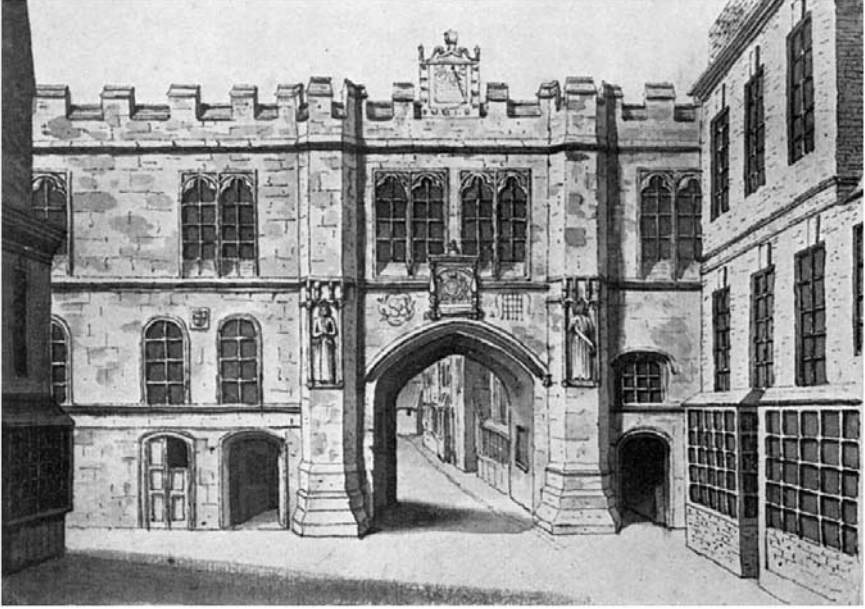


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THE STONEBOW

*From a drawing by S. H. Grimm (1784) in the British Museum*

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# TUDOR & STUART LINCOLN

BY

J. W. F. HILL  
C.B.E., LL.M., Litt.D., F.S.A.



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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>A.A.S.R.</i>	<i>Reports and Papers of the Associated Architectural Societies</i>
<i>A. &amp; O.</i>	<i>Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum</i>
<i>A.P.C.</i>	<i>Acts of the Privy Council</i>
Birch	<i>Royal Charters of the City of Lincoln</i> , edited by W. de Gray Birch
B.M.	British Museum
<i>C.ƒ.</i>	<i>Commons Journals</i>
<i>C.P.R.</i>	<i>Calendar of Patent Rolls</i>
<i>C.S.P. [D.] [For.]</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers [Domestic] [Foreign]</i>
<i>D.N.B.</i>	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
<i>E.H.R.</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<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.ƒ.</i>	<i>Lords Journals</i>
<i>L. &amp; P. Henry VIII</i>	<i>Letters and Papers of Henry VIII</i>
L.P.L.	Lincoln Public Library
<i>Lincs. N. &amp; Q.</i>	<i>Lincolnshire Notes and Queries</i>
L.R.S.	Publications of Lincoln Record Society
<i>M.L.</i>	<i>Medieval Lincoln</i> , by J. W. F. Hill
P.R.O.	Public Record Office
<i>V.C.H.</i>	<i>Victoria County History</i>

## PREFACE

LIKE its predecessor *Medieval Lincoln*, this book is the product of the residuary moments of a busy life, and its progress has been constantly interrupted by work which at the time seemed to matter more. If in consequence there are inconsistencies of viewpoint or form I hope they may be forgiven.

In writing both books I have had especially in mind two classes of readers: those who may be able to use the local evidence in treating of wider historical themes which are themselves beyond my scope and purpose; and those who, living mostly in or near Lincoln, or having associations with it, may find that the tale will aid their historical imagination and make the city a more interesting place to live in or to visit. I believe that local history is a stimulus to civic spirit, and I should like to think that the books have indirectly served the cause of local government.

The principal sources of evidence on which I have relied are the records of the Lincoln Corporation, and in particular the minutes of the common council. The earliest surviving council register begins in 1511, in time to make it possible to write Chapter II. No such survey could be written for any earlier period. Thereafter the minutes continue unbroken save for the period from 1638 to (except for a few entries) 1656. Detailed references to them would have so heavily incumbered the footnotes that I have had to abandon their citation. Students will readily identify the evidence gathered from this source. The minutes were calendared, but inadequately, for the Historical Manuscripts Commission by W. D. Macray in 1895, and a catalogue of the Corporation records, compiled by W. de Gray Birch, was published in 1906. The records are now in process of transfer to the Lincolnshire Archives Office. There are, in addition, the city quarter sessions records, the cordwainers' guild book and the Christ's Hospital minutes and accounts. I have drawn on the miscellaneous collections of the Lincoln Public Library, including a small group of Sir Robert Clayton's papers; a few more of them are in my own possession. There are a few manuscripts relating to the history of Lincoln School, and several of the city parishes have records of the period.

The scope for research has been vastly increased by the creation of the Lincolnshire Archives Office, which incorporates the Lincoln Diocesan Record Office, founded as a memorial to Canon Foster by the Pilgrim Trust. It is administered by a joint committee of the three administrative counties of Lindsey, Kesteven and Holland and the city and county

borough of Lincoln. It includes the Lincoln Diocesan Registry, whose riches have been disclosed by Miss Kathleen Major's *A Handlist of the Records of the Bishop of Lincoln and of the Archdeacons of Lincoln and Stow* (1953). The episcopal registers, accounts, *libri cleri*, inventories and correspondence have all provided evidence for the history of the city. The Office also has custody of the muniments of the dean and chapter, which have thrown light on a number of matters, and many private collections, among which I have found those of the Earl of Ancaster and Lord Monson, the Whichcote papers from Aswarby and the Hatcher papers from Holywell of great value. The Lindsey quarter sessions records have also been consulted. The annual reports of the Office, beginning in 1948, give details of accessions, and are indispensable to all workers upon Lincolnshire history.

