

LEISURE AND SOCIETY IN GEORGIAN WINCHESTER

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ABSTRACT

Winchester was a thriving city throughout most of the 17th and 18th centuries, because of its strong administrative and social rôle as the county town of Hampshire. It was this rôle which ensured the stability and survival of the city after the collapse of its principal industry of cloth manufacture, which formed the basis of its late medieval economy. The reasons for the attraction of Winchester, and the facilities on offer for social interaction are explored particularly through reference to the Hampshire Chronicle newspaper. Winchester was associated with a network of seasonal county entertainment, and set within its context, provides a model for élite cultural interaction in an urban environment. The nature of source material dictates a focus on the élite, though efforts are made to give a rounded impression where possible.

Winchester was part of that increasingly affluent society in Georgian England that experienced a 'consumer revolution' resulting from the effects of an expanding Empire and world trade market. Growing demand for a greater variety of goods and pleasurable pursuits led to a market of conspicuous consumption (Porter 1996, 23). It is within this nationally expanding consumer market that interest in Winchester's local entertainment and music flourished. The scale of leisured interest manifested in the variety of entertainment in Winchester was not unusual for a middling town in this period, but it would be inappropriate to measure it against the success of more celebrated leisure centres such as Bath and Brighton, or to demean it by such comparison. Work on specialised areas of culture and society in Hampshire has been undertaken in the past; whilst Dunhill (1995) draws our attention to the Harris circle, a more general sense of the range of entertainment available in the county has not been attempted. The following

essay focuses principally upon a limited time period, 1772–1790, drawing on appropriate evidence from the *Hampshire Chronicle* newspaper. In so doing, it hopes to introduce the social life of Winchester, and examine reasons behind the continuous attraction of the city, despite the apparent lack of either significant industrial prosperity or royal patronage, previous vehicles for the expansion of better-known leisure towns. The nature of many of the surviving sources dictates the fact that it is élite amenities that are most emphasised, whilst the daily pleasures of the majority of the population must by necessity remain obscure.

First published in 1772, the *Hampshire Chronicle* continues as a weekly paper. Originally it was brought out on Mondays and circulated to distribution centres about Hampshire. Publishing the paper early in the week ensured dissemination at markets in Hampshire and in coffee-houses in the city centre. The unbroken span of the paper from 1772 provides a valuable commentary on a range of contemporary interests and concerns, as well as containing columns which highlight the social interaction of the literary classes about the county. In the first year of its existence a regular format for the layout of the paper was quickly established: a substantial portion was filled with news brought by express post from the Monday, Thursday, and Saturday *London Gazette*, and regular columns were set aside for the weekly news from the main towns in Hampshire: Portsmouth, Southampton and Winchester – and even for a time, Salisbury. The name of the paper altered with the re-orientation of its news coverage, circulation and advertising concerns; by 1783 it had become the *Salisbury and Winchester Journal and Hampshire Chronicle*, and again mid-1786 it became the *Hampshire Chronicle*

and *Portsmouth and Chichester Journal*. The functions of each town are clearly displayed by the news bias within the local columns, which were dominated by naval news from Portsmouth and legal news from Winchester and Salisbury. Considering that the paper was based in Winchester, the city itself surprisingly does not receive overwhelming attention within the pages of the paper. Every issue communicated information on future entertainment, jobs, and lost and found items and recorded important events within the main Hampshire towns, including accidents, important local marriages and deaths. A substantial space was laid aside regularly for literary extracts, letters from readers to the editor and advertisements for products including publications and medical remedies sold by the printer of the paper, Mr Blagden, also a Winchester citizen.

The paper aimed, among other things, for 'exactness and regularity in announcing public or private events' though it is obvious that from its commencement it was referring to often long-standing fixtures such as the Winchester races and charity festivals (*HC* 12 Jul 1773; 24 Aug 1772). The announcement of leisure activities occurred in two formats – in the local news section and as an advertisement taken out by individuals. The advertising of entertainment was by no means comprehensive. Occasionally the paper mentioned events only in retrospect, after a singular occasion, suggesting that the actual and available entertainment in Winchester was far more extensive than is immediately apparent from the newspaper coverage. For instance, a previously unadvertised 'masked ball' was mentioned in the paper dated 19 February 1781, and a regular annual performance at Winchester College was only reported on one occasion in the columns of 12 July 1773. Several reasons may be proposed for this. The newspaper was a new medium for advertisement in Hampshire and there is no doubt that the more traditional dissemination of news by word of mouth, letter and invitation continued. Due to the tax and publisher's charges on advertising, only the more popular and prosperous events were able to afford to advertise in the newspapers as they could ensure a return on their initial outlay.

It is worth considering whom the advertising

hoped to target. This tended to depend on the type of event advertised. It follows therefore that advertisement of a particular and often long-standing event enabled the attendance of the seasonal or short-term visitor, whilst the advertisement of an assembly or Corporation feast tended to inform the local resident of the date set for an anticipated annual event in the social diary. A greater number of unadvertised events potentially occurred out of the social season, when local residents effected their own entertainment and advertising proved unnecessary. Equally, it is important to consider that the circulation of the paper remained small, though no figures are available. Two reasons are suggested for this; nationally poor literacy levels and the paper's expense at 6d. per copy. Literacy in the urban middle classes stood at about 75–85%, though for the working classes, literacy, interpreted as the ability to sign one's own name, stood at below 60% in many areas (Brewer 1976, 142). The paper's expense would have put it outside of the pockets of much of the working population, and therefore the events advertised were naturally directed at its potential readership: the professionals, clergy and the leisured classes (*HRO* HP/38 1972, 7). Readership was indeed widened through circulation of shared copies to family and friends and it was an established custom for coffee-houses to stock newspapers and pamphlets, but newspapers generally remained a source of information for a select few (Borsay 1989, 132; *HC* 12 Oct 1772; Brewer 1976, 148–50). Before Winchester's amenities are considered, it is important to outline the economic and social scenario from which Winchester was developing, in order to present a general assessment of Winchester's position during this period.

