 1630s, but well below the exceptional levels of the 1650s.

The corporation's method of regulating those already admitted was a return to the formation of trade companies or corporations. The Elizabethan companies had apparently faded away, with the exception of the tailors and

1. Ibid., f.5.
2. C. Bailey, Transcripts from the Municipal Archives of Winchester, 42.
3. P. Corfield, 'A Provincial Capital in the late 17th century: the case of Norwich', Crisis and Order in English Towns, ed. Clark and Slack, 271-2.
4. J.W.F. Hill, Tudor and Stuart Lincoln, 204-5.
5. 6th Bk. Ord., f.34v.
6. W.R.O., Proposal Book no.1, f.9v.
7. Ibid.; 6th Bk. Ord., f.37v.

hosiers, who were still appointing wardens in 1646 though no evidence survives of any other activity[1]. In 1663 a company of joiners, carpenters, and masons was formed[2]; the initiative came from the city corporation, and Winchester's companies had nothing in common with the rudimentary trade unions beginning to emerge elsewhere[3]. In spite of a national trend away from guilds and the close economic regulation of the past, Winchester continued to form new companies: the tailors' and hosiers' company was reconstituted in 1672, and other trades incorporated in the later seventeenth century included the butchers, carpenters, and cordwainers[4]. It was the corporation of Winchester, appropriately enough, which brought an action in King's Bench as late as 1706 against a tradesman who had not served his apprenticeship in the city and was not a member of the merchant guild. Both plaintiffs and judge showed some confusion as to the distinction between the corporation and the merchant guild, and the case was dismissed, a decision which encouraged the further breakdown of economic regulation by local authorities[5].

One final aspect of life in Winchester in the 1660s which should be briefly described was the development of Protestant nonconformity, another legacy of the Interregnum. The leaders of the 1650s who had encouraged its growth had mostly left Winchester - John Lisle fled abroad in 1660, and John Hildesley retired to the country - but nonconformity persisted. Two Anabaptists were presented in 1664[6]. In 1669 Quakers from Winchester attended monthly meetings ten miles away at Swanmore, and a Presbyterian conventicle led by two ejected ministers was reported in the parish of St Michael in Kingsgate Street. One of the Presbyterian ministers, Samuel Tomlins, was

1. Winchester City Library, W.H. Jacob scrapbook, p.14.
2. 6th Bk. Ord., f.3.
3. C. Hill, Century of Revolution, 207-8, 269.
4. 6th Bk. Ord., ff.76, 109v.; 7th Bk. Ord., ff.76, 81.
5. C. Gross, The Gild Merchant, ii. 268-70; D. Ogg, England in the Reigns of James II and William III, 83.
6. H.C.R.O., Visitation Book 36.

licensed in 1672 to preach in Winchester at a private house or in the room over the market house[1]. But nonconformity in Winchester was still in its early infancy, and dissent was far stronger elsewhere in the county; in 1669, for example, Southampton had nine conventicles to Winchester's one, and in 1672 only two of the forty-two licensed ministers in Hampshire could preach at Winchester and none was resident there[2].

Sympathies towards Catholicism, on the other hand, emerged undimmed after 1660. Seven papists were presented in 1664, and no fewer than thirty-four in 1673[3]. The visits to Winchester of the Court of Charles II, whose queen at least was openly Catholic, encouraged recusants living in the city, and one of the queen's chaplains was buried in 1667 in the Catholic cemetery at St James outside the Westgate[4]. The later seventeenth century was the first time that any social distinction had been made in the city between conformists and those outside the Anglican church, for after the passing of the Corporation Act in 1662 it was impossible for Catholics or dissenters to hold municipal office. In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries some prominent members of the oligarchy had been open recusants, and local opinion in their favour was strong enough to prevail against national policy and the efforts of the bishop, but after 1660 Parliament was no longer willing to tolerate local idiosyncrasies. Enforcement was still a local responsibility and Winchester was clearly reluctant to exclude its most able men - in 1682

1. G. Lyon Turner, Original Records of Early Nonconformity, i. 140.
2. Ibid. The Compton Census of 1676 unaccountably shows twice as many nonconformists as papists in the city and six times as many in the Soke, proportions which contradict all other evidence on the relative strengths of Catholicism and Protestant nonconformity at Winchester. Various explanations are possible: perhaps dissenters, as a less familiar phenomenon, were recorded more carefully, or Catholics may have conformed just enough to be counted as conformists. I am most grateful to Dr A. Whiteman for access to her copy of the Compton Census and for helpful discussion of the interpretation of its figures.
3. H.C.R.O., Visitation Book 36; W.R.O., Town Court Roll 58/Bk. 1671-94.
4. Hampshire Registers, i (Catholic Rec. Soc. xlii (1942-3)), 97.

both the bailiffs were dissenters, for instance - but the legislation did have an effect.

Conclusion

By 1670 Winchester's economic outlook was healthier than it had been in 1520. Instead of depending on industry and production inside the city, the economy had evolved to a stage where the distribution of goods made elsewhere was the city's principal function, and most of the wealth spent in Winchester was derived from land-owning and trade in the surrounding region. The gentlemen who patronised the city provided employment for its citizens, but their resources did not come from activity in Winchester. For the first time in its history, Winchester's attractiveness as a place to live in as well as visit had become an economic asset, and the influx of wealthy people increased the city's charm. County officials and gentlemen, who had often been introduced to Winchester at an early age when they attended the College, built large houses in the spaces left by a dwindling population, and the cathedral canons moved into their imposing new houses in the Close and became part of polite society. Charles II too was charmed by Winchester and would have raised it to the level of a royal city as it had been in the past, but royal patronage was no longer essential to the city's survival.

