

THOMAS WARTON'S *DESCRIPTION OF WINCHESTER* AND ITS DERIVATIVES

By J. M. G. BLAKISTON

PREFACE

THIS article is based on Appendix II of my *Sir Thomas Phillipps and Winchester College (T)*.¹ An abbreviated version of the full essay (from which most of the Warton material is omitted) has appeared under the same title in *The Book Collector* (Blakiston 1979).

INTRODUCTION

That the Fellows' Library at Winchester College should possess important books and papers associated with the Wartons is no matter for surprise, though it is perhaps odd that Dr. Joseph, the Headmaster, is less well represented than his non-Wykehamist brother Thomas, Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, Professor of Poetry, Poet Laureate. But the collection is not the result of any testamentary dispositions on the part of either of them. A large proportion of it is owed to the generosity, and sustained vigilance in the saleroom, of the Rev. Peter Hall (d. 1849), Old Wykehamist (Blakiston 1962, 39-43; *T passim*). Another and an unexpected source is that fanatical book-collector Sir Thomas Phillipps of Middle Hill, his benefaction consisting almost exclusively of manuscripts presented in his lifetime, despite his son-in-law's express assertion that 'he never gave MSS away' (Fenwick 1882).

The Phillipps item which specially concerns us in the present context did not in fact reach the College until after Sir Thomas's death. It is an interleaved copy of the anonymous *Description of the City, College and Cathedral of Winchester*, known to be Thomas Warton's work, with annotations in the author's hand (*Description A*). Although he was unwilling to part with the original while he lived, Phillipps did familiarise the College authorities with this book by giving them in 1857 a copy of Warton's *Notes* which

he had just had printed at his Middle Hill press (Phillipps 1857).² It was in the course of examining these two texts for the purposes of my article (*T*) mentioned above that I became aware of various problems posed by Warton's guide-book and its derivatives.

DATING PROBLEMS

The *Description* appeared without date as well as without author's name. Phillipps assigned it firmly to 1750 (Phillipps 1857, 1); and when Warton makes a manuscript note on the title-page of the interleaved copy 'Published 1760 by Mr Thos. Warton,' conjectures in an editorial comment that this was 'probably intended for the 2nd edition' (*ibid.*)

It is not clear where Phillipps found his authority for 1750.³ Richard Mant was much less positive. In the Preface to his edition of the *Poems of Thomas Warton* (Mant 1802, I, xl) he states: 'It must have been about this [ill-defined] time or somewhat earlier, as the Connoisseur was published in 1754, that Colman and Thornton invited Mr Warton to engage in a Periodical Publication... About this time also he published two small tracts, without name or date. The first was a 'Description of the City, College and Cathedral of Winchester, &c... printed at London, 12^{mo}.' The copy of the *Description* presented to the Fellows' Library by Peter Hall (*Description B*) is endorsed by him as follows: 'This is the first and genuine Edition of the Rev.⁴ Thos. Warton's Winton Guide, & was published about 1754;' and he gives a reference to the passage in Mant's Preface quoted above. It may be remarked that the binder of this copy has not helped matters by opting for the date 1757. But, as so often, the question is settled beyond dispute by the late Herbert Chitty who took the trouble to read the text

and noted in the same copy of the guide: 'As to the date of this book see p. 12, where it is stated that the County Hospital was 'opened for Patients at Michaelmas, 1759'. Warton's '1760' in the annotated copy therefore makes perfect sense. It is the date of the first edition of his book, the only one which is integrally his. It is further confirmed in a letter from John Burdon to James Granger (Malcolm 1805, 390-1) which will be discussed later on; and is accepted by, for instance, the *Bibliotheca Britannica* (BB 1824, II, 951c).⁵

In affirming the authenticity of his first edition Hall continues to follow Mant, whose Preface goes on: 'A surreptitious and imperfect edition of it was soon afterwards printed by W. Greenville,⁶ Winchester.' (Mant 1802, I, xl). This likewise was published without date or name of author. Hall presented a copy to the College, describing it in a manuscript note as 'the 2nd or Spurious Edition' (*Description C*). The two title-pages may be compared (Fig. 1, A and B).