In his travels through Hampshire in the early 18th century, Daniel Defoe indicates an interesting paradox within the city; he found 'a place of no trade, other than is naturally occasion'd by the inhabitants of the city and neighbouring villages. Here is no manufacture, no navigation, yet here was at the same time 'a great deal of good company' (Defoe 1962, 186). Industry has been considered one of three 'springboards of urban development,' but Winchester had little industry after the decline of its cloth manufacture from the 15th century,

which resulted in high unemployment, and in a general trend of 'serious demographic, economic and social instability' (Borsay 1989, 22; Clark 1981, 15). It is suggested that during the 1630s, a potential source of economic and social recovery was provided by the growing interest shown in Winchester as a social centre though realistically the revenue generated from the town's sociability was most likely to have been prompted by its position as a county town (Rosen 1981, 161). In Winchester's case, further research may well prove that 'the fact that a town was the place where the assizes were held was possibly more important than the presence of a particular commercial function which might well have been a consequence of the first role' (Carter 1983, 88). By 1630, members of the nobility were regularly attracted to the area for the Quarter and Assize Sessions and it is not surprising that the annual Winchester races coincided with some of these administrative and legal Sessions. Both commercial and leisure activities helped create intermittent business for urban service industry, though initial foundations for growth were short-lived with the outbreak of the Civil Wars and during the Interregnum. John Trussell (c. 1575–1648) was a Winchester resident at this time and his views on the state of Winchester provide little ground for optimism (Richardson 1992, 59–60). Winchester's Royalist sympathies and the general hostilities of the wars led to considerable property damage in parts of the city, increased economic strain on its citizens and contributed to its ensuing instability. Notwithstanding, there is some suggestion that the wars were not entirely detrimental to Winchester, as the migration of Royalist genteel families into and out of the city during the hostilities continued post-Restoration, and may have eased its return as a 'fully fledged county social centre' (Rosen 1981, 145, 166).

The episcopal visitation returns of 1788 indicate that Winchester had a population of at least 3,500–4,000, a figure which was to expand to 6,194 by the first census of 1801 (this included the occupants of Winchester College and St Cross Hospital on census night). A population growth of over 30% seems excessive. A degree of underestimation must be deduced in the 1788 figure, which may not account for extramural civic expansion,

or the poor survival of episcopal visitation returns. Winchester contained an expanding and dynamic society during this period in spite of its lack of industry (James 1988, 3; HRO *VCH* 1912, 2–3). The neighbouring resident county nobility and gentry came into the city for a number of reasons, but particularly to fulfil social obligations, to use urban services, for entertainment, and because 'they could also expect to live more cheaply than at home, with fewer obligations to their tenantry' (Platt 1994, 142). Many gentlemen had duties at the county Assizes and Quarter Sessions in some capacity, and certainly would have needed to be resident near the city at these times. The value of entertainment at less expense must not be underestimated – the success of Southampton as a leisure centre was attributed to 'the plentiful supply of ... markets ... the reasonable price of provisions and by a considerable reduction in the price of lodgings' [italics added] (*HC* 17 Jul 1786). Contemporaries firmly understood the value of economical urban living, and Defoe's comment about Totnes held true for urban centres across the country; it was 'a very good place to live in, especially for such as have large families and but small estates, and many such are said to come into these parts on purpose for saving money, and to live in proportion to their income' (Borsay 1989, 223). Most homes of the gentry and prosperous middle class were not sufficiently large to cater for many of the contemporary tastes for concerts, assemblies and theatres, and so it was to the county towns that they flocked for such amusement. The entertainment and diversions of urban life lifted restrictive rural routine, whilst 'by the means of these assemblies, matches are struck up' (John Macky on visit to Winchester 1721, Rosen 1981, 179). It must be remembered that many of the leisured classes could not afford to travel with the season, and had therefore to restrict their pleasures to what was locally obtainable and within their budget, as 'touring was a minority, not a mass, recreation, an expensive hobby for those with ample leisure time and a purse to match' (Brewer 1997, 638). Such events as the Winchester Races were events for all, whether one was speculating on the runners or merely socialising.

The development of Winchester as a leisure

Table 1 Tolls of the Winchester-Andover Turnpike, 1761

Horse, or other beast drawing a carriage	3 <i>d.</i>
Every horse 'laden or unladen, and not drawing'	1 <i>d.</i>
Drove of oxen, cows or 'neat cattle'	10 <i>d.</i> per score
Drove of calves, hogs, sheep, swine or lambs	5 <i>d.</i> per score

(HRO W/A4/4 1761, 652)

centre was gradual, and consequent on the amalgamation of several beneficial factors: 'a fashionable resort needed accessibility – but also amenities, patronage, and constant promotion' (Corfield 1982, 54). These four areas provide the focus for this paper, though it is the consideration of amenities that will predominate and which will be further subdivided into accommodation, services, and entertainment.

The accessibility of Winchester was dependent upon decent communications, which were also an essential factor in the maintenance and survival of its prosperity. In the 1750s the establishment of seven turnpikes into Winchester reinforced the city's trade rôle by ensuring its centrality within the countywide communication network. Not surprisingly the turnpikes aided Winchester's continuation as a flourishing county market town. The 'Turnpike Mania' decades of 1750s–60s in Hampshire led to the 'comprehensive' and 'well-connected' turnpike system of 1772' (Freeman 1978, 413–415). It did not necessarily follow that turnpike roads were better roads; however, in this instance, most Winchester Turnpike Trusts were well-managed (Freeman 1978, 417). Contemporaries recorded a marked change: 'before 1755, there was no symptom of anything like a turnpike between Winchester and Southampton ... when it came to be set about the improvement was as efficacious as it was incredible ... it was the old grown young' (Dibden in Freeman 1978, 422). One of course had to pay for the privilege of this system, and Table 1 gives some idea of charges between divisions on the Winchester-Andover Turnpike, as specified in its Act of Parliament. Special arrangements relating to the popular Winchester Races were outlined in the Act of

Parliament, which ensured that double tolls were charged during the race season (HRO W/A4/4, 653–4). Other important events singled out for similar attention were the Winchester fairs and elections at Winchester College (HRO W/J1/1 19 Jan 1771).

The Winchester Corporation and the Pavement Commissioners did much to improve roads and traffic pressures within the walls; removing, for instance, both North and South Gates in 1771 (Bailey 1856, 9–10). In the pre-railway era, for those not fortunate to own their own horses or road vehicles, goods and people could travel about the county in several modes of transport, all with a variety of charges for the services they offered. Winchester, like Portsmouth and Southampton, had over 60 regular carriers per week, and regular stage wagons, which stopped in Winchester on the Southampton to London route, setting out on Friday, reaching London on Monday, and returning into Southampton again on Thursday (Freeman 1977, 64; *HC* 24 Aug 1772). Daily stagecoaches went to London, as did 'Collyer's Southampton, Winchester and Farnham Machine,' which carried six passengers daily to London, costing 14*s.* for passengers inside the carriage and 8*s.* for those outside (*HC* 21 Sept 1772; 12 Jul 1773). These methods of passenger transport were limited to a narrow band of society, as they were too expensive for the average worker save for the transportation of the odd item, thus reinforcing the restriction of leisure activities for many people to that which was locally available.