The increased affluence of tradesmen and craftsmen too should not be discounted, for they augmented the custom brought to the city by gentlemen. New occupations providing luxury goods could not have been supported by visitors alone, and inventories show a demand from middle-class residents for items such as gold rings, silver tankards and tobacco boxes, lace, and chiming clocks which had not been a feature of the sixteenth century. The causes of middle-class prosperity are not entirely clear, but the most plausible explanation is that Winchester had grown as a market and shopping centre. The use of small markets dwindled in the seventeenth century as

improved communications enabled more customers to visit the larger centres, and in spite of poorly maintained roads Winchester's role as the county and Assize town gave it a head-start as the leading market for central Hampshire. It is impossible to estimate numbers of visitors or the volume of trade, but the success of tradesmen such as the grocers suggests that both were increasing.

Despite these new and hopeful signs, Winchester was still small, insignificant outside its immediate area, and a shadow of its medieval self. Even in 1801 its population was only 3,500 inside the walls and less than 2,700 in the suburbs, and it was not until the coming of the railway that the city once more reached the size it had been in the twelfth century. In many respects the period between 1520 and 1670 may be seen as the turning-point in Winchester's long decline; it is noticeable, for example, that sixteenth-century petitions looked backwards to the glories of the Middle Ages and were aimed at restoring prosperity, whereas seventeenth-century petitions merely complained of hardship and hoped to achieve better things for the city.

Throughout the period Winchester showed every symptom of the decayed town. Its position relative to other towns, judged on population or the taxable wealth of its leading citizens, was far down the list and falling. Population grew slightly, but the rate of growth was below the national rate and low compared to most Hampshire towns. The physical decay of its buildings, evident in 1520, had been partly solved only by allowing some of them to collapse, and little rebuilding took place before the late seventeenth century. The gradual demise of the cloth industry left Winchester without any major manufacture to provide employment or wealth, with the result that the most enterprising inhabitants left the city to find greater opportunities elsewhere. Wages rose, but there was more competition for work than for workers. The city attracted large numbers of immigrants, but most of them were poor and their arrival only added to an already overwhelming need for poor relief. Added to these internal problems were the external ones which prevented the city's recovery. The decline of Southampton, for example, diverted trade away from the area. The Reformation removed two large abbeys which had provided custom

and employment in the city, and the Civil War disrupted Winchester's social and economic life, nearly bankrupted the corporation, and caused a great deal of material damage.

Faced with such problems, the city's leaders responded in ways which seemed logical to them in their attempts to protect the interests of their community, but which in hindsight often appear inequitable and short-sighted. A restrictive economic policy, protecting the failing cloth industry and excluding potentially valuable immigrant craftsmen, was common to most towns, but it did most harm to small ailing communities like Winchester, which most needed new blood but which were small enough for restrictions to be rigorously enforced. The corporation's emphasis on dignity and ceremonial only alienated the younger members of the ruling class as the topmost elite closed its ranks and clung to its privileges. In religion, politics, and economics, Winchester was a profoundly conservative town.

Throughout this study parallels have been drawn between Winchester and other English towns. Winchester's place in the urban hierarchy was clearly below the expanding provincial capitals, as is obvious from comparison with the trade of Bristol, the wealth of Norwich, or the industry of Exeter. At the same time, however, it was still a richer and more sophisticated place than modest market towns such as High Wycombe or Ashby-de-la-Zouch, or even a 'mere' cathedral town such as Ely. Though it is easy to find characteristics common to virtually all early modern towns - possession of a market, for example, or concern with the immigrant poor - the category of towns whose history in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries most closely approximated to Winchester's were the ancient cathedral cities (though some of the Henrician foundations such as Gloucester and Chester were similar) which were also county towns or at least major market centres: places like Bath, Lincoln, Lichfield, Canterbury, Durham, Hereford, or Chichester. Contemporaries actually linked Winchester and Lincoln as examples of declining towns: a 'discourse of corporations' written about 1588 blamed their 'ruin and poverty'

on the removal of the Staple[1], and in 1662 Captain John Graunt argued that loss of population to London could not be the only reason why 'Winchester, Lincoln, and several other cities have decreased in their buildings, and consequently in their inhabitants'[2]. The cathedral and county towns which retained their industry and flourished, on the other hand - Exeter, Norwich, Worcester, and York - were quite a different phenomenon. Most of the smaller cathedral cities shared a highly developed tradition of self-government, and underwent the same kind of economic adjustment that Winchester was making between 1520 and 1670. John Trussell recognised that Winchester's problems were not unique: 'All and every city are subject to one and the same fate', he wrote in about 1640, 'that is, to be visible in infancy, flourish in maturity, and droop in decrepit declining age'[3]. His diagnosis was too pessimistic, for Winchester has outlived its period of 'decrepit declining age' by 300 years.

1. Tudor Economic Documents, ed. R.H. Tawney and E. Power, iii. 274.
2. Economic Writings of Sir William Petty, ed. C.H. Hull, ii. 370, 372.
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93	Commissioners for Charitable Uses
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