

A PRETTY EASY WAY OF DAWDLING AWAY ONE'S TIME: THE CANONS OF WINCHESTER IN THE LONG EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

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ABSTRACT

In the context of the 'long' eighteenth century (1660–1840) the prebendaries or canons residentiary of Winchester Cathedral are investigated. Their families, and their geographical and educational backgrounds are examined, along with their literary achievements. Career paths, patronage and financial rewards of their various livings are reviewed. Then follows an analysis of their work, and the worship and care of the building in which they serve, particularly with reference to the question of 'residence' which is determined by a detailed report on their attendance at chapter meetings and at daily worship. Finally the prebendaries are seen within their social milieu. This paper may be set in the context of the current, more favourable, analysis of the Georgian church, which recognises there were plenty of good men who were quietly and conscientiously carrying out their duty. It is also clear that in chapter there was generally a core of some three or four prebendaries who were the key to carrying on the business of the cathedral.

INTRODUCTION

The life of a prebendary is a pretty easy way of dawdling away one's time; praying, walking, visiting; and as little study as your heart would wish.' So wrote Edmund Pyle, prebendary (1756–76) of Winchester Cathedral (Hartshorne 1905, 266). We will examine just how far this apparent attitude of indolence is born out in historical record by a study of the Winchester prebendaries during the Georgian period. By examining their family background, education and career patterns, it will be possible to see whether the myths engendered by the writings

of that great diarist Parson Woodforde are borne out by his capitular contemporaries. We shall examine them in the context of chapter and within the wider Church of England, noting their attitudes to residence and non-residence, and reflecting on their pastoral, theological and academic contribution to the age in which they lived.

This study will examine the 'Georgian' period from 1660–1840. The 'long eighteenth century' is well established and accepted in ecclesiastical historiography, beginning with the Restoration of Church and Monarchy, and ending with the Cathedrals Act of 1840. The church of the late seventeenth century and of the eighteenth century was a slow moving structure, and was the obvious fruit of its medieval and Reformation past. Henry VIII initiated a survey of benefices which resulted in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535, known thereafter as the King's Books and still consulted by Georgian clergy to establish the (out-dated) value of livings, until the Parliamentary Commission made its report in 1835 (Virgin 1989, 1–2; Sykes 1934, 141). Peter Virgin asserts: 'The church of Joseph Butler, of Warburton, of Gibson and of Hoadly was pretty well continuous with the church of Burnet, of Laud, of Andrewes and even of Hooker ...' (Virgin 1989, 3) and 'the era of reform, ushered in by the repeal of the Test and Corporations Acts in 1828 and completed by the ecclesiastical reforms of the mid- and late-1830s, was the decisive period: one when the clergy, it will be claimed, reached the peak of their affluence and power' (Virgin 1989, iii).

The material presented below derives from comparative research done on the two southern cathedrals of Winchester and Salisbury, and the

two northern collegiate churches of Manchester and Southwell, which includes reference to other capitular bodies with published findings. Space does not allow for much detailed comparison, but it is to be found in my unpublished thesis (Hendy 2007). Here an attempt has been made to create a picture of the Winchester prebendary over this period by looking at their background and their practices while in office.

Winchester had a complement of a dean and 12 prebendaries who were residentiary canons, making a total of 13. At the Restoration seven residentiaries were re-instated, and in 1660 a dean and five residentiaries were appointed. During the period there were 13 different deans and 133 residentiaries, though as six residentiaries became dean, the total of different men under review is 140 (W39C/6–10).

FAMILY AND EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

An examination of parental background makes it plain that many canons had fathers who were themselves clergy or gentry, similar to other cathedrals (Table 1).

It is clear that clerical fathers form a significant group in the overall parentage of the prebendaries and that a hereditary clerical tradition had emerged, which became more pronounced as time passed. An analysis of the gentry, who form a close second, indicates nearly 27% of these had 'urban addresses', town dwellers who had made their money from profession or industry rather than land. Over the period the proportion of clerics to gentlemen increased significantly, suggesting that the social background of these clergy was more elitist than those of parochial incumbents, though some had more humble background. Those with clerical fathers included six who had been members of the chapter themselves. Those whose fathers or uncles were in positions of influence such as bishop or dean are relatively few, but Seth Ward of Salisbury appointed his nephew Seth as a prebendary of Salisbury, and managed to acquire another prebend at Winchester, while Benjamin Hoadly

Table 1 Social background of Winchester Canons

	No.	%
Nobles	4	2.8
Gentry	37	26.4
Clergy	40	28.6
Professions	5	3.6
Tradesmen and Artisans	7	5.0
Unknown	47	33.6
TOTALS	140	100.0

Sources: *Alphabetical Index of Hants Clerics* (typescript 1910); J. Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses. The Members of the University of Oxford 1500-1886. Their parentage, birthplace, and year of birth, with a record of their degrees* (Oxford, 1888, 1891); J. Guile, (ed.), *A Millennium of Archdeacons: The Archdeacons of Winchester from the 11th to the 20th Centuries* (Winchester, 2003); J. Le Neve and J.M. Horn (comp.), *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1541-1857, III Canterbury, Rochester and Winchester Dioceses* (London, 1974), 83-106; H.C.G. Matthew and B. Harrison (eds.), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography in association with the British Academy* (Oxford, 2004); J. and J.A. Venn, (comp.), *Alumni Cantabriginenses. A biographical list of all known students, graduates and holders of office at the University of Cambridge, from the earliest times to 1900* (Cambridge, 1922, 1940); *Winchester Cathedral Memorials* (typescript) (1937), with additions A. W. Goodman (1938-9), revised A. D. Blake (1952)

of Winchester gave his son John a Winchester prebend and enabled his nephew, also John, to become a prebendary of Salisbury. None can exceed Brownlow North of Winchester who, as Cobbett so delightfully records, provided ten of his relatives with 24 livings, five prebends, one chancellorship, one archdeaconry, and one mastership, worth more than 20 thousand pounds a year (Ingrams 2005, 216–7).

The prebendaries were a generally well educated group of men. We are uncertain where 66% (92 out of 140) of Winchester prebendaries went to school, but we do know that 35 went to what became the great public schools

Table 2 Universities attended by Winchester Canons

<i>Oxford</i>	<i>Cambridge</i>	<i>Oxford then Cambridge</i>	<i>Cambridge then Oxford</i>	<i>Unknown</i>
77 (55.0%)	31 (22.1%)	18 (12.9%)	5 (3.6%)	9 (6.4%)

Sources: As per Table 1

(eight to Merchant Taylors, seven to Winchester, six each to Westminster and Eton, four to St Paul's, one each to Harrow, Charterhouse, Uppingham and Rugby).

Most if not all were graduates, with more than twice as many going to Oxford as Cambridge, though towards the end of the period numbers were balancing out. Well over half of these went on to receive higher degrees, and over one third were fellows of their colleges (Table 2).

An examination of the colleges attended by residentiaries revealed some important connections. New College, Oxford, founded by William of Wykeham was intended to replace missing clergy lost in the Black Death. Winchester College served as a feeder school, and while only five prebendaries from our sample attended both, it explains the 23 Winchester prebendaries who were alumni of New College. Christ Church, a cathedral and university college, educated 24 Winchester prebendaries.

