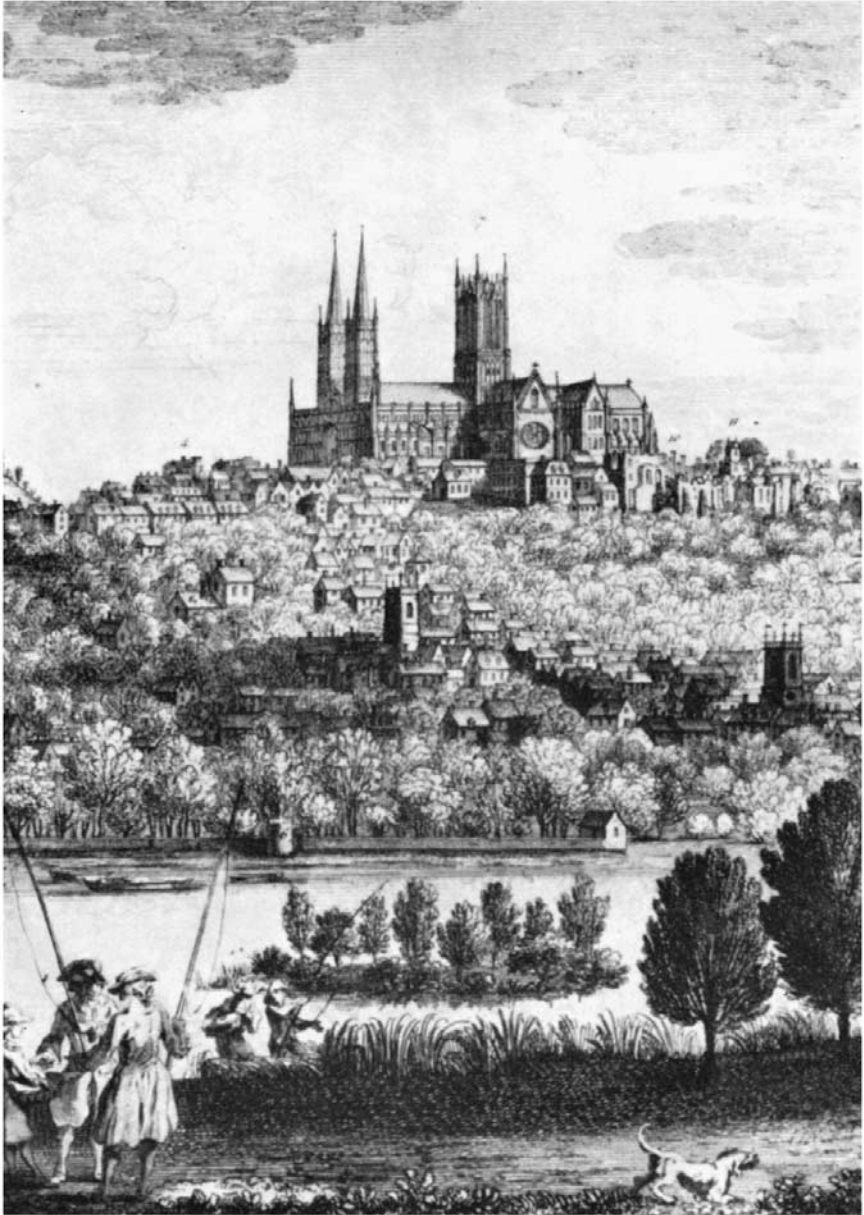


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Detail from the South-west prospect of the City of Lincoln by
Samuel and Nathaniel Buck, 1743

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GEORGIAN LINCOLN

BY
SIR FRANCIS HILL
C.B.E., LL.M., LITT.D., F.S.A.



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TO THE
LINCOLN CIVIC TRUST

PREFACE

IT is pleasant to turn, in this third instalment of my history of Lincoln, from a community in decay to the growing community of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Though other work continues to make my progress slow and spasmodic, I still hope to go on to the study of the Victorian period, and so to complete the task to which I set myself some forty years ago.

In this period, as in the previous one, the principal thread has been provided by the minutes of the common council of the city, but as the common council declines, the record becomes more formal and less valuable. Many decisions, no doubt, were left to the mayor and his brethren the aldermen, or were taken informally. Some such decisions, missing from the minutes, have left their mark in the mayors' and chamberlains' rolls, which cover most of the years of the eighteenth century, though the rolls for some years are lost. There are various supplementary volumes in the city archives, details of which are contained in Dr de Grey Birch's *Catalogue*, published in 1906. These records are now in the Lincolnshire Archives Office. I have not generally included references to these sources in the footnotes as they would have been too numerous. Students will readily identify the evidence taken from them.