In spite of his mistaken dating of the *Description*, I was at first inclined to interpret Mant's 'soon afterwards' fairly literally and so to assume a date not much later than 1760 for the Greenville edition. But internal evidence shows that this cannot be. With reference to his gift of the Le Moine painting over the altar in College Chapel, Dr. Burton is described as 'the *late* [my italics] public spirited, and learned headmaster' (*Description C*, 38).⁷ If we suppose, as we must, that the term 'late' refers to Burton's retirement, which took place in 1766, rather than to his death in 1774, the date of the spurious edition will lie between these two limits and its assignment in the catalogue of the Bodleian Library (Hants 8^o. 69) to 'c. 1770' may be pretty near the mark. It will in any case precede a third guide, the anonymous *History*, explicitly dated 1773 (Fig. 2, A).

The confusion between these various guides is the real occasion for this article and in respect of the last named, which will be discussed presently, it may here be mentioned that H. E. Moberly, Sub-Librarian, writing to

the Fellows' Librarian T. F. A. P. Hodges in 1866 (P-R, M 1866),⁸ quite fails to distinguish between the *Description* and the *History* (T 17 and 31, n.44). This may be considered remiss in a sub-librarian; but I notice that in the catalogue of the Library of the Victoria and Albert Museum (228.C.) the *History* is still attributed to Warton; and in a broad sense this will always be excusable, for the late 18th century publications all derive from Warton both in their substance and their phrasing. In many of their errors, too, it must be allowed.

THE TWO *Descriptions*

It was common knowledge according to Milner ([1839], xiii) that the *Description* was 'extorted by the importunity of booksellers;' and among the Warton papers at Trinity College, Oxford, Dr. David Fairer has found support for the tradition in the following note about the book in an unidentified hand: 'a small work published for a shilling, without any date & without any name, to satisfy a needy bookseller' (Trinity College MS). Such extenuation is requisite, for although Milner declares that 'no man in England was better qualified than himself [Warton] to do justice to the antiquities of a city to which he had so many ties and which was frequently the place of his residence,⁹ had he bestowed the pains upon them necessary for this purpose' ([1839], xiii), we cannot dispute his verdict that the work is 'exceedingly defective and erroneous' (*ibid.*).¹⁰ And this in spite of the claim made by Warton in his Preface (*Description B*, iii) to have carried out an 'attentive examination on the Spot.'¹¹

In respect of the College the reason for his untrustworthiness lies mainly in his dependence upon one source of which he was particularly proud. 'Our principal Assistance has been derived from a valuable Manuscript of Anthony Wood, never before printed; and preserved in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, D.4.56, 8518. pag. 308. 4to. It is dated, February, 1684, and consists of the following Articles...' (*Description B*, iii-iv).

A
DESCRIPTION
 OF THE
CITY, COLLEGE,
 AND
CATHEDRAL of WINCHESTER.

EXHIBITING.

A complete and comprehensive Detail
 OF THEIR
ANTIQUITIES and PRESENT STATE.

The whole illustrated with

Several curious and authentic Particulars, collected from a Manuscript of ANTHONY WOOD, preserved in the Ashmolean Museum at *Oxford*; the COLLEGE and CATHEDRAL REGISTERS; and other Original Authorities, never before published.

----- *Capiturque laeis, et singula lectus*
Exquiriturque audique VIRAM MONUMENTA PRIORUM.
 VIRG. viii. 311.

L O N D O N,

Printed for R. BALDWIN, in Pater-noster Row:
 Sold by T. BURDON, in *Winchester*; B. COLLINS, in *Salisbury*;
 and by the Booksellers of OXFORD, and CAMBRIDGE.

[Price One Shilling.]

A. Title-page of Thomas Warton's *Description . . . of Winchester*, 1760

(Slightly reduced) (Warden and Fellows' Library, Winchester College)

A
DESCRIPTION
 OF THE
CITY, COLLEGE,
 AND
CATHEDRAL of WINCHESTER.

EXHIBITING

A complete and comprehensive Detail
 OF THEIR
ANTIQUITIES and PRESENT STATE.