Roads and canals played an important part in maintaining the accessibility of a number of towns; however, at least in the case of the latter method of

transportation, this was not applicable to Winchester. A project to make the River Itchen navigable was first authorised by Act of Parliament in 1665, though the plan was not finally completed until 1710 (Course 1967, 115). The navigation never fulfilled its true potential after its use was restricted by an injunction from Southampton which restricted the canal to the carriage of bulky freight, particularly coal and the Norway trades (Bailey 1856, 90). Delayed cargoes and the monopoly of a few proprietors further marred its history and Defoe was one of several contemporaries arguing that the navigation was never worth the expense involved (Course 1967, 117–8; Defoe 1962, 186; Milner 1863, 46–47).

Historians speak of a renaissance in patterns of consumption, demand for services and luxury trades in the long 18th century, which led to 'improved amenities and urban aesthetics' (Porter 1997, 39). The quest for fashionability was to be pursued by an increasingly affluent public through conspicuous consumption, and this had a knock-on effect on all services offered in a leisure town, not least its private and public accommodation. A fashion-conscious public was increasingly attracted to a fashionable social centre with residential accommodation which incorporated rising standards in architecture, sanitation and better-lighted streets. Winchester was not excluded from a burgeoning 'Urban Renaissance' and visitors or nearby residents attracted to the city were served by accommodation facilities which met the demands of all classes. The city's expanding attraction to the 'better sort' is reflected in the extra-mural development of residential accommodation, and the erection of substantial new buildings in Kingsgate Street and College Street. Intra-mural residences by no means declined; in 1721, John Macky saw fashion evident in Winchester's side-streets of 'the finest houses, with gardens, and some of them as handsome as one can see any where, all sashed and adorned after the newest manner' (Rosen 1981, 182). Surviving Georgian brick town houses in Winchester include 5 Kingsgate Street, Serle House in Southgate Street and 28 Jewry Street, all dated early 18th century, and 34 Colebrook Street, built in the late 18th century, and all provide physical verification of the aforementioned attraction of Winchester to

the wealthy (Morris & Hoverd 1944, 101–2, 107–8).

Only the rich were able to afford to build new houses and so those with thinner purses incorporated the new classical hallmarks into existing buildings using fresh features or façades, bow or sash windows, cellar windows, steps and porches. Records survive of sixteen bow windows inserted into High Street properties alone between 1771 and 1790. The Pavement Commissioners, who regulated architectural changes affecting public areas, believed these bow windows contributed 'to the Ornament of the Street' (HRO W/J1/1–4 1771–1800). This feature was so popular that Milner believed 'the erections of the present reign, will probably be denoted, by posterity, as the bow-window style' (Milner 1863, 48). With such encouragement, many of the Winchester shopkeepers and others of the 'middling sort' emulated these and other new fashionable features in their aspirations to ape the wealthier classes throughout the city, and thus provided employment for those able to supply these fashionable architectural features in Winchester.

Undoubtedly a number of seasonal residents and visitors came to Winchester and stayed with friends or relations, although it is impossible to calculate how many did so. There were inevitably other alternatives, for which evidence is more apparent. Some residents let their houses: the *Hampshire Chronicle* had regular advertisements to this end (for instance *HC* 21 Sept 1772; 15 Jan 1781; 19 Feb 1787). Most residential lettings tended to be outside Winchester centre, a location that would have met the demands made by the following contemporary property purchaser: 'the water and roads must be good, and the situation pleasant, in a dry healthy soil, and near Downs, and a market town' (*HC* 16 Jul 1781). Should none of the above possibilities be available, evidence from the 1756 military survey of stabling and beds in Hampshire proves that Winchester compared favourably with other Hampshire towns in the provision of paying accommodation for visitors, though the expense of these services is unknown (Table 2). If accommodation in all administrative divisions and the immediate out-reaches of Winchester is considered, 483 beds and 648 horse stalls were available, not including the many pri-

Table 2 Beds and Stables in Hampshire Towns

<i>Hampshire:</i>	1668		1756	
	<i>Beds</i>	<i>Stabling for Horses</i>	<i>Beds</i>	<i>Stabling</i>
Andover	212	582	241	573
Basingstoke	104	357	119	210
Fareham	45	48	20	17
Lymington	52	36	34	30
Portsmouth	164	87	193	208
Southampton	179	287	122	213
Stockbridge	2	10	55	108
Winchester	336	1,048	204	410

(HRO Copy/454/1 August 1756, [8]–9, Rosen 1981, 173)

vate houses offering lodgings at peak season (HRO Copy/454/1 Aug 1756, 110). In 1704 Winchester had at least eight major inns and 76 victuallers licensed to sell drink, an increase of 41 since 1631. Though numbers had declined by 1784 to a minimum of seven major inns and 33 victuallers, they slightly expanded by 1792 when 12 major inns and 32 victuallers, and even a lodging-house keeper, were recorded within the city. Several inns re-modelled themselves in order to attract more genteel clientele, as in the Public House of Robert Wagstaff in the High Street which advertised 'a good Dining-Room and Parlour in Front, with exceeding good Lodging-Rooms, and Stabling and every other Convenience ... he has laid in a good Stock of Beer and other Liquors' (HC 5 Oct 1772). The declining number of victuallers cannot be accounted for solely by underestimation; some decline may be attributed to natural retrenchment after a period of over-supply: undoubtedly the surviving victuallers benefited from an increasing demand for their services. However, these numbers have little value without an understanding of the size of the inns and victualler's houses under discussion, of which, regrettably little is known, and equally whether the size altered over the century. Both questions provide useful foci for

future research (Rosen 1981, 173; *Hampshire Directory* 1784; *Universal British Directory* 1792).