The records of the Bishop of Lincoln and the Dean and Chapter are also in the custody of the County Archivist. The city parishes have their registers, and some have vestry minutes and accounts; some parishes have placed their records in the Archives Office, and some still keep them in the vestry. Enough of such evidence has survived to illustrate the working of the parish as a unit of civil administration. It was only in writing this book that I came fully to realise that in the emergence of the civil parish is to be found one of the secrets of the decline of the common council. The parish registers and the bishops' transcripts have provided the statistics of baptisms, marriages and burials. All that now remain of the minutes of the Lincoln House of Industry are in the Archives Office.

For the history of the city parliamentary elections the richest single source is the Monson papers, some at South Carlton and some in the Archives Office. I am grateful to Lord Monson, as I was to his father and grandfather, for giving me easy access to them. Among other collections in the Archives Office which have been of value are those of the families of Ancaster, Whichcote, Massingberd and Massingberd Mundy, Tyrwhitt Drake, and some of Sibthorp. The Lincoln County Hospital papers are also there.

At the Lincoln City Library are the records of Lincoln Christ's Hospital, Lincoln School and the Subscription Library, and a few more Sibthorp papers; but the letters used in Canon Maddison's *The Sibthorp Family*, privately printed in 1896, have not been found. The minutes of the Witham General Commissioners at the Lincolnshire Rivers Board Office, the Lincoln Court of Sewers at the Upper Witham Internal Drainage Board Office, Lincoln West Drainage at the Archives Office, the Aire and Calder Navigation and other canal papers at the British Transport Commission Record Office, have all been used. Mr J. Ellis Flack, formerly Nottingham University Librarian, searched the Hatfield Chase papers in the University Library for me; in the quest for the Ellison family origins the Town Clerk of York, the Borough Librarian of Doncaster and Mr J. E. Day gave help; the Ellison Fosdyke papers are part of the Burton Scorers deposit at the Archives Office; Mr L. A. Baker of the National Provincial Bank produced the Smith Ellison letters, and Mr J. E. Wadsworth of the Midland Bank and Mr D. Robson of the Westminster Bank helped, the former with the beginnings of the Lincoln and Lindsey Bank, and the latter on the Ellison banking connections.

The Earl of Scarborough kindly allowed me to use his papers at Sandbeck, and Mrs Tennyson d'Eyncourt lent me the Bayons Manor papers, which I read at leisure before she placed them in the Archives Office. The Delaval papers then in the Newcastle Public Library, the Vyner papers in the Leeds Public Library, and various navigation papers in the Sheffield Public Library, have all yielded something of value. The Spalding Gentlemen's Society has a rich and varied collection, including the Banks Stanhope papers, and the Society's officers made it easy for me to consult them.

Mrs Dorothy Owen brought to my notice the diary of Bishop Wake which has lately come into the Lambeth Palace Library. Dr Richard Hunt told me of the letters of Sir Charles Anderson among the papers of Bishop Samuel Wilberforce in the Bodleian Library, and he not only introduced me to the Dashwood Collection there, but obtained permission of Sir John Dashwood Bart. to deposit the Lincolnshire part of the collection in Lincoln for my use. The Gainsborough Bridge records are at the Lindsey County Offices, and the Dunham Bridge records at the offices of Messrs Danby Eptons and Griffith of Lincoln.

Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Benjamin Bromhead Bart. kindly allowed me to visit Thurlby Hall constantly a few years ago to study the bound volumes (some 81 in number) of family letters, notably those addressed to his collateral ancestor Sir Edward French Bromhead, which include a long series from the redoubtable Dr Charlesworth. These proved to be a rich source of evidence for the early years of the nineteenth century. Un-

fortunately the collection of printed works made by Sir Edward Bromhead has been dispersed by an intermediate generation. Some of his bound volumes of tracts passed into the collection of the late Captain Cragg of Threkingham, part of whose collection has now been bought by the Lincolnshire Archives Committee, other parts unfortunately having been dispersed. Dr Charlesworth had himself made a local collection, but no trace of it has been found.