ILLUSTRATED WITH

Several curious and authentic Particulars, collected from a Manuscript of ANTHONY WOOD, preserved in the Ashmolean Museum at *Oxford*; the COLLEGE and CATHEDRAL REGISTERS; and other Original Authorities,

To which is added,

An authentic Account of the most remarkable EVENTS and memorable OCCURRENCES from its earliest State to the Present Time.

W I N C H E S T E R:

Printed and Sold by W. GREENVILLE.

[Price One Shilling]

Fig. 1

B. Title-page of the 'spurious' edition, ?1770.

Now it has been demonstrated that Wood was not in Winchester at the required date and that he copied his account from a manuscript by his friend Matthew Hutton now in the British Library (Hutton).¹² Warton was in no position to check Wood against Hutton, but he might have checked him 'on the Spot.' He evidently did not do so, even when making

his later *Notes* for a possible revised edition. Sufficient proof of this is a flagrant error in his description of the Owen Phillipps monument.¹³ 'Over all,' the text runs, 'his Arms Arg. a Lion ramp. sab. chained, Or' (*Description A*, 54). Hutton's manuscript has 'under all' [my italics] and that is a true statement of the fact.

Some of the sting is indeed taken out of Milner's criticisms by the circumstance that the book before him—'in eighty-four duodecimo pages' ([1839], xiii)—is in reality Greenville's spurious edition. This results in some injustice to Warton, who is reproached, for instance, with inventing a siege of Winchester by the French in 1377 (*Description* C, 21) through 'having somehow or other mistaken Winchelsea for Winchester' (Milner [1839], xiv), when there is no mention of the occurrence at all in the text of the authentic *Description*. But the case against Warton remains a strong one.

Starting with the title-page, much of the spurious edition simply reproduces the original text with only very minor changes and abbreviations. It includes Warton's quotation from the *Ode on a Distant Prospect of Eton College* and subserviently adopts the future Laureate's spelling of the poet's name: 'Grey' (*Description* C, 60). Cuts are not always judicious. Thus, where Warton writes in his Preface: 'For the Satisfaction of the Reader it may be necessary still further to premise, that our Account is compiled from the best private information' (*Description* B, iii), the pirate makes nonsense by omitting the words I have italicised (*Description* C, iii). More happily, he once or twice corrects Warton's facts, for example as to the number of City gates (*ibid.*, 2) and the original total of churches within the walls (*ibid.*, 5). In general he is more concerned than Warton to provide a balanced local guide; strengthening therefore the City chapter with details of the wards (*ibid.*, 4) and the complete text of Queen Elizabeth's second charter (*ibid.*, 22)—though he fails to provide the information about Fairs, Posts, Stage Coaches and Carriers announced in his Preface (*ibid.*, iii). The following comparative analysis of contents indicates the degree of change.

	Warton	Spurious edition
The City	17 pp.	36 pp.
The College	45 pp.	24 pp.
The Cathedral	29 pp.	22 pp.

The spurious edition attempts also to be

more 'popular' than Warton, excluding Virgil from the title-page (Fig. 1, B), dispensing with footnotes and drastically curtailing the sections on epitaphs in College, Warton's chief debt to Anthony Wood. The Owen Phillipps monument for instance is on the long list of omissions. On the positive side mention must be made of a brief but attractive passage (*ibid.*, 35-6) on the natural setting of Winchester and the 'pleasing objects of rural contemplation' which it affords. With many defects, this book has some independent character and cannot quite properly be described as an 'imperfect edition' of Warton (Mant 1802, I, x1).

As to how nefarious a transaction it was on Greenville's part I do not think we have sufficient knowledge to judge.

THE *History*

On the authorship of the *History* (Fig. 2, A) Milner ([1839], xiv-xv) testifies as follows: 'The work which is particularly known under the name of 'The History of Winchester,' consists of two volumes in duodecimo, one of 237, the other of 299 pages, published in 1773, and till of late¹⁴ was supposed to have been written by the late Rev. Mr. Wavell [sic] assisted by other gentlemen. As the friends of this gentleman, now that the errors of the work in question have been detected, deny him to be the author of it, and as no other person can be found to lay any claim to it, the present writer is content to quote it under the name of *The Anonymous History*.' He returns to the issue in the Postscript of his second edition¹⁵ and clearly has little doubt in his mind that Wavell was the author—and not solely of the long section on the St. Mary Magdalene Hospital of which he was Master. Fifty years later Woodward regularly refers to the *Description* and the *History* as 'Warton' and 'Wavell' respectively (Woodward [1859]) and the *Victoria County History* (Doubleday 1903, 199-200, n.3) accepts the *History* as 'known to have been written by the Rev. Mr. Wavell.' He may plausibly be identified with Richard Wavell, Scholar of Winchester College in 1732, who was Rector of St. Maurice,