'Places which developed most successfully as social centres were of three types: county towns, provincial capitals, and resorts' and Winchester fell into the first category (Borsay 1989, 29). The real question we must ask ourselves is why Winchester became attractive as a county town and then as a leisure centre. Certainly the high-status administrative and professional services offered by Winchester as a county town contributed to its development as a social and service centre for the immediate hinterland (Borsay 1989, 28–9). The records note over thirty lawyers resident in Winchester in the early 17th century and between 1660 and 1700 20 lawyers became freemen, illustrating their increasing importance in local affairs. Numbers of physicians had grown from two or three in the early 17th century to over six between 1660–1700, two of whom were wealthy enough to possess houses with 15 and 8 hearths respectively in the Hearth Tax assessments of 1665 (Hughes & White 1991, 134). With respect to financial services, between 1640 and 1700 57 bonds were enrolled in Winchester, and about two-thirds of the creditors were Winchester residents (Rosen 1981, 177–8). By 1792 two bankers, 17 lawyers and nine 'physics' were practising in Winchester;

the considerable growth in physicians perhaps reflects a society's preoccupation with health and the fact that Winchester contained one of the first hospitals outside London, established in 1736 for patients with no means for treatment, though initially admission was conditional on sponsorship by a Winchester patron (*Universal British Directory* 1792; Committee of Management Minute book 5M63/8 1736). Most urban centres provided educational services for their residents; few apart from university towns could boast the wider attraction that Winchester gained from its Winchester College, bringing as a consequence much employment and revenue for Winchester. Double road tolls were charged at the Winchester College elections, indicating the number of people attracted to this event.

Winchester was the dominant administrative and legal centre for county government in Hampshire. Quarter Sessions were held four times and Assizes twice a year, the former spanning a period of three days, the latter a full week. Gentry attendance at the Quarter Sessions had begun to grow in Elizabeth's reign, with the result that 'large numbers of justices and gentry flocked to Shire meetings in town' (Clark 1981, 8). Winchester was no exception in this national trend, as all Sessions attracted a huge influx of people to the city, whether they were directly or indirectly related to the proceedings themselves. 'We arrived early at Winchester; but the town was so full, as the judges were expected the next morning, that we could only get one bed chamber, in which Mrs. Ord, her maid and myself reposed' (Madame D'Arblay c. 1790 in Vesey-FitzGerald 1953, 143). The activities of the various institutions spawned many beneficial offshoots: the *Hampshire Chronicle* stated 'there is also a great deal of business expected at the law bar' and the Assizes were 'numerously attended by gentlemen of the law, juries, witnesses & c ... not a bed to be had at any price' (HC 14 Feb 1785; 7 Mar 1785). By taking the numbers from Table 2 and making allowance for a great range of alternative accommodation, it can be estimated that nearly a thousand visitors must have been packed into the city at this time. Many were in Winchester out of obligation, including the Constables, Bailiffs, Jurymen and those with business in the Sessions, though un-

doubtedly they partook of other pleasures Winchester had to offer.

Added to the crowds drawn by the county legal proceedings were those temporarily associated with Winchester in its military rôle. The Seven Years' War, the War of American Independence, and continuing hostilities with France meant that county towns, and especially those like Winchester situated quite near to Portsmouth, where many of the regiments were funnelled, faced heightened military activity. The demands of military administration for the Hampshire regiments stationed in Winchester included regular general and divisional meetings of the Hampshire militia at the Chequer Inn, Winchester (HC 7 Dec 1772). Furthermore troop battalions were obliged to undergo 28 days training per year. The Northern Battalion of Militia of the county assembled for their training in Winchester each year in spring (HC 19 Apr 1773). As a result, Winchester was full of soldiers, and their impact on the social life of the city is witnessed in their attendance at leisure events throughout the period. Gibbon, the historian and an officer in an Hampshire regiment from 1760-62, remembers his four months based on Winchester Down as 'the most splendid and useful scene of our life', and the Reverend Richard Wavell, rector of St Maurice, Winchester from 1741-79 (also rector at Chilcomb 1750/1-79) records an occasion when 'some of the militia-officers ... attack'd Punch' at the puppet show visiting Winchester at the time (Reese 1970, 70; HRO Copy/605 30 Sept 1759).

As an important ecclesiastical centre, Winchester attracted many visitors and clergymen from all echelons of society to its ecclesiastical courts and meetings, numerous tourists to view the famous historic cathedral (HC 16 Nov 1772), and also encouraged more permanent residents employed in the administrative demands engendered by its position as a cathedral city. Little is mentioned about the fiscal functions of Winchester the cathedral city in the *Hampshire Chronicle*, but the bishop's courts were active; the administration of the chapter, Close, Soke and parish churches provided considerable employment for the professional and service industries; and the Cathedral Chapter based in the Close had a resident and affluent society which nurtured local retail trade. For in-

stance, when the Pavement Commissioners sought loans for their improvements in the 1770s, over 20% of the money they obtained came from five spinsters resident in the Close (HRO W/J1/2 12 Feb 1776). The cathedral was the centre of spiritual life in the county, and as in Exeter, the presence of eminent clerical society in the Cathedral Close, and the substantial stipends they collected, placed them at the top end of the social hierarchy; equally the institution they represented generated much trade and employment for the service industries (Hoskins 1968, 19–20). The clergy and their families dominated social events, as witnessed in one ball in Winchester attended by at least four clergymen, two bringing their families (HC 16 Apr 1787).

In an era of social emulation, blossoming consumption and demand for ever greater variety in retail consumables, shops and traders proved a further attraction for visitors to Winchester (McKendrick, Brewer & Plumb 1982, 25, 29). In 1784 a great variety of luxury goods was available along with the usual basic consumables, and an assortment of traders plied for business, including gardeners, seamstresses, and upholsterers, and luxury traders like silk weavers and watch-makers. In 1784 even the luxury trade in the city was diverse, with several watch-and-clock makers and silversmiths, a brandy merchant and a parchment maker, a china and glassman and a peruke and fishing-tackle maker. In 1785 a new hat warehouse opened in Winchester just before the new season (HC 6 & 13 Jun 1785). However by 1792 four watchmakers, silk manufacturers, two 'chinamen', one man trading under such divers titles as hairdresser, draper and fishing-tackle maker, and even a toy shop run by the proprietors Margaretta and Sarah Leventhorp confirm that Winchester was undergoing vital commercial expansion in a new era of consumer demand (*Hampshire Directory* 1784; *Universal British Directory* 1792). The very existence of toy shops involved a huge shift in the social attitude towards children, and their integration into the more modern concept of family-life (McKendrick, Brewer & Plumb 1982, 288). During the season, and particularly at the Winchester races, several hairdressers and milliners annually travelled to Winchester from Bath and London to meet the obvious demand for their services from

wealthy clients, carrying the 'finest assortment of French Pomades and coloured powders' (HC 9 Jul 1781; 27 Jun 1785; 17 Oct 1785; 20 Sept 1790).