No less than 63% of Winchester canons received degrees above that of MA and it is no surprise that the vast majority of these were in the faculty of divinity. However there are a significant number of law degrees (Table 3).

Table 3 Higher degrees received by Winchester Canons

<i>BD</i>	<i>DD</i>	<i>BCL/LLB</i>	<i>DCL/LLD</i>
7	63	3	16

Sources: As per Table 1

It is difficult to determine whether or not DD was awarded for dignity or connection within

the church rather than academic achievement. Consideration of their publications suggests many canons were both erudite and learned, though by 1800 the proportion of divinity degrees had decreased. It is likely that many of these men enjoyed the comfortable life of the academic environment until the attractions of marriage forced them into the wider world (Table 4).

Table 4 Winchester Canons who were College Fellows

<i>Oxford</i>	<i>Cambridge</i>	<i>Total</i>
35	14	49 (35%)

Sources: As per Table 1

While many clergymen were schoolmasters, only 12 of the canons in the sample (8.6%) had that claim. It would not be surprising to find prebendaries of the cathedral who were also part of the foundation of Wykeham's college. In all there were ten (7%), most of the Winchester educationalists. Several also had links with New College Oxford, so we note again the close relationship with the two foundations. Wykeham's College was, of course, not the only educational establishment in Winchester. Thomas Garnier, prebendary then dean of the cathedral (1831–72), was educated at Hyde Abbey School, a celebrated private academy near Winchester, under 'Flogging Richards', where he had as his schoolfellow George Canning (ONDB 21, 505–8). This Charles Richards was for fifty years master of the school and also prebendary (1827–33) briefly

overlapping with his younger pupil. One can only imagine the dynamics of that situation in chapter. As Richards only missed one meeting, that immediately before his death, and as Garnier also attended every meeting in that period, they were brought face to face, though it has to be said that when Richards was appointed he was already over seventy and Garnier when he joined the chapter was over fifty. The twelfth Winchester schoolmaster was prebendary William Wilson, headmaster of St Bees Grammar School in Cumberland (Mannix & Whellan 1847).

GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND

When geographical background is considered the process is a little imprecise because it is based on place of birth or baptism or noted origin of the prebendary or his father, but the expected result is sufficiently accurate to be meaningful. The prebendaries of the two collegiate churches were much more ‘local’ in origin than the two cathedrals; in the case of Manchester 67.4% and Southwell 46.8% were from immediate counties. By contrast only 25.2% of Salisbury residentiaries were local in this sense, and just 16.4% of Winchester canons. There was a significant draw from the capital for men at the cathedrals; Salisbury 12% and Winchester 18.6%. This suggests that Winchester was not a backwater of the church, though interestingly over the period the chapter drew increasingly from Hampshire and Surrey. However it never became ‘local’ in the same order as the collegiate churches, and kept a consistent ‘London levy’.

CAREER PATTERNS AND PATRONAGE

There is no reason to suppose that the prebendaries differed radically from the life expectancy of the average incumbent, among whom they were also numbered. However survival rates increase over the period under review (Table 5). Young prebendaries were more likely to be installed before the age of 30 at Winchester than they were at Salisbury (Table 6). Some men remained in office for a very short time before, in a few cases, death, and, in more cases, career promotion moved them on. Unlike the few at Salisbury, nearly one third of Winchester canons kept their prebendal stall for no more than a decade, and were more likely to resign than die (Table 7).

Family background and education were significant in the career of someone destined for the prebendal ladder, but the other key factor was patronage. Who appointed Winchester prebendaries and how did this compare with neighbouring Salisbury? Both deans were appointed by the crown. At Winchester the appointment of canons was transferred from the crown to the bishop by the Caroline statutes of 1638 (Stephens & Madge 1897, x, 33). At Salisbury, before the Cathedrals Act of 1840, all residentiary canonries except one were in the gift of surviving members of the close chapter who called one of the other prebendaries into residence. The remaining one residential place carried with it the house of Leadenhall in the close and was in the gift of the bishop, who collated and then issued letters patent requiring admission as canon residentiary (Jones 1879, 251).

Royal patronage would be expected when the appointment of the dean was in the gift of

Table 5 Lifespan of Winchester Canons

Age on death by decades							
⇒ 30	⇒ 40	⇒ 50	⇒ 60	⇒ 70	⇒ 80	⇒ 90	⇒ 100
2	2	13	23	34	33	13	2
1.6%	1.6%	10.6%	18.8%	27.8%	27.0%	10.6%	1.6%

Sources: As per Table 1. (There are 18 whose ages are not established, and they are not included)

Table 6 Age at installation

	<i>Age at installation by decades</i>					
	⇒ 30	⇒ 40	⇒ 50	⇒ 60	⇒ 70	⇒ 80
Salisbury	7 10.1%	15 21.7%	22 31.9%	20 28.9%	4 5.8%	1 1.4%
Winchester	18 14.7%	34 27.8%	38 31.1%	21 17.2%	9 7.4%	2 1.6%

Sources: As per Table 1. (There are 18 whose age at installation is not established, and they are not included)

Table 7 Years in Office

	<i>Years by decades</i>						
	⇒ 5	⇒ 10	⇒ 20	⇒ 30	⇒ 40	⇒ 50	⇒ 60
Salisbury	9 12.0%	9 12.0%	24 32.0%	21 28.0%	10 13.3%	2 2.6%	0 0%
Winchester	16 11.4%	22 15.7%	44 31.4%	33 23.6%	15 10.7%	9 6.4%	1 0.7%

Sources: As per Table 1

the monarch. This was particularly true in the seventeenth century. There were seven deans of Winchester who had royal favour though these were spread through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. But royal patronage is evident also for some of the residentiaries, with 17 Winchester prebendaries who received royal favour, several of whom had been allied to the royalist cause during the Civil War.

FINANCIAL REWARDS

A good example of a Winchester man who held the 11th prebend was Thomas Balguy, fellow of St John's Cambridge (1741–48) and until 1760 active in Cambridge. He said he owed all his clerical preferments to the favour and friendship of Bishop Hoadly, also his father's patron, and was, for a time Hoadly's chaplain (Table 8). Hoadly appointed Balguy archdeacon of

Winchester in July 1759, and the next year he gave up his connection with St John's and moved to Winchester, his cousin Sarah Drake joining him to keep house. In September 1771 he was instituted vicar of Alton, Hampshire, on the presentation of the dean and chapter of Winchester, whereupon he ceded his two benefices in Lincolnshire. But he held the vicarage of Alton, the archdeaconry of Winchester, and the two prebends until his death in 1795.

RESIDENCE

From their foundation, members of cathedrals had lived and worked together, and the notion of 'residence' remained a fundamental foundation characteristic. Canonical residence, determined by statute, episcopal injunction, or decree of chapter, ensured that one or more of

Table 8 Preferments of the Rev Thomas Balguy, Prebendary of Winchester

Rector, North Stoke, Lincolnshire	1746–71	95 00 00
Rector, Hagworthingham, Lincolnshire	1746–71	55 00 00
Prebendary, Lincoln	1748–95	14 10 05
Archdeacon, Winchester	1759–95	13 06 08
Vicar, Alton, Hampshire	1771–95	15 00 00
Prebendary – 11th prebend	1757–95	31 11 08

Sources: *ODNB* 3, 549–50; Ecton 1763, 172-3, 415–6

the canons residentiary would live in the vicinity of the church, attend its services, preach prescribed sermons and carry on day to day business. The relevant statutes at Winchester are those of Charles I (1638), which required the dean to be resident for 90 days of which 21 were to be continuous during which he was to attend all services daily on pain of forfeiture of emoluments. He was allowed to be away for two months on the king's service. Canons had the same requirements, and normally three were to be in residence at any time and present at divine service. The vice-dean, treasurer, and receiver were to reside constantly in the close unless granted leave of absence by the dean and chapter for some urgent cause. Furthermore 'after the fulfilment of the term of residence defined by these Statutes, the prebendary shall together with his household hasten forthwith to his benefices, or to one of them, or at any rate to some other cure ...' (Goodman & Hutton 1925, 20–3, 27–9).