THE
HISTORY
AND ANTIQUITIES OF
WINCHESTER,
SETTING FORTH ITS

ORIGINAL CONSTITUTION, GOVERNMENT, MANUFACTORIES, TRADE, COMMERCE AND NAVIGATION; ITS SEVERAL WARDS, PARISHES, PRECINCTS, DISTRICTS, CHURCHES, RELIGIOUS AND CHARITABLE FOUNDATIONS, AND OTHER PUBLIC EDIFICES:

TOGETHER WITH THE
CHARTERS, LAWS, CUSTOMS, RIGHTS, LIBERTIES,
AND PRIVILEGES OF THAT ANCIENT CITY.

ILLUSTRATED WITH A VARIETY OF PLATES.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOLUME I.

W I N T O N :

PRINTED AND SOLD, BY J. WILKES. SOLD ALSO BY S. CROWDER, AND R. BALDWIN, IN PATER-NOSTER ROW, LONDON; AND BY J. HODSON, AND CO, IN SALISBURY, MDCCLXXIII.

THE
WINCHESTER GUIDE;
OR, A
DESCRIPTION
OF THE
ANTIQUITIES and CURIOSITIES
Of that ANCIENT CITY.

A NEW EDITION.

ILLUSTRATED WITH COPPER-PLATES.

W I N T O N :

PRINTED AND SOLD BY J. WILKES, 1780.
(Price One-Shilling and Six-pence)

Fig. 2

A. Title-page of Richard Wavell's *History . . . of Winchester*, 2 vols., 1773.

B. Title-page of *The Winchester Guide*, 1780.

(Slightly reduced) (Warden and Fellows' Library, Winchester College)

Winchester, from 1741 to 1779 (Kirby 1888, — copy annotated by Chitty).

Milner continues bitingly ([1839], xv-xvi): 'In his second paragraph, the historian proceeds to copy the errors of Warton . . . taking care to copy even the errors of his press . . . The fact is, in his first volume, he servilely

copies Warton; and in his second blindly follows Trussel¹⁰ [sic], without appearing to be even sensible of the opposition there is frequently between them.' Incontrovertible proof of such insensibility is advanced in Milner's Preface and 'many other errors of this historian, equally flagrant' are exposed

in the course of his book. It must once more be borne in mind that with regard to Warton Milner uses the spurious edition.

New features in the *History*) are: 1) the dedication 'To the Worshipful Sir Paulet St. John, Baronet, and to the Corporation and Citizens of Winchester,' very likely the enterprising Wilkes's idea in order to give the book official status; 2) Taylor's thirteen engraved plates, all but one after drawings by William Cave the Elder (Carpenter Turner, 1961, 31); 3) the ample treatment, including two illustrations, accorded to St. Mary Magdalene Hospital (155-211) which is just mentioned in the Greenville edition but absent from Warton. Milner rather sourly imputes to Wavell an improper monopolisation of the Hospital papers. 'Mr Wavel having been master of Magdalen hospital, and having such documents belonging to it as then existed, in his possession, we presume that his account, as far as related to this subject, may be depended upon ([1839], v. 2, 230, n.); 4) other additional material, in particular concerning the various city churches; 5) the important historical information which Wavell derived from Trussell and in Milner's opinion used so uncritically. 'For the Historical Part we are much indebted to an original manuscript, in the possession of John Duthy Esq.; written about the year 1620, by Mr. Trussell, who was Steward to the Bishop of Winchester and one of the Aldermen of this city; and, who seems to have begun a Work, that (considering the time) would, had he lived to finish it, have done him great honour. From this manuscript, which is founded on indisputable authority, many curious particulars have been collected, that never before came within the knowledge of the public; 6) the abandonment of the section headings: City, College, Cathedral; 7) useful tables of Cathedral Prebendaries, Wardens of Winchester College and so on, at the end of Volume 2.