Winchester, the market city, was well served with two annual fairs per year in February and October, primarily involved in the sale of horses and sheep, the well-established Magdalen Fair, and the ancient and much reduced St Giles Fair, which both became predominantly cheese fairs and suffered fluctuating fortunes (HC 14 Sept 1772). The importance of Magdalen Fair for the traders was noted by Celia Fiennes: 'a considerable Faire is kept neare Michelmas, the traffique mostly hopps which that Country produceth good and cheese; its noted for a vast many of waines from severall parts' (Fiennes 1947, 46). Within our period the popularity of Magdalen fair continued, as witnessed by one account which states 'there was scarcely a cheese on the hill after one or two o'clock, and not one there the second day' (HC 9 Aug 1773). Road tolls were doubled from the 'day next but one before Magdalen Hill and Giles Hill and two Winchester fairs for that and four following days' as these were the peak days attracting temporary visitors (W/J1/1 19 Jan 1771). Regular markets were held within the city at the market house on Wednesday and Saturday of each week, which supplied the city residents and occasional visitors with their more basic needs. Despite their diminishing stature, these fairs all drew hundreds of people temporarily to the region for trade, and would have been the highlight of many of the residents' year, but 'due to their openness and plebeian clientele, fairs played only a small and declining role in the occasional cycle of fashionable leisure' (Borsay 1989, 143).

Once attracted to Winchester by demand for its services, growing public consciousness of culture led individuals and families from all walks of life to demand amusement. The annual social calendar in Winchester was based around the social seasons of winter and summer, and contained a range of corporate feasts, fairs, Quarter and Assize Sessions, assemblies and, of course, the annual Winchester races. The London season was linked to the Parliamentary session, and ran from the opening of Parliament in February, many arriving at the end of March after the fox-hunting season,

Table 3 The Winchester Social Calendar 1770s–80s

<i>Month</i>	<i>Event</i>
January	Quarter Sessions (December/January), General Meeting of Hampshire Militia
February	Start of London Season. Winchester Fair
March	Assizes, General Meeting of Lieutenancy of County of Southampton
April	Quarter Sessions, Northern Battalion of Militia in Winchester 28 days for training (April/May), Ball for Master of Ceremonies in Winchester, Hampshire Fox Hunt race & ball
May	Cricket (Barton Down – May/June)
June	Basingstoke Races, start of season in Southampton, Fareham Summer Assembly (once a month in June, July, and August), (occasionally) Winchester, Salisbury and Stockbridge Races
July	End of London Season. Winchester Races (late June/early July) with balls and cockfighting, Quarter Sessions, Assizes, public breakfast and annual performance of Winchester College, Winchester's Annual Carnation Feast, Gosport Music Festival, (Stockbridge Races – after Winchester), Fareham Races
August	Magdalen Hill Fair (late July/early August), Stockbridge Races, Natives and Citizens' Feast, Ball for Master of Ceremonies in Southampton
September	Winchester (later Hampshire) Music Meeting and balls, annual Corporation Feast, St Giles Hill Fair, Salisbury's Annual Music Meeting, Southampton Music Festival, Gosport Assembly, Winchester Society of Natives Festival, Lyndhurst Fair
October	Quarter Sessions, General Meeting of Hampshire Militia, balls (every other Thursday during Winter season) & assemblies, Winchester Fair, Appleshaw Fair, Annual Festival/Feast of Aliens, Alresford Fair, Weyhill Fair
November	–
December	Corporation Feast

until its close in July when the beau monde returned to their country seats for the autumn (Adburgham 1983, 217–18; Bovill 1962, 122). A definite peak season in Winchester may be determined at the major confluence of events in late summer, when many of the most affluent landed gentry would have begun to return to their country homes (see Table 3). In July 1773, for instance, Quarter Sessions, Assizes, Magdalen Hill Fair and the Winchester races occurred within the same month, closely followed by the Annual Music Festival in mid-September (*HC* 12 & 26 Jul 1773; 9 Aug 1773). Theatrical events were held in Winchester on Monday, Wednesday and Friday after 1785,

with balls and assemblies held most months in the winter season. The events mentioned provide only a sample of the many activities available for entertainment in Winchester, although they highlight the most established activities in the social calendar.

The Hampshire social scene consisted primarily of local or county gentry who could not or would not become involved in the Bath or London seasons. Events in Winchester were attended by a variety of people drawn from the army officers, clergy, and titled and important local and county figures, though many newspaper columns do not record attendance in any detail, save to comment that the event was well attended by a number of

persons of distinction (exceptions include *HC* 7 Sept 1772; 17 Jul 1786; 16 Apr 1787; 9 Jul 1787). Milner noted that in Winchester the 'upper class of residents' lived 'in the most friendly and social intercourse' (Milner 1863, 50). The Winchester season in many instances would more properly be associated with a county seasonal calendar, not isolated from the network of surrounding town entertainment. The upper ranks of well-known Winchester-based gentry, including Sir Chaloner Ogle, Lady Rivers, and Hon. Mr St. John and Mrs Ricketts may be traced at events in both Winchester and Southampton, though their family, it appears, attended the local Winchester events only (*HC* 17 Jul 1786; 16 Apr 1787; 9 Jul 1787). Every event that was advertised in the newspaper benefited from its broadcast, and so the printing process helped broaden the commercialisation of many leisure activities, which, once pursued mainly by the élite, developed an increasingly widespread popularity throughout the 18th century.