The principle of residence was upheld at Winchester but not as the statutes had determined. Each year a residence list for 12 months was recorded in the chapter books, as on 23 June 1756 (W39C/7, 123) with each one of the 12 residentiaries (but not the dean) taking a single month of residence per annum. However it was recorded in November 1798 (W39C/8, 337):

The private Agreement amongst the Prebendaries of each taking a particular month, during

which each is responsible for the regular Duty of the Church during that month, having, from the Dispensation of some Members, and the Debility of others, being insufficient for the purpose intended; It is resolved at the Chapter to have recourse to the Statuta De Residentia Canonico-rum, and by dividing the year as there ordered into four parts, to fill up the whole as near as possible with the names of those who engage to do their Duty in the respective Quarters of the Year or by Exchange to see it done.

But the pattern of monthly turns quickly emerges again as on 25 November 1831 for the year 1832 (W39C/10, 134).

That daily attendance at divine service was important is reinforced by the attendance registers which were kept as evidence. Five of these are extant from the period in question, two from the eighteenth century and three from the nineteenth (Table 9).

The examination of the months of February and September in four distributed sample years indicates a gradual decline in the number of prebendaries attending daily morning and evening prayer as indicated above, though in each case the numbers on Sundays are slightly higher. In the following table the total attendances of each residentiary are recorded for the same four years, taking the 12 months to Michaelmas in each year. It is based on attendance at divine service at least once per day. The dean and vice dean respectively were: in

Table 9 Prebendal Attendance at Divine Service at Winchester Cathedral 1

1747		1777		1817		1837	
Feb	Sept	Feb	Sept	Feb	Sept	Feb	Sept
4.5	4.3	4.0	2.4	3.0	2.7	1.5	2.5

Source: *Winchester Cathedral Attendance Registers*

Table 10 Prebendal Attendance at Divine Service at Winchester Cathedral 2

Year to 1747		Year to 1777		Year to 1817		Year to 1837	
Mr Dean	148	Mr Dean	53	Mr Dean	40	Mr Dean	116
Mr Vice Dean	134	Mr Vice Dean	56	Mr Vice Dean	87	Mr Vice Dean	212
M Woodroffe	220	Dr Balguy	105	Mr Poulter	98	Dr Nott	
Mr Morgan	220	Mr Lowth	110	Mr Barnard	53	Mr Harrison	93
Mr Inett		Mr Sturges	161	Mr Williams	91	Mr Pretymen	57
Mr Hoadly	94	Mr Pyle	106	M Iremonger	129	Mr James	105
Mr Wishaw	99	Mr Ashe	123	Mr Garnier	91	Dr Dealtry	97
Dr Maurice	28	Dr Butler		Mr North	90	Mr Vaux	90
Dr Sykes	105	Mr Rivers G	200	Mr Hawtrey	42	Mr Garnier	98
Mr Nash	123	Mr Mulso	161	Mr de Grey	81	Mr Hoare	93
Mr Shipley	1	Mr Nott	83	Dr Jenkins	116	Dr Wilson	92
Mr Rolleston	93	Mr Rennell	21	Dr Nott	69	Mr Noel	106
Mr Ridding	149	Mr Hare	24	Mr C North	44	Mr Jacob	94

Source: *Winchester Cathedral Attendance Registers*

1747 Zachary Pearce and Thomas Cheney; in 1777 Newton Ogle and William Buller; in 1817 Thomas Rennell and James Hook; and in 1837 Thomas Rennell and David Williams. Bearing in mind the norm for residence was three months (ninety days), it is clear that in the middle years half the clergy could afford to lose some emoluments (Table 10).

However, individuals could be released from their obligations, and the chapter books provide us with a number of useful examples of the excuses for non-residence which were

allowed by the King. On 29 April 1773 we read of the King's dispensation to Thomas Pyle by reason of 'advanced age and frequent long fits of the gout' (W39C/7, 368). On 23 June 1777 the chapter noted the royal instruction for John Butler, Bishop of Oxford, to hold *in commendam* by licence and dispensation a prebend to 'supply the smallness of his said Bishoprick as for other good causes' because his 'necessary attendance in Parliament and Convocation and upon the affairs of his said Bishoprick will not permit him to keep the statutory Residence upon his said

prebend' (W39C/8, 14–15). On 23 April 1785 there is the King's dispensation to Dr Thomas Balguy who 'kept constant residence of several years' but now because of 'infirmities' might 'dispense residence and usual chapter (his time of preaching only excepted)' (W39C/8, 26). On 13 September 1786 the King gave dispensation to Samuel Nott because 'on account of the ill state of health of his Daughter, he wishes to accompany her abroad for the Reestablishment thereof', and this was for four years (W39C/8, 144). Rather later in 1830 we read (W39C/10, 119 seq.):

... whereas for divers good and sufficient reasons us thereunto moving we are graciously pleased to give leave to our trusty and well beloved William Garnier Clerk, Master of Arts, one of the Prebendaries of the Cathedral Church of Winchester to be absent from our said Cathedral Church and we dispense with his keeping all or any part of that Residence which is required of him by the Statutes of our said Cathedral Church for the remainder of the present year and we are further graciously pleased hereby to order and direct that not withstanding such absence of him the said William Garnier from our said Cathedral Church of Winchester he shall continue to have and enjoy all the Power Profits Emoluments and Advantages ... to him as a Prebendary of our said Cathedral Church in as ample and beneficial manner as if he were actually resident there.

THE PATTERN OF MEETINGS AND THE DEMANDS OF QUORUM

Every chapter had its own pattern of meetings which varied: some were statutory and some as the need arose. Winchester largely kept to the two statutory meetings on the eve of St John the Baptist and in late November. Other meetings were called 'private chapters'; in practice these were kept to a minimum. During the period 1660–1840, the total number of recorded meetings of Winchester chapter was 634, an average of 3.52 per year. In the early years they kept to the minimum, but from the middle of the eighteenth century increased

to assembling quarterly. A quorum appears to have been three, but the assent of the dean or warden was required either before or after the meeting or by the receipt of a proxy to validate any business. For instance we find recorded on 23 June 1753 'I Doe hereby give my consent to the Sealing of all such leases as Shall be agreed upon in my Absence @ this Midsummer Chapter. Tho: Cheney Dean' (W39C/7, 150).

THE BUSINESS OF CHAPTER

Most agendas were concerned with maintenance of prebendal houses, leases for prebendal income, and other financial matters. There was patronage to be administered and appointments to livings, curacies, minor canonries, and chaplaincies. Residence rotas had to be organised, as well as issues of absence and proxy. The building needed repairs and improvements, particularly in the decades after the Restoration. Library affairs and provision of new books was discussed as was charitable giving. New prebendaries had to be installed. Finally, there were occasional matters of discipline, law or administration, and issues relating to the bishop, archbishop or crown. Debate about worship was rare. Often minimum numbers were present and most chapters were routine.

Two sample years have been examined in detail. In 1700 chapter had two meetings and in 1800 there were six. The table below summarises what was discussed in these two 12-month periods, but the business concluded had little bearing on numbers present (Table 11).

ATTENDANCE AT MEETINGS

The measure of attendance at chapter allows an assessment of 'residence', this being the only consistent evidence for all cathedrals. Although there are a few gaps, the records of the chapter are more or less complete, providing the names of those present on each occasion. Winchester

Table 11 Business of Chapter

	1700	1800
Absence, proxies, etc.		2
Administration		4
Bishop or crown		
Charitable giving	1	1
Election of officers		2
Fabric maintenance		1
Foundation appointments	1	3
Foundation list	2	2
Leases sealed/renewed	1	6
Legal matters		5
Library – books		1
Matters of discipline		
Minor canonries, etc.	1	1
New members of chapter		
Other financial matters		8
Patronage – livings/curacies		4
Prebendal houses		
Residence inc. rotas		1

Sources: W39C/6–10 *passim*

had many meetings when double figures were reached, but these were not spread evenly, though better figures emerge for November than June. There were 68 such occasions up to 1702, then none until three isolated ones in the middle of the century. There were 12 such occasions in the last dozen years of the eighteenth century, 16 in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, and 11 in the 1830s. There were just two occasions when all 13 were present: on the first occasion, 11 October 1814, there was a keenly disputed election of the new chapter clerk, and the other occasion was on 23 June 1835, the time of the parliamentary reforms.

Winchester averaged 7.7 out of 13 over the

whole period (59%), with a range between 6.7 in two decades (1720–4) and 10.3 in the decade to 1680. The best attendance was at the beginning of the period 1660–1700. Here, as in other capitular bodies, it would seem that the degree of attendance reflects more on the characters of the prebendaries themselves rather than special significance of any agenda content. Salisbury had an average of 3.6 out of 7 (51%), but it increased to an average of 3.8 when extra non-residentiary prebendaries are included. The two cathedrals were thus similar, in spite of Winchester chapter being double that of the close chapter of Salisbury. Size does make a difference with the two collegiate churches. Manchester had the best record of attendance over the period with an average of 3.7 out of 5 which was 74%, whereas Southwell, as one might expect, had the lowest attendance over the whole period; 4.6 out of 16 (29%) (Table 12).

These averages disguise the detailed practice of individual prebendaries, and it is clear that chapter meetings were maintained by a few who kept the institution going. But 53% of Winchester men managed 60% or more of the meetings compared with only 37% at Salisbury. Compare Manchester, where 79% were present for over 60% of meetings, and Southwell where the figure was only 19% (Table 13).

On the whole, the deans were conscientious in attending chapter meetings, though at Salisbury totals are more varied. At Winchester Alexander Hyde and Thomas Garnier had 100% record but with only 14 and five meetings respectively, and other deans of Winchester had a good percentage attendance though the actual numbers of chapters attended was not huge. Newton Ogle had the lowest percentage at 44% though he attended 73 meetings. He was also a residentiary of Salisbury where he attended 66 meetings (just 7% of the total). The archdeacons of Winchester had a high record of attendance in almost every case, and one, Augustus George Legge was nearly 100%. Archdeacons of Surrey also maintained a reasonable record, but the figure is not generally so good for those whose archdeaconries were further afield.

Table 12 Average Attendance at Chapter meetings by Decades

1670	1680	1690	1700	1710	1720	1730	1740	1750
9.5	10.3	9.2	9.0	7.0	6.8	6.7	6.7	7.1
1760	1770	1780	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840
7.6	7.4	7.4	7.5	7.6	7.3	7.7	7.6	8.2

Sources: W39C/6-10, *passim*

Table 13 Average Attendance at Chapter meetings of Individual Members

	80% and over	60% and over	40% and over	20% and over	Under 20%
Salisbury	6 (8%)	22 (29%)	20 (27%)	22 (29%)	5 (7%)
Winchester	45 (31%)	32 (22%)	32 (22%)	20 (14%)	17 (11%)

Sources: SCA, CAB 18-24, *passim*; W(inchester) C(athedral) A(rchives) W39C/5 C(hapter) B(ook) 1660–96, /6 CB 1696–1739, /7 CB 1739–76, /8 CB 1776–1803, /9 CB 1804–24, /10 CB 1824–50, *passim*

HOUSING

In a letter from Chelsea of June 1756, Edmund Pyle wrote (Hartshorne 1905, 259 seq.):

Tho' I have not been prebendary of Winchester much above 3 weeks, yet I have a junior in the church, by exchange of a stall there for a canonry of Sarum. This, I believe, will let me into an excellent house in the close, which, otherwise, I was not likely to get of some years. Tho', to say the truth, all of 'em the houses are better than I have seen belonging to any church.

It is clear from the observations of residence that housing had to be provided near the cathedral or collegiate church if conditions were to be met. Edmund Pyle certainly did well by comparison with some prebendaries elsewhere.

At Winchester, the scholar is fortunate in having extant the 'Wainscott Book' (W49/1) which gives details of all the repairs made to the chapter houses for most of the period of this study (1660–1812). It lists the 13 properties as follows:

- Deanery
- House over against South Door of Deanery
- House next to the Dean's Stable
- House North of the Dean's Garden
- New House behind the Cloister
- House over against West side of the Deanery on the Mount
- House at North West Corner
- House at S. West Corner of do.
- Middle House on West side of do. in Dome Alley
- First on the Right Hand
- First on the Left Hand
- Second on the Right Hand
- Second on the Left Hand

A statute of Charles II issued in 1670 was concerned with the deanery and prebendal houses, allocation by seniority, and repairs from public stock. This was reinforced by chapter orders in 1672 (W39C/28). On 9 December 1735 at a general chapter Charles Naylor the

		<i>Bills</i>	<i>Incista</i>
The Dean	£22 1s. 2d.	£14 19s. 7d.	£7 1s. 7d.
Mr Nott	£5 0s. 0d.	£46 15s. 0d.	due £41 15s. 0d.
Totals			
Bills allowed	£208 13s. 1½d.		
due	£145 12s. 7½d.		
bills paid	£63 0s. 6d.		
incista Dec 8 '86	£147 6s. 8¼d.		
due & incremt '86	£210 7s. 2¼d.		

dean and all the prebendaries agreed unanimously to new rules:

* repairs of our houses out of common bank or such as provided for that purpose;

* at next November chapter and following the Treasurer to allocate £70 for repair of Deanery and 12 prebendal houses together with stables and outhouses (deanery £10, prebendal houses £5 each) – any residue banked; bills of workmen signed and produced to be paid by Treasurer

Signed by Charles Naylor (dean) Christopher Eyre (vice-dean), Jo Cook, John Sturges, Alured Clark, J. Soley, Benjamin Woodroffe (receiver), J. Morgan, R. Bourne (treasurer)

This was countersigned by the bishop on 7 January 1736.