The known collections of Sir Joseph Banks's papers still in this country, and chief among them the Dawson Turner transcripts at the British Museum (Natural History), have been calendared by Mr Warren Dawson in his monumental volume *The Banks Letters*, published by the Museum in 1958. With great generosity Mr Dawson lent me his own Banks papers, and sent me copies of passages likely to be of use to me from letters at the British Museum, the Royal Society and the National Library of Wales. Miss Mander Jones of the Mitchell Library in Sydney sent photographs of some Banks papers there, and Mr H. B. Carter of Edinburgh and the late Mr A. C. Townsend of the Natural History Museum introduced me to the riches of the Sutro Library now in the University of San Francisco. Mr Townsend kindly lent me a large number of photographs of papers in this collection; and the Sutro Librarian, Mr Richard H. Dillon, to whom I was introduced by Dr A. L. Rowse and Mr Huntington Holliday, sent microfilms of more. Mr H. B. Carter sent me proofs of his book *His Majesty's Spanish Flock* (1964), which I was able to use at a late stage. Other Banks letters, calendared by Mr Dawson, are in the Lindsey and Holland County Library, the Spalding Gentlemen's Society Library, and my own collection. According to Hamer, *Guide to Archives and MSS in the United States*, there are 10,000 pieces of Banks in the Sutro Library, 3,500 at Yale, and 140 in the University of Wisconsin; and though many of them relate to subjects other than Lincolnshire, there must surely be many as yet unused that do relate to it.

The letters of Mary Yorke were first brought to my notice by the late Mr E. A. B. Barnard, who wrote a series of articles on them in the *Tewkesbury Register*, the Lincoln section beginning on 10 May 1952. The originals are now in the Bedford Record Office, and by the kindness of the Bedford County Archivist, Miss Joyce Godber, I have been supplied with photocopies of the relevant letters.

At a late stage I learnt of the Massingberd Mundy papers given to the Society of Genealogists, and had the opportunity of making a hurried search of them. The Society had not then had time to complete a calendar of the papers. Some of the letters were used by Canon Maddison in the *Associated Architectural Societies Reports and Papers*, xxiii (1896), at p. 296.

To the owners and keepers of all the collections referred to I wish to express my warm thanks for all they have done to help me.

The unpublished collections of the Lincolnshire historians whom I have mentioned in my earlier prefaces have continued to benefit their successor. The first is that of Thomas Sympson, in the Bodleian Library: he died in 1750. The Willson Collection has been the richest for this period. The collection was advertised for sale in 1879; it was repeatedly offered to the Cambridge University Library, as Mr A. E. B. Owen of that Library has informed me, before it was acquired by the Society of Antiquaries, to whom it now belongs. The Society kindly deposited it in Lincoln for my use some years ago. The collections of John Ross, now in the Lincoln City Library, have continued to be of use; they are now supplemented by the Ross Correspondence, in my possession. I bought the letter books from a bookseller in Rye, who could throw no light on their provenance. There deserves to be mentioned in the same category a book of family reminiscences and journal, based on recollections and old diaries, compiled by Sir Charles Henry John Anderson, last baronet of Lea, which unfortunately ends at 1844. This and other of Anderson's remains are much used in this book.

The Lincoln City Library has a large collection of books, pamphlets and broadsheets relating to the city and county, and also a series of volumes of the *Lincoln Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, almost complete from 1793.

It is impossible for a busy amateur to keep up with the results of historical research; and when even expert local historians prudently specialise it is obviously dangerous for an amateur to try to write the history of a city, in some aspects of which he must necessarily be less at home than in others. But to follow the fashion would be to abandon my purpose, and I would rather attempt it and fail than not attempt it at all. For the most part I have tried to limit my liabilities by avoiding generalisations for which I have neither the knowledge nor the inclination.

I am fortunate, however, in friends who have guided me in their special fields. The late Sir Lewis Namier sent me copies of his biographies of members of parliament, gave me advice, and approved an early draft of chapter iv. Professor J. D. Chambers of Nottingham University was a most stimulating critic of chapters v–viii, and helped me to avoid many pitfalls. Mr E. Maxwell Howard, the Director of the Lincolnshire Agricultural Society, has out of his great practical knowledge answered questions about crops and livestock and corrected mistakes. For those that remain I am of course solely responsible.

My greatest debt is owing to the County Archivist, Mrs Joan Varley. She has been untiring in tracking down evidence and giving helpful advice.

PREFACE

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Not only Mrs Varley, but her former colleagues Mrs Dorothy Owen and Dr Mary Finch, and her present colleagues Mr Michael Lloyd and Mrs Pamela Nightingale, have all read my typescript, and have supplied references in instances where I read through collections of papers before they were catalogued.