Otherwise the book closely follows Warton, both genuine and spurious; the latter, for instance, in respect of the City gates and in the passage about the 'pleasing objects of

rural contemplation.' Much of the Preface reproduces true Warton verbatim, though rather puerile attempts are occasionally made to vary the phrasing, for example: 'attentive Examination on the Spot' (Warton), 'strict examination... on the spot' (Wavell); 'carefully collected, and succinctly digested' (Warton), 'carefully collected and properly disposed' (Wavell). As in the spurious edition, notes are reduced to a minimum, except in the section devoted to the St. Mary Magdalene Hospital. The Latin inscriptions are restored from Warton, but with the addition of somewhat unreliable translations into English by the Rev. Mr Wavell.

BURDON, GRANGER AND THE ATTORNEY

At this juncture I must introduce a tantalising document which at first sight appears to throw doubt on Wavell's authorship of the *History*; and which sets so many cognate problems that it seems to deserve a section to itself and to excuse a longish digression. Brought to my notice by Dr David Fairer, it is a letter from the Winchester bookseller John Burdon (who took over the College Street business from Thomas Burdon, local agent for Warton's *Description*) to the biographer James Granger, Vicar of Shiplake, Oxon., dated 20 November 1773 (Malcolm 1805, 390-1). A transcript of the following passage therefrom was communicated to me by Dr. Fairer:

'I had the favour of your letter *per* Wednesday's post, and can assure you [sic] have been misinformed about the history of this place lately published; neither Doctor nor Mr Thomas Warton having had the least hand in the work; it is done by an Attorney of Winchester, and universally condemned as a very poor performance, which you, Sir, would be soon convinced of on looking it over. Mr. Warton did publish, in 1760, a shilling book, called 'A Description of the City, College, &c. of Winchester,' which has been long out of print; a new edition being in the press, with great additions, has been advertised; from which the person who gave you the information must conjecture the history is Mr

Warton's: what I have said of the book, Sir, you may depend on is literally true; I have said the more on it, as you have mentioned the book in a note to the Appendix of your entertaining agreeable book...'

When I first read this passage I hastily concluded that the book 'lately published' was the spurious edition (which a Burdon might have special cause to denigrate) even though it was called a 'history,' while the 'new edition' of Warton was in fact the anonymous *History*. The 'great additions' mentioned by Burdon seemed to point to the latter work which, as we have seen, is in two volumes and contains much new material in the text as well as thirteen plates. To this interpretation I committed myself in my article on *Sir Thomas Phillipps and Winchester College* (T, Appendix II). It left two problems unsolved. As to the first, the identification of the 'Attorney' supposedly working for Greenville, I had a clue to follow and felt confident that in due course a solution would be forthcoming. The second, much knottier, concerned the 'note to the Appendix' of Granger's 'entertaining agreeable book.' Granger is known for one book, his four-volume *Biographical History of England* and this had been published in 1769. There was perhaps no great difficulty in pushing back the date of the spurious edition a year or two to fit this fact. Far more serious was that no trace whatever of Burdon's reference was to be found in the *Biographical History*¹⁷

Re-reading the passage after an interval of time I realised that I had forced the meaning of Burdon's words quite unreasonably and that the correct solution, if not without its own difficulties, lay along more obvious lines. To tabulate my new conclusions:

1. There is no reference to the spurious edition at all.
2. The 'new edition' is a new edition of the genuine Warton of 1760 (a date which it is satisfactory to have confirmed by Burdon); and we learn with considerable surprise that in November 1773 it was actually 'in the press.' Detailed information is unfor-

tunately lacking. Whose press? Had Warton worked up the not very extensive notes of *Description A* so that they amounted to 'great additions?'¹⁸ The new edition had been advertised. Where? Not, apparently, in *The Hampshire Chronicle*. Was Burdon's firm implicated? He does not suggest so.