'A great deal of genteel company attended the races' on Worthy Down (see Fig. 1), which was the event of paramount importance in the annual social calendar of Winchester as early as 1591 and 1605 (*HC* 12 Jul 1773; 13 Aug 1781). The races were not a regular event until the 1630s, with a break during the Civil Wars and renewal in the 1660s, when they were finally officially backed by the Corporation. The Corporation's supportive role was crucial in maintaining the popularity of the races; for instance in 1676 the Corporation was to provide 'a plate of Fiftie Ounces for seven yeares ... provided that the Gentlemen Subscribers to the other parte of the Articles doe provide a Plate and runn for it' (Bailey 1856, 78) (see Fig. 2). Though initially a two-day race programme, by the 1770s it had long become a three-day event, occasionally attended by royalty and usually by a selection of the gentry (Bailey 1856, 77-8; *HC* 20 Jun 1785). Newspapers are credited with playing a 'vital part in the development of racing' by the advertisements they carried of future race meetings (Plumb 1973, 16). The races in Winchester were held annually from Tuesday until Thursday in a single week of the summer season, and on each day there was a public breakfast and Ball in the evening. Marquees were erected for the ac-

commodation of the gentry in attendance, fitted with 'tea, wines & c.' (*HC* 6 Aug 1781). The breakfast on Thursday was followed by an annual performance by the Winchester College boys, reading a selection of prose. In fact the races drew people from across the spectrum into Winchester for nearly a fortnight in and around the race days themselves (*HRO W/J1/1* 19 Jan 1771). The attendance of genteel society has already been noted, but 'it was not neglected by the race-course riffraff' either (Vesey-FitzGerald 1953, 165). They gave the former opportunity to show off fashions and the latter 'pure air and a changeful scene' (Hoare 1843, 584). Table 3 illustrates that many events were held in harmony: Winchester was willing to move its races back a week in 1785 'on account of Stockbridge Races same week' though generally the Stockbridge races seemed to be held after those at Winchester. The Basingstoke races in late June started the county race season, followed by Winchester early to mid July and then in rapid succession those races held at Stockbridge, Fareham and Salisbury. They were certainly considered a circuit, as that same year the Prince of Wales visited the Winchester races only to move on to the Salisbury Races upon their completion. The other races were perhaps not considered illustrious enough for his exalted attention (*HC* 23 May 1785; 20 Jun 1785).

These assemblies are very convenient for young people; for formerly the country ladies were stewed up in their father's old mansion houses, and seldom saw company, but at an Assize, a horse-race, or a fair (John Macky on visit to Winchester 1721, Rosen 1981, 179).

Perhaps one of the most standard fashionable diversions throughout the year was the assembly. The monthly Thursday Assembly held out of season, and regular balls in season gave society an opportunity, for 'tea and cards' and of course dancing and fraternising, when essential social contacts and contracts were made (*HC* 28 Feb 1785; 31 Oct 1785). Defoe, writing in the 1720s, captures the demand for new forums for social meetings amongst the rich ever eager for novel stimulation; 'as there is such good company, so they are gotten into that new-fashion'd way of

WINCHESTER, 1798.

TO BE RUN FOR,
On MONDAY the 17th of September instant,
THE CITY PLATE,

Consisting of Four large Pieces, of elegant workmanship, gilt with gold; the winning Horse to have the whole. Horses of all ages are allowed to start. Catch weights. Crossing and jostling will be allowed as at former Races.

The following Horses are now in training:

See Harry CRIB-BITER, a horse that never started for this Plate before, was got by Young Harry, his grandfire Old Sir P— who won this Plate several times.—The odds run in favour of this horse.

See Harry SELL ALL, a noted Stallion, got by Old Deceitful: he has won the Plate several times, but never deferred it; he always got it by crossing and jostling.

See Harry BLUE PIG, alias DICK BACON. This horse won two Plates when he ran for the late D— of C—, after which he was entered in the name of Lord T—, but running badly no dependance can be placed on him.

See Harry DOCTOR, an old horse and pretty staunch; has won this Plate before, but it is thought, as he has been played tricks with lately, he will run on the wrong side of the post.

See Harry GALLIPOT. This horse has also won several Plates, but it is thought he will stand but little chance, having made the bargain not to take the whip hand.

See Harry FEARFULL. This horse has started before and won, but, being very shy, it is thought he will stand no chance.

See Harry SKIPPING JACK. This horse has also won two Plates, but being now no better than an old hunter, cannot possibly win.

See Harry RUSHLIGHT, who has won a Plate; and it was thought at that time he would make a famous staunch horse and shew some blood; but, being turned out in P—'s lawn, got a kick from some of the above horses, so that it is thought he can never win another.

See Harry SHELL-FISH, a dungy horse that never won nor never will.

See Harry DICK DREADNOUGHT. This horse has started three or four times, always came in second, but running FAIR could never gain the Plate, though it is the wish of the Jockey Club he should.

Other Horses expected to enter at the post, viz.

SQUIB, alias SAM the YOUNG DEVIL, or STOCKBRIDGE PUNCHINELLO; JEW JACK; BANKER; BUTTERFLY JOHN; TOM POST-MAN; &c. &c. but none of them stand any chance except Squib, he having been in training some time and has the art of turning quicker than any of the rest, though they are all pretty well versed in that manœuvre, except Fearfull and Dreadnought.

All Disputes to be decided by the majority of voices, Yea or No.
To start from the Town Clock at Eleven in the Forenoon.

Printed by PETER QUIZ, (for the independent Members of the Jockey Club) at the Sign of the Stallion, near the Devil's Ditch.

Fig. 2 List of horses in training for City Plate [Winchester] with comments, 1798 [Jervoise of Herriard collection PRO 44M69/K2?24]

conversing by assemblies' (Defoe 1962, 186). Assemblies were fashionable events and truly 'fashion in everything will have the most followers' (C Gilbert in 1755, Dunhill 1995, 16). Winchester was not shy in following fashion and contained several assembly-rooms, one on the corner of Upper Brook Street and High Street, another, called 'the public banqueting-house and assembly-room of Winchester' in St John's House, and one called Burchar's Assembly Room, the location of which is undetermined (Carpenter-Turner 1973, 18; Ball 1818, 183; *HC* 5 Oct 1772). Despite the existence of established assembly-rooms, Wavell noted that the location of the Assembly-room could change 'almost every Winter', though this comment may refer to the fluctuating fashionability of the existing assembly-rooms (Ward 1995, 173, 235; HRO Copy/605 5 Dec 1747). Attendance was not always large out of season, drawing upon primarily local society, when a customary Thursday Winter assembly on 26 November 1747 had 'Winchester ladies being assembled to the number of 15, at a Rout, a Drum or a Drum-major, or whatever name such Assembly is call'd' (HRO Copy/605 5 Dec 1747; *HC* 5 Oct 1772). In season however, the picture was entirely dissimilar: a ball given on Monday 7 July 1773 had a widespread appeal with 'a very splendid appearance of the nobility, gentry, & c. of the county of Hants' (*HC* 12 Jul 1773) who doubtless combined their appearance at the ball with attendance at the races and at other entertainment on offer.