These sources have been supplemented on many points from the national collections: the State Papers Domestic in the Public Record Office; the books of the Staple Company, the summary of the depopulation returns of 1607 (for knowledge of which I am indebted to Mr J. D. Gould), and other papers at the British Museum; Archbishop Laud's papers relating to Bishop Williams in the Lambeth Palace Library; the local acts upon the statute roll and copies of the Braye MSS. at the House of Lords Record Office; abstracts of the letters of the Armynes of Osgodby among the Morrice MSS. in Dr Williams's Library; and the Treasury Letter Books and copies of the Peover MSS. at the General Post Office Record Office. At the Bodleian Library are Thomas Sympson's 'Adversaria' (see p. 32) and other volumes among the Gough MSS., the first account book of Christ's Hospital (p. 136), and a militia assessment of the Restoration period from the Waterford MSS., formerly at Doddington (p. 170); and at the Cambridge University Library is Sir Anthony Oldfield's Letter Book (p. 170). Other manuscript sources are acknowledged in the footnotes.

In the preface to *Medieval Lincoln* I gave some account of the collections made for the history of the city and county by Thomas Sympson (now in the Bodleian Library) and John Ross (now deposited by Lord Monson in the Lincoln Public Library). I did not then know of the collection made by Edward James Willson. The collection has not been preserved intact, but happily a large part of it has come into the possession of the Society of Antiquaries, who very generously deposited their volumes in Lincoln for my use.

Willson was born in Lincoln in 1787 and educated at the grammar school. He soon abandoned his father's calling of a builder and became an architect. He restored a number of parish churches, was county surveyor for Lincoln castle, and from time to time advised the dean and chapter on cathedral repairs. He contributed much to architectural

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publications, including those of Britton and the elder Pugin. For many years he was a member of the Lincoln city council, and he was mayor in 1851–52. There is a memoir in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for March 1855; and see now Mr H. M. Colvin's *Biographical Dictionary of English Architects 1660–1840* (1954). His portrait was presented to the city of Lincoln by his grandson, the Rev. E. H. Willson, O.S.B., in 1948; it hangs in the Inner Guildhall.

Another unpublished collection ought to be mentioned here. Mr C. L. Exley has spent many years in copying and abstracting documents relating to the history of the city, and has worked through the files of local newspapers. On many occasions he has been able to answer questions of mine from his vast stores of information, and I hope as I turn to a later period to benefit even more by his labours.

The printed sources on which I have relied mostly speak for themselves; the chief of them are listed in the table of abbreviations. There are several rare tracts and broadsheets relating to the city in the British Museum. The Lincoln Public Library and the Lincoln Cathedral Library have good collections of Civil War tracts. The Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, produced for me his college's unique copy of John Smith's tract on Psalm xxii, and the Librarian of Friends House the Martin Mason pamphlets. A copy of *The Prisoner against the Prelate* is in my possession.

I am grateful to the keepers of all the collections mentioned for the facilities they have given me; and to the Town Clerk and his staff, whom I have often plagued at short notice. For illustrations I am indebted to Lord Ancaster; Colonel C. F. C. Jarvis; the Mayor, Aldermen and citizens of Lincoln; the Bishop of London; Lord Monson; the Trustees of the National Portrait Gallery; the Dean and Chapter of Westminster; the Winchelsea Settled Trustees for the drawings from the Winchelsea Book of Monuments, now deposited by them in the British Museum; the Trustees of the British Museum for the use of the drawings by S. H. Grimm from his large collection of Lincoln drawings catalogued as Add. MSS. 15541 and 15542; and the Keeper of Western Manuscripts at the Bodleian Library for the drawing from Samuel Buck's notebook (MS. Gough Linc. 15).

The County Archivist, Mrs Joan Varley, and her colleague, Miss D. M. Williamson, have called my attention to sources, and indeed I cannot thank them too warmly for all their manifold services. The Principal of St Hilda's College, Oxford, has read the typescript and made valuable suggestions, and Mr G. S. Dixon has saved me from a number of mistakes. For books I have been able to use the Lincoln Public Library, the Lincoln Cathedral Library (where the Chancellor and the Librarian kindly gave

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PREFACE

me special facilities), the Nottingham University Library, the London Library, the Society of Antiquaries and the Institute of Historical Research. The Lindsey County Council, with a true regard for the wishes of Canon Foster, has transferred the Foster Library to the Lincolnshire Archives Office, but I used it constantly when it formed part of the Lindsey and Holland County Library. To the keepers of all these libraries and their staffs I am indebted for much friendly aid.

Mr A. W. Mawby and Mr F. E. Leafe have helped with the maps, and Mr Gerald Sharpe and Mr Brian Webb with arithmetic and in other ways. My secretary, Miss W. O. Hunt, has made the final typescript and has lightened the work at all stages. The index has been made by Miss F. E. Thurlby.

I wish to thank the officers and staff of the Cambridge University Press for their courtesy and care in seeing the book through to publication.

J. W. F. HILL

LINCOLN

*Michaelmas 1955*