3. The 'history...lately published' is what came to be known as Wavell's but the attribution need not have been immediate. Wavell was 'assisted by other gentlemen' (Milner [1839], xv). Of these the most important would be John Duthy the Elder, owner of the Trussell MS which supplies so much material for the *History*. Duthy was a lawyer (HD 1784, 6, 31; Webb 1978, 80). He may confidently be identified with the 'Attorney.'
4. The 'note to the Appendix' is still a problem. No appendix, under that name, is traceable. But in 1774 Granger did issue a *Supplement* and my suggestion is that this is the Appendix referred to by Burdon. True, it was not yet published when Burdon wrote his letter; nor from internal evidence¹⁹ does it appear that it could yet have reached the proof stage. But I believe Burdon must have enjoyed some sort of preview—if it were only of the substance of the proposed note in which Granger attributes the *History* to Warton. Apprised of his error, Granger could be expected to modify or suppress the note in his final text.

What in fact did happen to it? At the time when I reached the above conclusions I must own that I had seen no more than that part of the letter which Dr Fairer had thought relevant to my purpose and had kindly transcribed for me. A copy of the remainder was afterwards sent to me by Mr Peter Gwyn. It adds background to the exchanges between Burdon and Granger and in conjunction with evidence from the *Supplement* it also offers a likely explanation of the 'note.' After expressing pleasure that Granger's work is to be expanded, Burdon writes: 'I have called on the proprietor of the book, who says, he has not a single print of Florence De Lunn but

what are in complete sets, and that the plates are in London: this, I suppose, he said to oblige me to buy the book; when I told him the use of it, he said, he would look over for a duplicate against the next day; when I sent, but could not procure it for the above reason. Mr Granger may be assured, if any opportunity should offer, I will get one and lay it by, till I can send it by Mr Cave or any other hand . . .'

To interpret: Granger's informant has mentioned to him the presence of a portrait of De Lunn, putative first mayor of Winchester, in the new guide. Granger, an enthusiastic collector of engraved portraits, has written to ask Burdon to procure him a separate print. Burdon has called on Wilkes, publisher of the *History*, with the results he describes. As soon as he does manage to procure a print, he will send it to Shiplake by Mr Cave—the same William Cave who, as we have seen, was responsible for the original drawings of most of the plates in the *History* (Carpenter Turner 1961, 31).

In due course Granger received a copy of the required print and upon examination rated it a sham. This we know because, on the verso of the Advertisement to the *Supplement* 'the reader is desired' to make certain additions and corrections 'with his pen' and one of these, to be inserted on p. 24, runs: 'There is a fictitious portrait of Thomas De Lunn,²⁰ first Mayor of Winchester, prefixed to the 'Antiquities' of that place lately published.'²¹ It is my belief that this is the residue of the note which in its original form attributed the 'Antiquities' (as Granger called the book) to Thomas Warton.

WARTON'S REVISION

Seven years after the *History* and likewise published by Wilkes, who was now owner of *The Hampshire Chronicle* and a Winchester notability, there appeared a further local guidebook (Fig. 2, B). Although there is a faint echo of Warton in the title-page and more substantial traces of the *Urschrift* persist

in the body of the work, it need not be supposed that the author referred back to the *Description* of 1760 in preparing his text. The 1780 *Winchester Guide* (like a further issue in 1796) is, in abbreviated form, simply a 'new edition' of Wavell: opening with the Wavell phrase 'This place has a name . . .,' compressing the same plates into one volume (only eleven are present in the Fellows' Library copy, though thirteen are listed), cutting out most of the inscriptions but providing the Wavell translation for those which it retains. It is perhaps unnecessary to predicate any other agent than Wilkes himself for these manipulations.

And what of Thomas Warton in the mean time? There is in the first place the evidence of the annotated copy to show that, generally speaking, he did not lose interest in the subject after 1760. More specifically there is Burdon's statement to Granger that by 1773 a revised edition was actually in the press. It never saw the light; and the assumption must be that it was withdrawn after the appearance of Wavell's *History* in that year. We cannot tell what ideas Warton may have had thenceforth about eventual publication. The tendency of the guidebooks we have discussed is towards simplification and popularity. In contrast, Warton's *Notes* suggest a more learned work than was ever likely to be commissioned by a Greenville or a Wilkes. For example, he makes frequent references to the antiquarian manuscripts of Browne Willis (d. 1760) which had not yet reached the Bodleian Library at the time when he was writing the original *Description* (Fig. 3). Some few of the notes can be approximately dated; and it is clear—if only from the variety of pens and inks used—that they were made over a period of years. Warton died in 1790. He was demonstrably keeping up to date with the antiquarian history of Winchester until at least 1787 when he recorded the demolition in that year of 'the modern Wolsey' (that is to say the east wing of Wolvesey Palace pulled down by Bishop Brownlow North) and we cannot be sure that the note was made immediately after the event (*Description*, A, 83). Publication

88 THE CATHEDRAL.

Glass Windows: This was about a Year and Half before it was finished; by which some Sort of Estimate may be made of the whole Expence †."

From this Ile, by a stately Flight of eight Steps, we approach the Choir. The Screen above-mentioned is of the Composite Order, and adorned on the Right Hand with a Statue of James I. and on the Left of Charles I. They are both of Brass, and were given, together with the Screen itself, by the latter of these Monarchs. During the Civil Wars, the Presbyterians, among other Outrages, barbarously defaced and abused both these Statues, but particularly that of Charles; at tempting to break off the Crown, and declaring with much malicious Triumph, that they would bring him back to the Parliament §.

The Stalls are of Norway Oak, and are a masterly Piece of Gothic Spire Work, being at once elegant and majestic. They were erected by Prior Silkefede, as appears by his Name cut on the Pulpit *, with which they are terminated on the North Side. He died A.D. 1524. On the

† Lowth's Life of Wykeham, pag. 208.

§ Dugdale, ubi infr.

* The Stone-Pulpit in the Body of the Church was probably used for preaching before the Reformation, as it was for many Years after. " Wykeham buildid the great Body of the Church of St. Swithun's, where now the Sermons are made, and where " his Bodie is entereid, a very pricelesse Work." Stowe's Acco-unts, by Howes, pag. 351. ed. 1615. This is now entirely defaced.

King Charles I ordered the
~~the~~ old pulpit removed
 the Choir-door made
 out to South, to be taken
 away the pulpit screen
 by Inigo Jones to be built
 1637, & raised the Altar
 by 2 or 3 steps, so
 finishing the Choir by
 2 double seats. It is
 MS. Willis, 'Misjell
 area, 37. etc.
 In plan. 1612.

MS. the flourish of this book is
 from the top of the Gittern arch
 of the western porch etc.
 J. M. G. Blakiston

Fig. 3. Interleaved copy of Warton's *Description . . . of Winchester*, 1760, annotated by the author. This entry shows an interesting note based on a Willis MS, which refers to the removal of the pulpitum in Winchester Cathedral on the orders of Charles I, and its replacement by the Inigo Jones screen (Wilson 1976).

(reduced by 1/3) (Warden and Fellows' Library, Winchester College)

may no longer have been in Warton's mind by then. But if a new *Description* ever had been printed, Milner would surely have found a good deal less to reprobate in the author's final recension than in the spurious edition which came to his hand.

CONCLUSION

I have not studied the later guides but a

random sample supports the guess that fairly early in the 19th century Warton and Wavell began to be superseded by Milner. By 1812 an abridged Milner (Milner 1812) had already reached a fifth edition. The seventh appeared in 1829 (Milner 1829). In Owen Carter's *Picturesque Memorials of Winchester* (Carter 1830) it is to Milner that the reader is referred for a fuller account. Yet in a little guide pub-

lished by N. Warren in, I think, 1838 (n.d. *Antiquities*) there still appears in the Colledge section a passage on School (171) reproducing almost verbatim the 1780 *Winchester Guide* (73) which itself repeats the original 1760 *Description* (60). It is unlikely that the compiler of Warren's guide was in the least aware that he was quoting an 18th century Poet Laureate.

Of course the *Description . . . of Winchester* never deserved to enjoy the lasting reputation of another laureate's *Description of the Scenery of the English Lakes*. But Thomas Warton is an interesting figure of his age and not least by virtue of his topographical and antiquarian preoccupations. With all its shortcomings, therefore, some recognition is due to his pioneering study of Winchester. And if this is so, it seems desirable, as a first step, that his text should not be confused with that of his rivals in the field. The foregoing pages are an attempt at such a clarification.²²

Acknowledgements

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NOTES

- Extant in two typescript copies (WFL Bibliog. 2 and BOD MS. Eng. misc. d. 914).
- Printed successively in folio and small 8^{vo}. See *T* 13-14, 30, n. 39.
- Sidney Lee gives the same date in the DNB 1899, 436.
- Warton did not take his B.D. degree till 1767. He was instituted to the living of Kiddington in 1771 (*Mant* 1802, xlix).
- In its present post-Phillipps binding the interleaved copy too is now dated 1760 on the spine. One copy of the spurious edition in the Fellows' Library, that given by E. G. Box in 1947, is lettered 1750. I imagine Box was responsible for this, taking the date from the printed Phillipps transcript in his possession which eventually came to Winchester.
- Gilbert and Godwin (1891, 31) actually make Greenville *author of the Description* and are duly taken to task by F. A. Edwards (1906, 483).
- For the sake of clarity I continue to refer to these books as they appear under *Manuscript Sources* rather than under *Printed References*, even when, as here, I am not quoting the annotations. In fact it has always been the annotated copies that I have handled.
- The Phillipps-Robinson papers are kept in boxes arranged in alphabetical order of correspondents, each series in chronological sequence. More precise references are unnecessary.
- Thomas Warton regularly spent his long vacations with his brother Joseph.
- The page references to Milner are to the third edition [1839], as that happened to be the most readily available, but my quotations are in fact from the Preface to the first edition which is reprinted therein without change.
- For a brief contemporary defence of Thomas Warton against Milner's strictures see Ackermann (1816, 39-40, n.).
- First demonstrated in Clark's *Life of Wood* (1895 v. 3, 134) in a passage to which Herbert Chitty has called attention (note in Andrews's transcript of the Hutton MS).
- Owen Phillipps was Second Master at Winchester College 1649-78. The upkeep of his monument in the Cloisters was a major concern of Sir Thomas Phillipps, who claimed him as an ancestor (*T*, *passim*).
- i.e. 1798, the date of Milner's first edition.
- Published in 1809. The Postscript is reprinted in Milner [1839], v. 2, 280.
- This draft, entitled *The Origin of Cytities*, of Trussell's fuller *Touchstone of Tradition* was acquired by Winchester City in 1937. For an account of both MSS see HC 1 November 1974 and 21 February 1975.
- Dr Fairer carefully examined the first edition in Oxford.
- Warton's occasional references to his notebooks in the interleaved edition do point to further sources.
- For instance an acknowledgement to 'the late Bishop of Rochester'. This must mean Zachary Pearce, who died on 29 June 1774. I owe the particular to Mr Gwyn.
- De Lunn is in Kitchin's words (1890, 162) 'a personage entirely mythical.' But there is no reason why he should not have been called 'Florence', an accepted man's name in

the Middle Ages. I do not know why Granger substituted 'Thomas'.

21. It is to the second volume of Wavell that the offending portrait was 'prefixed.' Perhaps Granger never saw the book itself.
22. This enquiry has involved the names of various printer-booksellers. A good deal may be learnt about them individually from books and articles listed under *Printed References* below and from the records of the Pavement Commissioners preserved in the Winchester City Archives. But we know far

too little about their relations with each other. How did Greenville stand with his colleagues? Why were the Burdons apparently not agents for Wilkes as they had been for the London-based Baldwin? Feeling between Wilkes and John Burdon does not seem to have been cordial, but Cave works closely with the one and runs obliging errands for the other: on what personal terms was he with these two men? It would much enliven the history of the Winchester guidebooks if we could answer such questions.

REFERENCES

Abbreviations

- BB *Bibliotheca Britannica*.
 BL British Library.
 BOD Bodleian Library, Oxford.
 DNB *Dictionary of National Biography*.
 HC *Hampshire Chronicle*.
 HD *Hampshire Directory*.
 P-R Phillipps-Robinson Papers, BOD.
 Proc. *Proc. Hampshire Field Club & Archaeol.*
 T Typescript of Blakiston, J M G 1975 *Sir Thomas Phillipps and Winchester College Soc.*
 WCA Winchester City Archives.
 WFL Winchester College Warden and Fellows' Library.

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- Andrews *see* Hutton.
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