'Airing' oneself was considered healthy in 18th-century society, and where better than in the beauty of the Hampshire countryside? Celia Fiennes's travels around England from 1685–96 were begun 'to regain my health by variety and change of aire and exercise,' whilst Wavell avidly rode the Winchester downs, counselling 'let an horse be your doctor, and you will hardly want any other' (Fiennes 1947, 1; HRO Copy/605 27 Apr 1751). The activity was so popular around Winchester that special toll exemption for using turnpike gates 'for airing' was written into the act governing the Turnpike Trust's actions (HRO W/A4/4, 653–4). Many of Winchester's historic sites could be visited on foot, with or without the published guides that were emerging for the description of the historic parts of the city (Fig. 3). Winchester, and

the surrounding area possessed many green spaces, including an Arbour where one could shoot and walk, and the beauty of the nearby and surrounding downs were much commented on by contemporaries. Keats described Winchester as 'surrounded by a fresh-looking country' with 'a dry chalky down where the air is worth six pence a pint'. Winchester, and its countryside is said to have inspired the famous ode *To Autumn* during his residence there in 1819 (Cornwall Ross 1995, 8, 28, 32). For the gentleman there was cockfighting, bull baiting, bowling (two bowling greens) and billiards. Gambling was popular with males of all classes, as an anonymous letter to the Mayor dated September 1787 indicates; 'my children and self was brought to the greatest distress and in want of Bread by my Husbands being all ways at that house [The Angel] and the Duke of York at Skittell Missipecy or marvels and more poor honest wives [*sic*] and children as is my Neighbours are in the same distressed condition' (HRO W/D3/324/3). The nearest advertised cricket grounds were in Hambledon and on Barton Down and Titchborne Down (*HC* 14 May 1781; 28 Feb 1785). Several coffee houses in St John's House and on the High Street, catered for business and pleasure, where one could read pamphlets and newspapers and discuss current and topical issues with fellow customers. Likewise the booksellers in College Street catered for all reading tastes (Rosen 1981, 180; *HC* 12 Oct 1772; 21 Jun 1773; Bailey 1853, 74–6, 118; Ball 1818, 84, 185; Oldfield 1993, 7). By 1750 119 towns in England had a Circulating library – Winchester's was next door to the White Hart Inn. Its use would have been restricted to the élite, due to quite high subscription charges (Plumb 1973, 7; *HC* 9 Jul 1787; Brewer 1976, 151; Oldfield 1993, 17). Entertainment for all ages was provided by visiting puppet shows and by resident museums, such as Mundy's Museum in the High Street, which displayed a collection of marble statues and paintings (HRO Copy/605 30 Sept 1759; *HC* 26 Jul 1773).

In the evening, Winchester was equally rich with musical events like the three-day Annual Music festival (see Fig. 4), generally 'uncommonly crowded with ladies and gentlemen of the first fashion and distinction' from Hampshire, and fea-



Fig. 3 Nathaniel & Samuel Buck, Panorama of Winchester from St. Giles Hill 1736 (in James 1997, 15). Note the people walking on the hill in the foreground

HAMPSHIRE MUSIC MEETING,
WILL be held at WINCHESTER, on the 5th,
 6th and 7th of September, 1781. For which many
 of the first performers (both Vocal and Instrumental) in the
 kingdom are engaged.
 The principal VOCAL PARTS by Miss DRAPER, Signor
 TENDUCCI, Mr. PARRY, Mr. GOSS, &c. &c.
 Principal INSTRUMENTAL.
 Those three universally admired Performers, Mr. SOLO-
 MON (first violin to his Prussian Majesty), Mr. CROSDILL
 (on the Violoncello), and Mr. FISCHER, on the Hautboy:
 Together with Signor PASQUALI, Messrs. ROGERS, CAN-
 TELO, HOWARD, GRANT, &c. &c.
 On WEDNESDAY the 5th, at St. JOHN'S HOUSE,
 Will be performed the much-admired PASTORAL SERE-
 NATA of
A C I S and G A L A T E A.
 With a MISCELLANEOUS ACT.
 On THURSDAY Morning, at the CHURCH,
 Will be performed,
The M E S S I A H.
 (A SACRED ORATORIO.)
 The same Evening at St. JOHN'S HOUSE, will be
A Grand MISCELLANEOUS CONCERT,
 Calculated to shew the excellence of the principal Per-
 formers in their respective way.
 On FRIDAY Morning, at the CHURCH,
 Will be performed, the Favourite ORATORIO, of
J U D A S M A C C A B A E U S.
 The same Evening, at St. JOHN'S HOUSE,
 Will be performed,
L O V E ' s R E V E N G E,
 (A DRAMATIC PASTORAL.)
 With a MISCELLANEOUS ACT.
 The Performances at the Church will begin each morning at
 eleven o'clock. The Evening performances at six.
 Each Evening, after the MUSIC will be
A B A L L.
 JOHN STANLEY, Esq; Master of his Majesty's Band of
 Music, having politely promised to favour the MEETING
 with his kind assistance, will play a CONCERTO or VOLUN-
 TARY on the ORGAN, between the parts of the Oratorio-
 each morning at the Church.
 Mr. FUSSELL having spared no trouble or expence to
 make the performances this year as perfect as possible, hopes to
 meet with approbation and support.

Fig. 4 Hampshire Chronicle Monday 20 August 1781

turing billboards including the famous Miss Linleys from Bath (*HC* 7 Sept 1772). There were regular subscription concerts, generally followed by a ball (*HC* 14 Mar 1785). Table 3 illustrates a temporal concentration of music festivals, all of which were held at a later date in the social calendar than the races, perhaps to account for less predictable weather, and because many of its patrons would have wished to attend both types of entertainment. Winchester's Music Meeting was a fortnight before Salisbury's Music Meeting, and over a week before Southampton's Music Festival. Music meetings were certainly increasingly popular, as witnessed in the following quote: 'musical parties ... are forming in every part of this and the neighbouring counties,' and public music halls and concert rooms in inns and taverns became increasingly common by the turn of the 17th century (*HC* 10 Oct 1785; Plumb 1973, 15; Brewer 1976, 159–60). The newspaper article proceeds to identify many of those attending the Winchester Music Meeting as participants in the aforementioned county-wide musical parties.

'The Fashion of this day was favourable to theatrical representations,' and by 1770 it is said that their popularity encouraged a greater number of theatres in England than there are today (Hoare 1843, 582; Plumb 1973, 14). Many of the local gentry were unable to participate in the more fashionable seasons of Bath and London, giving the Winchester theatre company an opportunity to duplicate the 'favourite pieces which have been performed in London' without fear that the pieces would have been seen already (*HC* 11 Jun 1781). The nobility and gentry regularly attended the theatre in Winchester, though initially the theatre quarters were somewhat insalubrious, based as they were above the Meat Market Hall. Performances were on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays in the race season (Table 3) and the nobility, gentry and clergy regularly attended with their season tickets. Several other sites around the city were used as temporary theatres, including one held by the Bath Theatre Company from 1760–65 and based near the militia, 'a sign of the town's importance as a theatrical centre.' Finally on 30 May 1785, thanks to subscriptions raised amongst the 'Nobility and Gentry of the city and neighbourhood', a £1,000 theatre which better

suited the upper classes opened on Jewry Street 'on the plan of the Covent Garden house' (Ranger 1996, 19; Ranger 1974, 66–77; *HC* 28 Mar 1785; 16 May 1785).

A number of public feasts was held annually in Winchester and banquets were held up to eight times per year, including one on the Accession day of the reigning monarch (*HC* 30 Jul 1781). Regular named feasts included: a Natives and Citizens feast at the end of August, which celebrated deliverance from the plague of 1665 attended by 'an uncommon appearance of genteel company' (*HC* 24 Aug 1772; 27 Aug 1781); the Annual Corporation feast in mid-September, once described as 'a most superb and elegant entertainment' (*HC* 14 Sept 1772); the Annual Feast of Aliens in October, which collected funds to apprentice the city's poor children; and a further Corporation feast in mid-December (*HC* 21 Dec 1772). In 1772 the Natives' feast reached the 'hundred and third year of its continuation, the first being held on 26 of August 1669' (*HC* 24 Aug 1772). The prime motivation of this and the Annual Feast of Aliens was to generate money for the poor of Winchester, in a spirit of 'the greatest harmony and social mirth,' attended by 'upwards of an hundred of the most respectable inhabitants' (*HC* 27 Aug 1781; 29 Aug 1785; 25 Oct 1790). The feasts were generally held at St John's House, the chief room being 'fitted up in a stile of elegant neatness', though the annual Carnation Feast in July was held at Mr Doddimead's Public Gardens, St Cross, where there were prizes for the dozen best 'whole blown flowers,' and 'a very large and respectable company dined' (Ball 1818, 184; *HC* 10 Jul 1786).

While the presence of royalty provided leisure towns with the social cachet to develop their reputation, such personages rarely remained very long. Though the races attracted royalty to Winchester, the bulk of its pleasurable amenities was utilised by the county gentry. Winchester society was well patronised by the Duke of Chandos and the Pawlett family (Marquesses of Winchester), as well as a host of others who were noted in the newspapers attending events like the Music Festival, and supporting the Winchester races. The Duchess of Chandos and other eminent county figureheads publicised social activities through

their patronage of events, and 'the more public cultural and sporting activity becomes, the more it provokes social emulation' (Plumb 1973, 19).

The main focus of the article has been on Winchester, but it is important to realise that Winchester's amenities differed little from those of other southern towns. Salisbury was the county town of Wiltshire, and much like Winchester, it had a range of leisure amenities: bowling greens, inns, concerts (every fortnight in winter and monthly in the summer months), assemblies (all through the year), a new theatre (built in 1777), a music festival (as early as 1744) and horse-races. Its different seasons were marked by Flower Feasts, reminiscent of the annual Carnation Feast held at St Cross, Winchester. The daily schedule of a fashionable person as noted in the Diary of a Gentleman of the Close, Salisbury 1747-57, was 'an almost daily call at the coffee-house,' or indulgence in an inn, 'less to indulge in liquor, than to talk over the business, the politics, or the local occurrences of the day' and a regular programme of 'visits of kindness or civility' (Hoare 1843, 581-5). One can imagine that the occupations of gentility were much the same in Winchester. It was equally important for its administrative function, holding the Wiltshire county Assizes and Sessions at regular intervals through the year, again much like Winchester. Southampton as a 'watering place' had some different attractions, as it attracted those wishing to 'take the waters' and enjoy a 'pleasure yatch [*sic*],' though it also had concerts, balls, music festival and a theatre with bills including operas featuring the 'best vocal performers' (*HC* 4 Jun 1787; 5 & 12 Sept 1785). It advertised itself as having a 'full season ... second to none in the kingdom as a watering place,' and as a watering place it initially complemented rather than rivalled the facilities offered in Winchester. The opening of the Southampton Long Rooms in 1787, 'made a most brilliant appearance,' but these, and the subsequent development of the Polygon area would not have greatly detracted from the attraction of Winchester events. The season in Southampton began in June, earlier than that at Winchester and as far as may be ascertained from the lim-

ited amount of detailed material available in the newspapers, only the most important of Winchester's society attended more than local events (*HC* 21 May; 24 Jun 1787; 11 Jun 1787). It was probably not until the turn of the 18th century that the rivalry between the towns heightened, and Keats could comment that 'the fashionable inhabitants are all gone to Southampton' (Cornwall Ross 1995, 32).

The county meeting's resilience and success derived from three principal characteristics: the size and nature of the region it serviced, the high status of those who attended it, and the sophisticated facilities that evolved around it' (Borsay 1989, 189). We have dealt with the leisure facilities and those attracted to use them in Winchester, but it is important to mention the city's fortunate symbiotic relationship with its immediate hinterland. With little manufacture of its own, Winchester had to rely on the industries resident in other Hampshire market towns and villages to complement its own functions and meet its consumer demands. People with surplus wealth from the surrounding countryside flocked to Winchester for its business and retail facilities, and to assemble with peers. Winchester's function became that of a social centre, dependent on a broad service sector for its survival and development. As a market town, administrative centre, and social centre, it served the needs of the county. The great variety of entertainment available in Winchester, the physical evidence of the architecture and the testaments of contemporaries all provide strong evidence of the rôle of leisure in Winchester, called by one enthusiast 'Winton, Bless'd city, the pride of the fair, with Health, Wit, and every Happiness bless'd' (*HC* 26 Mar 1781).

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HRO = Hampshire Record Office

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