There is an account book for repairs of Close houses (1736–1801), prefixed by a recital of the royal repeal in 1670 of clauses in statutes relating to repairs of dean's and prebendaries' houses, and chapter agreement of new rules (W39C/28). As an example of work done we may take an early entry dated November 1736 with the total sum spent that year as £56 11s. 11d., leaving a surplus of £13 8s. 1d. from the £70 allowance. Two houses give an indication: 'Mr Morgan's bills: painter £2 17s. 1d.; carpenter £1 3s. 9d.; smith 16s. 2d.; mason 8s. 1d.', making a total £5 5s. 1d. but he received £5 only and 'Mr Eyre: bricklayer £16 15s.

7d.; carpenter £6 3s. 6d.; plumber £1 9s. 0d.' making a total of £24 8s. 1d. Deanery expenses were only £1 9s. 3d.

There is a later account book for repair of houses in the Close (1802–1884), prefixed with copy of the chapter act concerning payment for repairs of houses 7 January 1735/6 (W39/4/11). Half a century later we take another sample from 1786 (see above)

One example from the Wainscott Book will suffice:

House on the North Side of the Dean's Garden (W49/1, 77):

January 10th 1772

Allowed to Mr Nott for work done by)
Mr Smith Carpenter, but not entered) £4 5s. 11¼d.
before as by Bill produced)

January 13th 1772

Allowed to Mr Nott for work done by)
Cave painter by Bill then produced) £3 4s. 9d.
but not before entered)

These two bills were produced to me by Mr Nott

November Chapter 1789

John Ridding, Chapter Clerk.

The next relevant document included the 'Rules concerning the Repairs of the Deanery and the Prebendal Houses made at the Midsummer Chapter 1798'. This took place on 23 June 1798 (W39C/8, 330–3). New rules were laid down based on statutes from Ely, as follows:

1. Materials from public stock, workmanship paid by owners but reimbursed as wanted or as far as funds allow.
2. Repairs approved by Dean (or Vice-Dean) and Treasurer. In cases of neglect Chapter or these officers were empowered to order Repairs be done.
3. Alterations or improvements were not repairs.
4. 'Wainscott Book' would be ended.
5. Boundary repairs would be paid for by the Church.
6. Old materials would be used where possible.
7. Decorations internally were the responsibility of the owners.
8. Sash windows repairs were divided between materials and workmanship as above.
9. Marble chimney pieces – old repairs/new improvements.
10. Outside decoration was to be divided as above.
11. The house formerly of Mr Mulso long empty and neglected was to be repaired under the old rules.

It was approved by the bishop on 17 July 1798.

WORSHIP AND MAINTENANCE OF THE FABRIC

Jeremy Gregory has noted the importance of continuity with the past which was so much a part of cathedral life. He compares the situation in England with a study of cathedrals in France during a similar period, which condemned them for being 'citadelles du passé', irrelevant to the Enlightenment as today they might be in the face of Post-Modernism (Plonger 1974, 113). Gregory asserts that this link with the pre-Civil War past marked the salvation of cathedrals and collegiate churches, for the Restoration had been about re-establishing that lost world, so 'there is no doubt that the activities of the cathedrals goes some way to accounting for the relative stability of eighteenth-century provincial life.' This required effort, but

while 'it is tempting to see eighteenth-century Canterbury as a precursor of that cosy world so tellingly portrayed in Trollope's nostalgic Barchester novels ... a clerical citadel set within an unholy world', this was definitely not the case (Gregory 2000, 207).

In this review of the cathedral and collegiate church buildings, and the liturgy associated with them we find a very varied picture, but one which again seems to depend more on individual people than on the age or the institution. In reviewing the cathedral and its liturgy it is appropriate to include contemporary comments, with the proviso that these writers often had a political or social axe to grind. Their assessment must, accordingly, be taken with caution. For instance it is true that, in general, weekday congregations were often small. In York that eccentric prebendary, Laurence Sterne, author of *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy*, recorded that he had preached on All Saints' Day 1756, to 'one bellows blower, three singing men, one vicar and one residentiary' (Owen 1994, 262). An observer at Exeter in the 1820s noticed that even Sunday attendance in the quire was not large, though there were many people in the nave, listening to part of the service or doing other things, some before going to their own parish churches. It is probable that lay people had never attended ordinary cathedral services in great numbers, but 'visited' in this way, with greater or lesser devotion (Thurmer 1991, 212).

Norman Sykes described the eighteenth-century prebendaries as 'a body of dutiful and conscientious men, trying to do their work according to the standards of their day' (Sykes 1934, 141). The piety of one Winchester prebendary speaks to us from his memorial in Buriton church: William Lowth '... being dead, desires to speak to his beloved parishioners and sweetly exhorts them constantly to attend public worship of God, frequently to receive Holy Communion and diligently to observe the good institutions of this place...' (Gibson 2003, 108)

Contemporary evidence and reflections suggest there was plenty which was good. A young ordinand, seeing William Mason the precentor leave York Minster in 1769 'in his surplice, cap, hood and scarf ... thought what

a happy man he was to have such a dignified station in such a cathedral, where he might gratify his taste for music in the enjoyment of such a heavenly mode of worship' (Aylmer & Cant 1977, 241). Evensong at Exeter remained at three o'clock, though in the eighteenth century it was sometimes a little earlier or a little later, perhaps to accommodate the canons' dining arrangements (Thurmer 1991, 212). At Gloucester apart from the controversy over what should be said or sung in services, the discipline and standard of singing of the choir rose steadily in the second part of the period under review. The repertoire of the choir expanded as new choral settings of the canticles were being written and new anthems published (Welandar 1991, 435). There were some less savoury moments, such as at Wells, when, in 1778, a prebendary, Robert Wilson, was 'sued and prosecuted' by the chapter for 'his often brawling in the said cathedral church at the time of divine service and disturbing the same' (Colchester 1982, 175).

There is evidence of the liturgical use of incense at Ely continuing well into the eighteenth century. The antiquary William Cole who was at Ely from 1737 to 1751 wrote (Mather 1985, 260):

I have often heard Mr Soame Jenyns, who lived at Ely when he was young, say ... that it was the constant practice on the greater festivals at Ely, to burn incense at the altar in the Cathedral, till Dr Tho: Green, one of the prebendaries, & now Dean of Salisbury 1779, a finical man, tho' a very worthy one, & who is always taking snuff up his nose, objected to it, under pretence, that it made his head to ach[e].

But there was some fading of ideals. The best guide to the England of the 1780s and 1790s is John Byng (later Fifth Viscount Torrington). 'Usually deploring change, he had opinions on most things including cathedrals, their clerics and services.' (Atherton *et al.* 1996, 602) Byng, visiting Winchester Cathedral in 1782, noted that 'the service 'was more irregularly perform'd, than I ever remember to have heard it; and to a most shabby congregation, none

but the Winchester boys, and a few wanderers being present; the belief after the communion service was chaunted to a tune like God Save the King' (Andrews 1934–8, I 80). This was a theme re-echoed by William Cobbett more than 30 years later.

Cobbett reflected some early-nineteenth-century opinion about cathedrals, suggesting there was little to commend about them and a great deal to criticise. These views, and others like them, would lead to the reforms of the 1830s. He expressed anger at their wealth, regret at the small congregations often found in these vast buildings, but recognised the artistic merit of their architecture. When he visited Winchester Cathedral on Sunday 30 October 1825 for morning prayer, he recalled (Cobbett 1967, I 279):

The 'service' was now begun. There is a *dean* and God knows how many *prebends* belonging to this *immensely rich* bishopric and chapter; and there were at this 'service' *two or three men and five or six boys* in white surplices, with a congregation of 15 women and four men! Gracious God! ... it beggars one's *feelings* to attempt to find *words* whereby to express them upon such a subject and such an occasion.

However, an examination of the attendance registers indicates that there were present the dean, three prebendaries and four lay vicars. The number of choristers was not recorded but there were only six boys at the time (T5/1/1/3).

With Byng and Cobbett it is difficult to disentangle their opinion of the services they took part in from their censure of cathedral chapters and idle clerics generally. In fact Barrett notes of Winchester (Barrett 1993, 3):

The spiritual condition of the cathedrals in the early nineteenth century also varied. Matins and evensong were sung daily throughout the year, generally at 10 a.m. and 4 p.m., and in addition there was an early said service. Holy Communion, however, was rarely celebrated... Sermons, however, were much appreciated. Thomas Rennell, who was Dean of Winchester from 1805 to 1840, was highly regarded as a preacher by William Pitt the Younger, who called him the

'Demosthenes of the pulpit'. But Sydney Smith described him in the *Edinburgh Review* in 1802 as 'a ponderous limner'.

However this is a modern judgment, and about communion it was not even true, for celebrations across the cathedrals were held generally at least monthly and often much more frequently.

Barrett's conclusion (Barrett 1993, 4–5) is that:

Cathedrals in the early nineteenth century were therefore not quite so moribund as William Cobbett believed – outstanding rather than typical Nevertheless, there were many individuals of cathedral chapters who brought nothing but notoriety to the close. The chief abuses in the cathedral system were non-residence, pluralism, nepotism and general worldliness.

Nigel Yates has been much kinder to cathedral worship in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, though even he admits there was a problem in the early nineteenth century (Yates 1996, 148):

In modern times cathedrals have tended to reflect, and indeed to set the pattern for, the norms in Anglican worship. This, however, is a comparatively recent development. As the survey of worship in the cathedral at Rochester has shown, there was a substantial gulf between cathedral and parochial worship in earlier years. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the standards of worship in cathedrals tended to be considerably in advance of those in parish churches, and Rochester was no exception to this general rule. By the nineteenth century cathedrals had become bastions of entrenched conservatism, and were well behind parish churches in adapting to the new liturgical ideas that had begun to be introduced by both Evangelicals and the radical high churchman who allied themselves, to a greater or lesser extent, with the leaders of the Oxford Movement.

Thus we see a very mixed picture across the period and across the selected institutions. Manchester and Southwell remain very different at either end of the spectrum with the two cathedrals somewhere in between. There were plenty of prebendaries who appear to have

contributed little for their stipends, especially at Southwell. But in all four institutions, and in many of the other cathedrals, we see throughout the period a small group of clergymen who succeeded one another in living in the locality and making a real contribution to the life of the cathedral or collegiate church.

Examination of the fabric of Winchester Cathedral shows that chapter made a considerable contribution to the maintenance, though, with hindsight and in certain cases with contemporary criticism, some of the decisions were unfortunate.

In a letter from Chelsea in June 1756, Edmund Pyle wrote first of the houses and then of Winchester Cathedral itself: 'the church itself excels the other fabricks of that sort, – being the finest thing within-side I ever saw', but his editor comments (Hartshorne 1905, 259–61):

Pyle's patronising remarks about the august fane, Winchester Cathedral, indicate the lack of intelligent interest on the part of the clergy with regard to church architecture. It was the universal condition among the Anglican clerics a century and a half ago, when religious fervour, together with appreciation for the masterpieces of the great science, were at their lowest point. But it is accidentally to the credit of the eighteenth-century clergy that, not comprehending the architectural history of their churches, having no wish to spend money on them, and regarding them, in fact, merely as convenient halls in which to preach political sermons, to be afterwards printed with a view to advancement – they were content to leave them alone; besides, popular modes ran in quite different directions.

These are extremely loaded comments and reflect pre-revisionist understanding, still prevalent at the beginning of the early twentieth century.

On a return visit to Winchester Cathedral in 1789, Byng noted 'a scene of generall devastation' (Cobb 1980, 126). It was, perhaps, the lull before the storm because Frederick Bussby's monumental history of Winchester Cathedral describes the period from 1775 to 1825 as 'fifty years of feverish building, repairs and alterations'. Although that is an exaggeration, there

was certainly great concern about the building in those years, and the dean and chapter made considerable progress in repairing and embellishing it (Bussby 1979, 194).

The architect E. W. Garbett, referring to Winchester, wrote in 1809 that

... the transept was in great dilapidation, some of the northern part being used as a common workshop and depot for the coarsest materials; the windows were unglazed; many of the staircases and galleries choked [sic] up with the accumulation of rubbish of every description (Barrett 1993, 2).

Dean Thomas Rennell undertook the restoration of Winchester Cathedral between 1815 and 1820, shifting monuments, and repairing and strengthening the nave piers and the presbytery roof, not without some opposition (Hole *ODNB*, 46, 478–9). The work of restoration was particularly encouraged by one of the prebendaries, George Frederick Nott, who was appointed to the chapter in 1810 at the age of 43. The leading role taken by Nott was recognised at the time, for a paper found in the roof of the presbytery said that he ‘had done more for the repair of the church than had been done by his predecessors in the course of two or three centuries’. Although injured by a fall from a ladder in 1816 he continued to take a close interest in all that was being done in the cathedral, though, according to Nott’s own memorial in the north transept, the injuries he sustained in his fall obliged him ‘to spend some years in Italy in pursuit of health.’ This meant that he was largely absent from Winchester while two protracted matters were being discussed – the repairs to the nave piers and the position of the organ. Nott wrote to the dean and chapter from Rome on 6 March 1824, protesting against the change of policy about the organ. If the organ were replaced in its original position, the choir would be unable ‘to perform the service with that precision and effect, which they would otherwise be able to do’ ... The ‘security and mutual confidence’ which ought to exist between the members of the chapter was at risk. Another prebendary, James Hook, sent a formal protest to the

dean and chapter at mid summer 1824 and said that ‘the general opinion of the Public is decidedly hostile to the measure of restoring the organ to its late position in the choir’. The dean secured the support of the bishop and although the canons complained that this was ‘an undisguised attempt to make the opinion of the dean prevail over that of an unanimous chapter through the instrumentality of your Lordship’, the views of Rennell and the architect Edward Blore prevailed in spite of the chapter’s appeal (Crook 1993, 317–8).

For a final word on the subject, we turn to John Milner, *History and Survey of the Antiquities of Winchester, 1798 to 1801*, who asserted that this extensive work in English cathedrals ‘proved a cat among the dovescotes ... This utter indifference to the worth of our mediæval heritage and its subsequent neglect led to a great deal of interesting and valuable remains – architecture, painting, sculpture, stained glass, and so on – being destroyed or covered up’ (Milner 1798–9, 11).

It would appear from these contemporary and more recent comments, and from architectural evidence, that generally the cathedral was carefully maintained and, for the period, the worship was of a reasonable standard. Clearly it is necessary to scrape away the opinions and accretions of the Victorian age, and it is still possible to confirm that contemporary comments were often exaggerated, but it is also the case that revisionist historians, in their efforts to correct these imbalances, have sometimes chosen to ignore the evidence that does not support the case they are trying to make.

F.C. Mather believes eighteenth-century cathedrals varied a good deal in their attainments, according to their past experiences and the energy and inclinations of their deans and chapters. As displayed by external observances, therefore, ‘English churchmanship of the Georgian epoch was ‘higher’ in a spiritual sense than is commonly supposed. It cannot simply be described as Latitudinarian’ (Mather 1985, 262, 282). Mather has concluded that liturgy across the Church of England in the

eighteenth century was very varied, but not at the universal low point which former historians have suggested.

SOCIAL HABITS AND LIFESTYLE

Prebendaries enjoyed hospitality and lavish formal meals on special occasions, and a social round in the close with music and entertainment. Official hospitality was exercised at collations, annual audits, coming into residence, and episcopal visitations. Appropriately for this subject, formal documents are supplemented by some more personal sources. Those will necessarily be more subjective, and not always reliable.

In a letter from Chelsea dated July 1756, Edmund Pyle wrote (Hartshorne 1905, 263 seq.):

My Scheme of abode, if I outlive my patron, is May, June July, August at York & my livings; Thence to the end of January at Winton, the other 3 months in London. My months of residence at Winchester are September & the two following. And I am obliged to attend that Chapter that is nearest to those months, i.e. the Xmas Chapter. Whilst I live with the Bishop he can dispense with me for two months out of these 3, & for my Chapter attendance. The emoluments of our church are good. And so they had need; for, I assure you, it is nearly as dear living at Winchester as in London. All sorts of poultry pigs rabbits &c. are very high-priced. Coals as dear as in London & what is sold in the shambles is a penny in the pound weight above the Norfolk price.

Having arrived at the city, Pyle wrote this from the 'Close at Winton' in September 1756 (Hartshorne 1905, 266):

The life of a prebendary is a pretty easy way of dawdling away one's time; praying, walking, visiting; – & as little study as your heart would wish. A stall in this church is called a charming thing. And so it is. But one circumstance of it, spoken of, usually, with a mighty recommendation, viz. that one comes into it without expense, is a jest. The income of my house, & charges of collation instalment &c. (without reckoning trav-

elling expenses, & my maintenance here), have cost me 50 pounds; and were I not excused from two months residence out of 3, as the Bishop's Chaplain, it would cost me above 100 pounds more before I could eat or sleep in my own house. (Here I am now at Dr. Hoadly's.) And I will affirm that a pound at Lynn (at all times) will procure more things of the same kind & quality than 30 shillings will do here. Indeed our houses are repaired, & taxes paid, by the church.

A great event in the Winchester chapter calendar was the annual audit dinner which took place over three consecutive days in November when the prebendaries set the price of wheat on capitular estates. One of the canons, the receiver, entertained sumptuously 'the gentlemen of the close', the minor canons and the farmers. Menus have survived which give a considerable insight into the diet of the nineteenth-century chapter. The whole thing began at noon on a Thursday when a hot leg of mutton was sent to the servants, while at 6.00 pm there was a grand dinner for the canons with a whole sirloin of beef and calf's head, etc (Barrett 1993, 9).

LITERARY ACHIEVEMENTS

The eighteenth century saw a huge growth in publishing once state censorship was abandoned. William Gibson has estimated that the single largest body of published work in the eighteenth century was religious, making up 50,000 titles. Over 8,800 sermons were published between 1660 and 1751, an average of over ninety a year. From 1700 to 1790 something like 230 religious books were published every year, and in the first eight years of the century 1,152 religious books left the presses. The market was dominated by Anglican authors, and in 1700 some 2,500 Anglican sermons were in print (Gibson 2001, 159).

At Winchester there were prebendaries of quite mixed views. Latitudinarian bishops Richard Willis (1723–34) and Benjamin Hoadly (1734–61) tried to draw dissenters into Church and 'comprehend' them, by using their

powers of appointment. Indeed W.R. Ward has written that '... the honey pot of Winchester patronage was so large that the new Hanoverian government had no option but to get hold of it, which they did in the persons of Willis and Hoadly' (Ward 1995, xxvii). For example Willis appointed Alured Clarke to a prebend in 1723; while Hoadly appointed Arthur Ashley Sykes in 1740. One contemporary clergyman said of Sykes that 'if heretics as well as blasphemers are to stand in the pillory I shall be afraid for Dr Sykes' (Gibson 2003, 109). Alured Clarke was a great admirer of Samuel Clarke, though perhaps not his Arian views, and opposed to the polemic of Daniel Waterland. In a sermon of 1731 he preached against the politics of ambitious divines and the supposed collusion of infidelity and Roman Catholicism. Clarke's letters revealed great compassion, and all his surplus income was spent either on charity or hospitality. He regretted the party faction, and lamented the rise of irreligion and licentiousness (Young, *ODNB* 11, 842–3). Arthur Ashley Sykes, a prolific controversialist, wrote some eighty pamphlets. He defended Samuel Clarke's Arian views of the Trinity in *A Modest Appeal for the Baptismal and Scriptural Notion of the Trinity* (1719). In 1721 Daniel Waterland took issue with Sykes, arguing for scriptural authority interpreted in the light of the early fathers, which led to an exchange of many pamphlets. 'Overall Sykes's writings, especially his letters, show a wry wit, a detached interest in ecclesiastical politics and a bemused tolerance of his contemporaries' (Stephens *ODNB* 53, 547–8). Edmund Pyle wrote from the 'Close at Winton' in September 1756 that 'Old Sykes is here. Brewing a pamphlet to prove historically that the Resurrection (of the body) was never part of any Xtian creed, for the first 350 years' (Hartshorne 1905, 267). By contrast the dean, Zachary Pearce, became more interested in the defence of traditional Christian doctrine rather than support for Whig orthodoxy, joining in the Middletonian controversy in support of Daniel Waterland (Hole *ODNB* 43, 289–91).

Two other Winchester prebendaries may be compared. Francis Ayscough identified himself

as a latitudinarian by defending Hoadly's views on the eucharist in *A Proper Answer to a Late Abusive Pamphlet Entitled 'The Winchester Converts'* (1735). 'Politically inconvenient to the former allies of Prince Frederick, and too latitudinarian for most of the clergy, Ayscough did not receive further appointment until Benjamin Hoadly whom he had once defended, appointed him a canon at Winchester in 1756' (St John Parker *ODNB*, 3, 51–2). Thomas Balguy also owed his clerical preferments to the favour of Hoadly, and was for a time his chaplain. Balguy took a very orthodox view of the need for subscription to the Thirty-Nine Articles, claiming in a sermon *On church authority*, preached at the consecration of Jonathan Shipley as bishop of Llandaff in 1769, that 'a religion founded on Reason willingly submits to human authority in all points not essential to the cause of Piety and Virtue' (Rivers *ODNB*, 3, 549–50).

Ward concluded that 'in 1788 Hampshire Christianity was still overwhelmingly that of the Church of England' (Ward 1995, xxxviii). By the beginning of the nineteenth century politics were becoming more various at Winchester and new labels were beginning to appear. William Dealtry was a supporter of the Church Missionary Society, and revered by evangelicals for his pamphlets in defence of the British and Foreign Bible Society against the criticisms of influential High-churchmen, and he also was active in the anti-slavery movement. In 1813, on Simeon's recommendation, he became rector of Clapham in succession to John Venn. His sermons published in 1827, were more practical than theological or spiritual. Increasingly he became aligned with more orthodox Anglican churchmen, becoming linked with SPCK and SPG. In 1830 Dealtry was appointed chancellor of the diocese of Winchester by the bishop Charles Sumner with a canonry which he kept along with his Clapham living (Curthoys *ODNB*, 15, 624–5).

Gibson concludes (Gibson 2003, 100):

In these inauspicious circumstances, the Church of England in the diocese of Winchester thrived and reached its highest point since the Reformation. The principal measure of the success of the

Church was its triumph over Catholic and Protestant nonconformity, an ascendancy which lasted throughout the eighteenth century. The measure of this success lay principally in the level of the professional duty achieved by the clergy and the strongly contrasting policies of successive Latitudinarian bishops and High Church clergy to defend the Church and advance its cause.

Manchester wardens and fellows had the greatest proportion of writers (28%), with the two cathedrals producing more or less the same proportions (Salisbury 21% and Winchester 20%), and Southwell prebendaries (9%) appearing to be the least published. In all 17% of prebendaries in these four chapters are known to have published at least one book but several, like Daniel Whitby of Salisbury, nearly 50 works, Clement Ellis of Southwell, nearly 30, and the polemical Arthur Ashley Sykes of Winchester over 20 (mainly pamphlets), wrote considerably more. An examination of the writings of the 29 Winchester canons who published indicates the usual crop of published sermons, but there is other material as well, and a brief summary will give some indication of the range (Table 14).

Table 14 Published Works of 29 Winchester Canons

Controversy and Politics	10
Education	0
History and Biography	4
Novels	1
Pastoral	1
Poetry	7
Science	2
Sermons	17
Social	0
Theology	7
Travel	1

Sources: As per Table 1

Bampton lecturers included Robert Holmes (1782) and George Frederick Nott (1803). Important scientific authors included Robert Sharrock, a great botanist, and William Dealtry, who wrote on fluxions, a branch of mathematics which led to calculus.

Among notable theologians was William Lowth, a skilled expositor whose work appealed to both clergy and laity, as seen in the successful series of commentaries on the prophetic books of the Old Testament, published between 1714 and 1726. These were frequently reprinted as a companion to Simon Patrick's commentaries on the historical books of the Old Testament. Lowth provided effective summaries of the most advanced orthodox ideas of the late Caroline and early Georgian divines in these books, which treated Israelite prophecy as foreshadowing the teaching of Christ and the history of the church. He was not, however, very keen on controversy and did not publish this sort of material, though he was a highly regarded critic by contemporaries (Mandelbrote *ODNB*, 34, 617).

Among the scientists, two illustrate the richness of their thought and learning. At Oxford, Robert Sharrock was one of those involved in the university's botanic garden and part of the circle of scientifically-minded people who met in the Oxford lodgings of Robert Boyle, which laid the foundation for the foundation of the Royal Society in 1662. At the same time, Sharrock had been writing his own book, *The history of the propagation & improvement of vegetables by the concurrence of art and nature*. It was first published in Oxford, probably with Boyle's financial assistance, in 1660, and was intended as a practical text for husbandmen and gardeners. Sharrock mused on the similarity of some plant forms and on the mathematical symmetry in the arrangement of bud and leaf, and the possibility of finding some natural law which controlled their growth. It is one of the few competent studies of plant anatomy before Nehemiah Grew; and 'its chief interest lies in the fact that Robert Sharrock was one of the earliest writers to be interested in the scientific study of plant cultivation, and was referred to by both Grew and Ray' (McConnell *ODNB*, 50, 64).

Finally among the many poets, one example will suffice. During his time in Oxford, Samuel Woodford played the viol with a group which included Thomas Ken, and his earliest poems were published. A profligate debtor, he left Oxford in 1658 to become a student at the Inner Temple, but continued a dissolute life, until reformed by Charles and Mary Beale and in their home he met a number of divines of puritan and latitudinarian persuasion. Woodford established his reputation as a religious poet with the publication of his *Paraphrase upon the Psalms of David* (1667), dedicated to George Morley, Bishop of Winchester, inspired by Psalm 114, written during Woodford's residence with the Beales and completed in Hampshire. He justified poetry as 'the Stile, and Language of Heaven', arguing that a 'man of an Harmonious soul (such as all true *Poets* are) will surpass scholars in communicating biblical truth'. The *Paraphrase* was popular, and in 1678 it went into a revised second edition. In 1669 Woodford was ordained by bishop Morley, and became a prebendary of Winchester 'by the favour of his great patron' in November 1680. His *Paraphrase upon the canticles and some select hymns of the New and Old Testaments*, with other occasional compositions in English verse appeared in 1679. Woodford continued his poetical output until his death at Winchester in January 1700, and a complete edition of his works was published in 1713 (Keeble *ODNB*, 60, 178–9).

CONCLUSION

The residentiary canons of Winchester emerged from families whose fathers might be described as gentry or clergy, and clergy dynasties were increasing during the period. Patronage and marriage play an important part of these developments, paving the way for a clergy profession by the end of the period of study. More went to Oxford than Cambridge, but a good proportion earned higher degrees and were college fellows. They tended to live rather longer than their fellow incumbents, were installed in middle age, and usually ceased by death or preferment. Patronage was largely royal in the early

years but increasingly clerical, with an ongoing proportion of aristocratic and parliamentary influence. Financial gain was an important part of the lifestyle of the many pluralists under review, but whereas Winchester residentiaries had equal shares, those of Salisbury had varying amounts according to their prebends.

Residence was demanded by statute but exemptions were granted. Pluralism and absenteeism did not necessarily reflect idleness, and men moved from one preferment to another and, through colleagues and curates, providing as much cover as was expected by the average lay person, at least until the nineteenth century. A study of meetings in the period shows Winchester having far less than Salisbury, but the business seems to have been consistent. In cathedrals generally there was a local group which reconstituted itself during the decades and provided the few regulars who in practice kept the 'show on the road'. In the end it was the conscientiousness of individuals who made the difference rather than any other factor. Eighteenth-century English cathedral clergy have had a bad name for torpor, slackness, resistance to change, worldliness, non-residence and pluralism, but the customs of canonical residence were inherited and practically no change was made to them. Pluralism had been well established for centuries; most of the prebendaries held at least one benefice with cure of souls outside the cathedral and prebends at other cathedrals. This was no more than their predecessors had done in the preceding three hundred years, and in some ways the eighteenth-century close was a lively place.

The lifestyle of the prebendary was clearly desirable and increasingly reflected that of the gentry as they became more assimilated into that social status. Hospitality was important and there is indication of much social interaction with music, cards, coffee houses and dinners providing key notes to the lives recorded. There is evidence of a 'set' being established in and around the close, with families creating their own social setting. The clergy reviewed were certainly affected by the Restoration, the Glorious Revolution and

the Whig and Tory factions of the eighteenth century. They were also embroiled in theological controversy, but their huge loyalty to the Church of England was paramount. A significant number of canons were literary figures,

but what is of great interest is that, apart from the obvious collections of sermons which were published, they included authors who both had the time and energy to write on a whole range of divergent subjects.

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