It would be wrong not to refer to the Lincolnshire Archives Committee—and their constituent authorities the administrative counties of Lindsey, Kesteven and Holland and the city of Lincoln—under whose auspices a splendid collection of records relating to the history of the county and diocese has been built up, making available to students material on a scale which has never been possible before. Under the leadership of Her Majesty's Lieutenant, the Earl of Ancaster, much has been done in a relatively short time, and the long disused county gaol at Lincoln Castle put at last to a worthy use.

At the Lincoln City Library I have always been able to turn to Mr F. T. Baker, who fills so many roles in Lincoln, all of them generously and well. To all the members of his staff, and especially to Miss Elfrida Jahn and Mr Laurence Elvin, whom I have plagued so often, I am grateful for their friendly patience and help.

Thanks are due also to Canon Jones, the Rev. E. R. Milton and Canon Riches for providing access to parish records still in their vestries. Mr and Mrs Burden compiled for me the population statistics from the registers, and Mr Alan Lyons helped in their presentation. Many years ago I began to search the State Papers Domestic at the Public Record Office, a task which Miss Flower has completed for me. My secretary Miss W. O. Hunt has been the indispensable auxiliary throughout, and has cheerfully borne a heavy burden of work.

To the Syndics and officers of the Cambridge University Press and their adviser I am grateful for friendly guidance and help.

It had been my intention to associate with the dedication of this book the name of Arthur Malcolm Cook, sometime subdean of Lincoln and first chairman of the Lincoln Civic Trust. It is now too late. He was a great figure in the city and county and diocese: incisive in mind, crisp in speech, prompt in action, utterly honest with himself as with others, modest and kind in heart; a preserver of the past for the sake of the future; at an advanced age still eagerly looking forward; a good citizen indeed. His memory and influence grow as time passes by.

J. W. F. HILL

*Lincoln**Easter 1965*

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The author's thanks are due to the following for permission to reproduce illustrations: the Trustees of the British Museum for Plates 3, 4(*a*) and (*b*), 5(*a*) and (*b*), 6(*a*) and (*b*), 7(*a*); the Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens of Lincoln for Plates 2, 7(*b*), 8, 9, 10(*a*) and (*b*), 11(*a*) and (*b*); Lord Monson for Plate 16; the Dean of Lincoln for Plate 17; the Hon. Mrs Dudley Pelham for Plates 18, 19; and the Trustees of the National Portrait Gallery for Plate 20; and to the Lincoln City Libraries Museum and Art Gallery for photographs.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>A.A.S.R.</i>	<i>Reports and Papers of the Associated Architectural Societies</i>
Adversaria	'Collections for an history of the city of Lincoln. Indigesta Moles. March 1737'. Bodleian Library, MS Gough, Lincoln 1
Banks Corr.	Dawson Turner transcripts of Sir Joseph Banks's Correspondence in the British Museum (Natural History)
B.M.	British Museum
Bromhead MSS	Correspondence in the possession of Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Benjamin Bromhead, Bart., Thurlby Hall, Lincoln
<i>C. J.</i>	<i>Commons Journal</i>
<i>D.N.B.</i>	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
<i>E.H.R.</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
Hill, Banks	Papers of the Banks family of Revesby in the possession of J. W. F. Hill
<i>H.M.C.</i>	<i>Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports</i>
L.A.O.	Lincolnshire Archives Office
<i>L.A.S.R.</i>	<i>Lincolnshire Architectural Society Reports</i>
<i>L.D.B.</i>	<i>Lincoln Date Book</i>
<i>Lincs. N. & Q.</i>	<i>Lincolnshire Notes and Queries</i>
Lindsey C.L.	Lindsey and Holland County Library
<i>L. J.</i>	<i>Lords Journals</i>
L.P.L.	Lincoln Public Library
L.R.S.	Publications of Lincoln Record Society
<i>L.R. & S.M.</i>	<i>Lincoln Rutland and Stamford Mercury</i>
<i>M.L.</i>	<i>Medieval Lincoln</i> , by J. W. F. Hill
Monson	Papers in possession of Lord Monson
P.R.O.	Public Record Office
Ross Corr.	Correspondence of John Ross in the possession of J. W. F. Hill
Sutro Coll.	Banks MSS in Sutro Library, University of San Francisco
<i>T. & S.L.</i>	<i>Tudor and Stuart Lincoln</i> , by J. W. F. Hill
<i>V.C.H.</i>	<i>Victoria County History</i>
Wilberforce MSS	Papers of Bishop Samuel Wilberforce in Bodleian Library
Willson	E. J. Willson Collection in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries