

A TUSCAN PRINCE IN IPSWICH

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THE VISIT OF Prince Cosimo (III) de' Medici¹ to Ipswich on 13 June 1669² lasted for less than six hours and went completely unremarked in contemporary records. This would have delighted the Prince, since he had been travelling assiduously incognito. But if the event was not noted at the time, it would appear now to be of great interest and importance to historians of the town, for amongst the Prince's entourage were those whose task it was to produce not only a written record of his progress, but also a pictorial souvenir of the more striking places through which he passed. We are thus left with what seems to be the earliest accurate view of Ipswich, together with a brief description of its state in 1669. It is the purpose of this article to publish this view (Pl. XXVI) for the first time in England, and to offer a translation of the description. Accompanying this are historical comments, first on the text and then on the view.

Cosimo had been sent on a tour of Europe by his father, Ferdinand II, whom he was to succeed as Grand Duke of Tuscany in 1670. This trip was occasioned by the severe domestic difficulties he was experiencing. In 1661, he had married the capricious Margu rite-Louise d'Orl ans, niece of Louis XIV. Almost immediately she had taken a strong dislike to Tuscany, and to her husband. Cosimo had already had one tour abroad, but when the reconciliation with his wife on his return lasted a mere three weeks, Ferdinand sent his dejected son on another trip. The journey began in September 1668 with Spain and the newly reconstituted Portugal. It was intended that the Prince should sail for England at the New Year, but bad weather prevented his departure until March. Even then, a storm forced him to land in Ireland before he could proceed to England by way of the Scilly Isles. From Plymouth he travelled as anonymously as possible up to Egham, although he seems to have been frequently f ted en route. As Charles Dickens Jnr remarked sympathetically, 'although travelling in the strictest incognito, the unfortunate prince was never suffered to pass through the smallest town that boasted of a municipality without being worried with speeches of congratulation, and all manner of civic pomposity' (Dickens 1883, 245). Ipswich was a lucky exception to this general experience. Having been met by over 200 of London's leading residents at Egham, he entered the capital. Here he stayed, at his own request, in lodgings less luxurious than those that had been offered. From London he made various excursions, for example to Oxford, and also to Cambridge and Newmarket. In general Cosimo dined and stayed at inns whenever possible. His low profile was designed to minimise expense to himself.³ But, naturally, it entailed Charles II, his host, saving money as well, much to the hard-pressed King's relief. In June, Cosimo left London for Holland by way of Harwich. On the way, he took in a visit to General Monck at New Hall, pausing also in Colchester and, of course, Ipswich.

Amongst those in Cosimo's suite was the celebrated scientist and philosopher, Count Lorenzo Magalotti. He kept a minutely detailed diary of the whole tour, although for much of the time spent in England he was unwell. Other members of the entourage also wrote diaries, most importantly Filippo Corsini and Giovanni Battista Gornia.⁴ Those of Magalotti and Corsini were edited together⁵ to produce a two-volume souvenir album accompanied by pictures of places visited. This is of very large scale, well over a metre long by half a metre high, and is to be found in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in Florence.⁶ A recension of that part of the manuscript concerned with England and Ireland

was published by Anna Maria Crinò in 1968, who also included small-scale photo-reproductions of the drawings (Crinò 1968). However, as long ago as 1821, a translation of the manuscript was published in England, together with aquatints purporting to represent the original sketches.⁷ In fact, both translation and aquatints are extremely unsatisfactory for the historian. The complete two volumes have never been published, although various other portions have appeared at times.⁸

The manuscript concludes its English section with a summary of the state of affairs in the kingdom, before going on to describe Cosimo's departure from London for Holland. Beginning on 11 June, his route took him first to Islington, then on to Thorndon, the home of William, Lord Petre. From here he continued to Chelmsford, where he stayed the night at The Black Boy. The following morning he had lunch with General Monck at New Hall, proceeding from there through Witham and Kelvedon to Colchester, where he spent the night of the 12th. The narrative continues as follows (Crinò 1968, 243f.):

The following morning, the 13th, His Highness . . . proceeded on his journey across uneven country, mostly wooded and pasture land, which carried on till Ipswich, where his Highness arrived at midday. Alighting, he made a brief tour of the town, which is not among the least or inferior in the realm. After this he returned to where he was staying for dinner.

Ipswich, one of the most spoken of, indeed the principal, town of the county of Suffolk, is situated on the bank of the river Stour, which, in receiving the influx of the sea, affords a spacious port for ships; and with the abundance of its waters, its course is navigable right up to the sea, widening at Framlingham Castle before discharging into the Ocean. Ipswich's compass is spacious; once enclosed by walls, which have now completely fallen down, it has no defence at all. It is distinguished by many handsome buildings, whether for private occupation or for public business, and there are broad squares and streets. It is a commercial town because of the communication and trade it has with other ports in the kingdom and further afield, thanks to the ships which berth there and sail from there. For that reason, attracted there by trade, its population amounts to more than 20,000 souls. Civil justice there is in the hands of a Grand Council of burghers with a Mayor, who in the manner of other English towns are resident there and administer it. Judicial office for dealing with the most serious offences is thereby reserved for professional judges, who are distributed in each county by mandate of the London courts.

Having dined, His Highness went down to the port. There were boats on the bank for the use of His Highness and for transporting his suite, and with these he sailed down the river. There was a favourable wind and tide, and so, leaving behind Landguard Fort to his left, he anchored at Harwich in good time, and before evening . . .

The first things the local historian will notice are the three clear factual errors made by the Florentines. Ipswich does not lie on the Stour, the reference to Framlingham Castle is presumably an error for Landguard Fort, and the town was at this time run by two Bailiffs rather than one Mayor. This last mistake is likely to have arisen because not enough data were collected. In particular, the phrase 'in the manner of other English towns' indicates optimistic extrapolation from other examples rather than firm information about Ipswich itself. It would seem from the mention of Framlingham Castle that local points of interest were noted and later used to embellish the account, albeit erroneously in this case; many parallels exist in the rest of the work. The confusion of the Stour for the Orwell could well stem from an error on a contemporary map, and one does not have to look too far to find it. Ogilby's road maps were still six years away from publication, and it seems plausible that

the Florentines were using Speed's atlas of 1611. Speed also clearly labels the Orwell as the Stour. Textual similarities strengthen the notion that Speed was a source.⁹

For the textual description as a whole, there are several corroborative sources. Firstly, the approach to the town does indeed appear to have been substantially through terrain dominated by trees. Sir John Percevall (first Lord Egmont), in his rewritten account of his travels, records that 'Suffolk is well stor'd for woods, notwithstanding which there is very good pasture . . .' and that his immediate approach to Ipswich from Shotley 'was thro' nothing but a continu'd Wood.' Sir James Thornhill, writing in 1711, presents a similar assessment.¹⁰

It is also clear that the town was very impressive in appearance and size, and that, as is self-evident anyway from its history, there was a substantial harbour. Although the town was declining in terms of large scale trade and population, it was nevertheless adjusting with some success to a consumer-orientated economy. Thus the manner in which the Florentines hint at fading splendour by reference to the unrepaired rampart, whilst also depicting commercial prosperity, is borne out to some extent by other visitors of the period. *England's Remarques* (1678, 181) records that Ipswich 'hath been formally Walled about by a Rampire of Earth, and is a Town which for Commerce and fair buildings may deserve the name of a City, and that no inferior one neither; for its Trade, Circuit, and Situation may equalize any part of the Land'.¹¹ A similar opinion is held by Blome (1673, 209), who says of the town that 'for its largeness . . . its various *streets, populousness, and trade*, it may be ranged in the number of *Cities* . . .'. He goes on to remark that there are 'several fair *buildings* and rows of City-like *houses*; and as for its paving, it is a *Town* of the cleanliest streets of any in *England* except *Bristol* . . .' Jouvain (1672) gives an almost identical description:

Ipswich is no longer enclosed by walls, and yet it is a fine town, and very commercial, because of the convenience of the river that passes there; the tide rises by more than a fathom, carrying up large ships laden along the length of its great quay; there is a square, in which one can see the Town Hall, the Exchange, and the Customs House. Her most attractive streets converge here, in one of which there is a lovely fountain, and many shops of wealthy Merchants . . .¹²

Daniel Defoe first visited Ipswich in about 1668,¹³ and commended the town for 'a wonderful plenty of all manner of Provisions, whether Flesh or Fish, and very Good of the Kind . . . Those provisions very cheap' (Defoe 1724, 1, 67). Brome (1694, 59f.), describes Ipswich as 'very commodious for its Haven, Enriched by foreign Commerce, replenished with Inhabitants, adorned with several magnificent Churches . . . the Streets are very clean and well paved . . . with rich Shops and goodly Houses . . . The Storehouses which are kept for the King's Ships do much promote the Trade of the Town'. Yet only four years later, Celia Fiennes (1697, 143f.) could write that 'there is but 3 or 4 good houses in the town, the rest is much like the Colchester buildings but it seems more shatter'd, and indeed the town looks a little disregarded . . .' She does, however, concur that Ipswich 'is a very clean town and much bigger than Colchester is now . . . [with] streetes of a good size well pitch'd with small stones . . .' However, Blome (1673, 209) also qualifies his enthusiasm by adding that 'as to its *Trade*, receiving its riches from the Sea, it has born the fate of other late damaged *Coast-Towns*; so that of about 140 *Sail* within ordinary memory, they have at present not above 60 *Sail*'. Defoe (1724, 1, 58) attributed the decline in Ipswich's maritime trade to competition from Dutch flyboats captured during the wars and now operating out of Yarmouth and London. He may not be correct entirely, since Dutch prizes ceased to become available after 1674, and new legislation in 1685 made the coast trade unprofitable for any other prize ships. In fact, the ships of the north-east coast may well have been

Ipswich's principal rivals, particularly in respect of Baltic connections, although even here we find that the 1685 Act attributes decline to Newcastle and Hull as well as to the East Anglian ports. The main authority on this subject, Davis, merely repeats the contradiction, apparently without noticing it. On balance, it is clear that there was a significant drop in Ipswich's maritime trade, but the explanation for this might best be seen in terms of a general downturn in market activity (Davis 1972, 36, 56f., 93).

Of the 'many handsome buildings' attributed to the town, we know of several substantial private houses that existed at this time. Ogilby's map of the town, made in 1674, marks the houses of Lady Leake, Lady Barkham, Sir William Barker, and Viscount Hereford. The latter two buildings were also remarked on by Percevall and Thornhill. It has to be borne in mind that since before the Victorian period Ipswich has seldom hesitated to destroy all buildings of any merit in the town, with the result that the town's appearance now belies the architectural beauty of its past.

Fiennes is very critical of the lack of mercantile activity that she noticed in the town, and this is supported by Percevall who noted: 'No manufactory is he[re] settled, which makes it that a town the best situated in England for Commerce is now Intirely neglected the inhabitants being poor, and not filling above half the town . . .'¹⁴ As we have observed, maritime activities in the town had fallen off since 1640, mainly in respect of foreign trade, which had reached a very low level. Coastal trade too had suffered a slight relative decline. Nevertheless, the latter remained substantially buoyant (Reed 1981, 104-05), and is perhaps the basis of the Florentine remarks. Overall, the most realistic assessment perhaps comes from John Macky when he comments that Ipswich

seems, when one is in it, like a noble old House, which has stood a long time untenanted, and consequently out of Repair. The Streets are large, the Houses built after the ancient Manner; but hardly any people to be seen in them . . . The Inns here are very good, and all manner of Provisions are plenty and cheap: Which makes me wonder, that a Place, so well situated for Trade, should be so much neglected. Ships of above two hundred Tons are built here; and yet at Low Water the Harbour is almost dry. Which occasion'd that pleasant Saying of the late Duke of *Buckingham* to King *Charles II.* speaking of this Town, *That it was a Town without Inhabitants, a River without Water, Streets without Names, and the Asses wore Boots* (Macky 1714, 5f.).¹⁵

Concerning the figure of 20,000 for the population of Ipswich, one is hard put to find an explanation for such a startlingly high estimate. It is clear that the number of non-permanent residents can hardly have contributed significantly to the overall make-up of the town. According to an assessment made in 1686,¹⁶ there was a total of 193 guest beds in the town, and stabling for 630. This document implies that there were as few as seventeen inns, but in fact there were almost that number in a single parish. Still, it will be seen that non-permanent residents are irrelevant to the question.

In his detailed studies of Ipswich in the 17th century, Michael Reed (1973 and 1981) has demonstrated that there was a slackening in the rate of demographic growth from 1640 as an accompaniment to economic stagnation. The town was further affected by plague, its population declining by 15 per cent in 1665-66. Extrapolation from Hearth Tax returns yields estimated populations of 9,100 in 1664 and 7,400 in 1674. These data together imply a population in 1669 tending towards 7,000 only. Previous estimates of nearer 12,000 are clearly mistaken (Reed 1973, 91). The Chamberlains' accounts for 1669-70 record forty-three houses as empty or unoccupied,¹⁷ but Cosimo and his party can hardly have known if any of the buildings they saw were uninhabited.

On the other hand, it is possible that although we have no record of any civic reception, large crowds nevertheless gathered to get a glimpse of the town's unusual visitor; people

may have come in from the countryside to swell the urban populace to a number similar to, or at least that could reasonably be assessed as, 20,000. Defoe describes a big event in Ipswich in the following manner:

It happened to be my Lot to be once at this Town, at the time when a very fine new Ship, which was built there, for some merchants of *London*, was to be Launched; and if I may give my guess at the Numbers of People who appeared on the Shore, in the Houses, and on the River, I believe I am much within Compass, if I say there were 20,000 people to see it; but this is only a Guess, or they might come a great way to see the Sight, or the Town may be declin'd farther since that: But a View of the Town is one of the surest Rules for a gross Estimate (Defoe 1724, 1, 65).

Yet there is no evidence for any crowds gathering to see the Prince of Tuscany. In striking contrast, a low-key visit to the town by the King the previous October generated massive public enthusiasm, there being '... all the expression of joy possible, ringing of bells, discharging of guns, the steeples adorned with flags and streamers, the streets strewn with herbs and flowers, and echoing with the acclamations of the people, and prayers for his Majesty's health and prosperity ...' The town spent over three pounds on the gun salute alone.¹⁸

It remains to consider where the Prince may have dined while he was in the town. Of the significant houses, the most obvious would be Christchurch Mansion, which was at this time owned by the Viscount Hereford. The only time Lord Hereford is mentioned by name in the entire work is in a list of the House of Lords, and there he is mis-designated as 'Hertford' (Crinò 1968, 153). Apart from this, and the possibility that Lord Hereford simply was not in Ipswich at the time, two further factors should persuade us that Cosimo did not dine at Christchurch Mansion, and that as a consequence he neither visited the house nor met the Viscount. Firstly, the manuscript is broadly consistent in recording any significant host by whom the Prince was entertained. Secondly, it is a regular feature that his firm intention was to travel incognito, and that such occasions as he found himself the guest of local nobility were impromptu and wholly at their free invitation, sometimes, indeed, against the Prince's real wishes; a very quiet and private man, he seems to have preferred genuinely to stay in inns without fuss. On this basis we can also exclude the several other major houses in the town. From this it seems likely that he did not take refreshment at a private location, but rather at somewhere like an inn or tavern. An inn is the more likely, since it would be better geared to travellers. We know that Cosimo toured the ramparts, and that he left the town by river. We can also reasonably guess that he had entered the town by the Handford Bridge Road (Ogilby 1675, Pl.54). This leads us to consider most likely those inns in St Mary-le-Tower, St Lawrence, St Margaret's, or St Mary-at-the-Quay.

No scholarly study of old Ipswich inns and taverns seems to have appeared more recently than White (1888), although James (1991) contains interesting photographs of some of the places considered below. There is also a brief discussion in Reed (1981, 110). Some information can be derived from tax valuations of Ipswich made in 1689 and several years subsequently. Reed analyses inn-holders' inventories and Treasurers' Accounts, which from 1679–80 record the names of those who paid £1 annually for a licence to keep an inn or an alehouse. The earliest indicate that there were thirty to forty of these, but the number rose to seventy in less than a decade, presumably because of greater efficiency on the part of the licence collectors rather than through any sudden increase in the actual number of inns. Although apparently ignored hitherto, the Petty Rent lists for 1668 and 1672 yield several names of inns. Perhaps the best starting point is Ogilby's map, which marks six establishments. These were presumably the largest. They are the 'Greyhound', the

'Queen's Head', the 'Golden Lion', the 'King's Head', the 'Half Moon', the 'White Horse' (now the 'Great White Horse'), and the 'Waggon'.¹⁹ The 'Greyhound' in Brook Street, St Margaret's, opposite the east end of the Buttermarket, was assessed in 1689 at £50. It included a number of tenements as well, but this is the same amount as that fixed for Christchurch Mansion and its estate, so the 'Greyhound' was clearly substantial. The 'Queen's Head', between Tavern Street and St Mary-le-Tower church, was also large. The 'Golden Lion' can still be visited on the Cornhill. The 'King's Head' was on the site of the Corn Exchange, assessed in 1689 at £35. Since the 'Half Moon' was down in Silent Street (opposite the Cattle Market), we might consider this a less likely candidate for entertaining the Prince. Clearly, the 'White Horse' was an eminently suitable place for Cosimo to take rest in, and the inventory of its owner in 1702, Martin Shrive, shows it to have been as grand as anywhere else, totalling £128 13s. 10d. If it was good enough for George II, and for Louis XVIII of France, it was probably acceptable to the Prince of Tuscany too. The 'Waggon' stood next to the Ancient House until 1935.

Other substantial inns that may have been convenient include the 'Griffin' and the 'Swan'. The 'Griffin' was very ancient; located in Westgate Street, roughly on the site of the 'Crown and Anchor' and Debenhams, its assessment was £18. The 'Swan' is still situated in the parish of St Mary-le-Tower. It existed before 1673, was assessed in 1689 at £14, and in 1703 appears in the inventory of its owner William Ellis at £118 17s. 10d. The list of rooms confirms its size then.

Given that Cosimo would have wanted to board his ferry as soon as it was ready, so as to arrive in Harwich before dark, the inns in St Mary-at-the-Quay parish might have been preferred. These included the 'Angel', the 'Bull' and the 'Gun'. The first of these stood on the quay, and was valued at £30 per annum in 1689, while the 'Bull' was put at £40. The 'Gun' was clearly smaller or less well situated (£15). All three appear in the Petty Rents of both 1668 and 1672. However, this part of the town, *pace* White, was not its social centre. It seems likely that the large inns by the water would have been particularly rowdy, drawing their trade mainly from a more disreputable clientele. In fact it was the area away from the water 'where many well-to-do people lived. Here were the wealthiest parishes, St Lawrence and St Mary Tower, together with many of the largest inns. This was the focal point of the town, not the quayside' (Reed 1973, 4).

On balance, if the Prince did go to an inn, it seems likely that he would have visited one of the following: the 'Greyhound', the 'King's Head', the 'Queen's Head', the 'Griffin', the 'White Horse', the 'Swan', or the 'Golden Lion'.²⁰ It is impossible to be more precise, and it should be remembered that even a coffee house would probably have provided him with all the refreshment he sought.²¹ Wherever he rested, if he ate a meal, it would in any case have been prepared by his own staff.

Leaving Ipswich, the party proceeded to Harwich, and the following day sailed for Holland in the King's yacht, the *Henrietta*.²² Amongst those Englishmen who had accompanied Cosimo to bid him farewell were Lord Petre and Sir Bernard Gascoigne, the Florentine-born hero of the siege of Colchester. Others who passed through Ipswich included Thomas Plott, a diplomat who at this time was employed as Cosimo's secretary, and Magalotti himself, who by now had recovered from his illness.²³ Also in Cosimo's entourage was his physician, Giovanni Battista Gornia, who summed up Ipswich in his diary as 'a beautiful city, large, and with very many shops'. In contrast he regarded Harwich as 'a small place, and ill-equipped'.²⁴

The view of Ipswich that accompanies the official account of Cosimo's visit is significant for several reasons. Graphic representations of the town prior to 1669 are limited to only two known currently. One of these is a highly stylized image on Smart's memorial in St

Mary-le-Tower church, which emphasises the maritime prowess of the town at that time, but gives little idea of what it really looked like. The other is a town plan which is inset to Speed's map of Suffolk, made in 1610. Although valuable, it is sparse, and gives no hint as to Ipswich's actual appearance. After 1669, there are two views of the same order as the Florentine one. These are the 1741 Buck engraving, taken from Stoke, and the painting of the waterfront done in 1753 by Clevely. On a smaller scale, there are another two significant panoramas. One is the south-east prospect of the town, drawn by Gregory King in 1674. This is inset to Ogilby 1698, f.3.²⁵ The other is a woodcut which first appeared on the title page of the *Ipswich Gazette* in 1732. This shows Stoke Mill in the foreground, and so appears to have been taken from what Clarke considered the optimum vantage point: 'In coming from the parsonage to the town, we pass over a piece of glebe land, from which, near the mill, is the finest panoramic view of Ipswich, anywhere to be seen; comprehending the whole of the town, the river, and surrounding country' (Clarke 1830, 268). Although the Florentine picture is not, in the opinion of some, of first-rate artistic merit, it is by no means of inferior quality, and it is particularly interesting in so far as it complements these four later views of Ipswich in being taken from a different position. Clarke's recommended location (already used, as we have seen, by King in 1674) may have been too far to go, but in any case, Clarke himself chose for a frontispiece a prospect of the town not conforming to his own advice. The Florentine artist seems to be looking from approximately above Alexandra Park, presumably having taken the Foxhall Road hill as his start. Some corroboration for his choice comes from the Bailiffs' perambulation of the bounds in 1674. They finished by coming in 'to the parish of St Clements & soe unto the Cornhill unto the Bull Ringe'.²⁶ This suggests that the opposite direction was a quick and easy route out of town, something that would appeal to an artist under pressure of time.

The picture, which measures 126cm by 35.5cm, shows well that although Ipswich was a large town for the period, it was of course tiny in comparison to its present size. Most striking is the appearance of Hog Island, clearly separated from the docks into which it has long since been assimilated. The modern observer will also notice that in an age when few buildings extended above two storeys, the town's skyline was dominated by its twelve churches. The nearest in view, just left of centre, is St Clement's, which lends weight to our estimate of where the artist positioned himself. The church on the far right is St Helen's; the one next in, up the hill, is St Margaret's. Just behind can be seen the roof and chimneys of Christchurch Mansion. It is striking how these buildings were then on the very edge of the town. The church, right of centre, with the most prominent tower, is St Lawrence. To the right of this is St Mary-le-Tower, which by this time had suffered damage from the collapse of its steeple. Even in the Buck view, St Lawrence appears the taller of the two. As in other town prospects in the album, the borough's coat-of-arms is depicted in the foreground. The spelling 'Ipsniche' results most likely from the artist misreading W for N, rather than from not pronouncing the name properly. The masts of at least two ships can be seen in the harbour with their pennants flying, and further out on the left another ship is moored. It is tempting to think that this might be the ferry that took him to Harwich, since it would be in keeping for Cosimo to be reminded of certain features of his trip. However, this was where the shipyard lay, and that might be all that is supposed to be conveyed.

The abundance of trees mentioned in the accompanying text, and already discussed above, is manifest in this view. However, the foreground is very sparse, and this is also reflected in Gregory King's prospect, which shows few trees on this edge of the town. It may be that the artists wanted to make the view of the town more clear than actually it was, but it is equally possible that trees in this area had already been felled. Furthermore, Ogilby's map suggests that the land here was in fact arable. The Buck view seems to show a density of trees in this area, but that engraving was of course made eighty years later.

On the far right is a windmill. There were probably several of these around Ipswich at this time, and it is not necessary to think that any specific one is represented here. However, the artist could be indicating the one on Lingfield's Hill which is marked on Ogilby's map (1698, f.6). Although few 17th-century windmills survive, this one seems to be an accurate representation of a typical postmill of the period. The postmill was the earliest form of windmill (Flint 1979, 5). A straight pitched roof, wide weather-boarding, and an open trestle, such as are seen here, were all characteristic features of old mills (Wailes 1979, 8). We can conclude that the windmill in this view has been illustrated reliably and with care.²⁷

Finally, it should be borne in mind that the picture as we have it was done back in Florence from sketches made on location. None of these original sketches is known to be extant. All the drawings in the Laurentian manuscript have been popularly attributed to the architect Pier Maria Baldi,²⁸ who was in the Prince's suite, but it is in fact by no means certain that he was the Ipswich artist. This picture is a poignant reminder of how beautiful the town once was. It also helped serve as a fond memory for the Prince. Whilst he never returned to England, he looked on his time there with the greatest affection, his 'souvenir album' being a detailed reminder of happier times.²⁹

It will be clear, then, that the Florentine depiction of a town maintaining a degree of splendour against underlying decline is not a contradictory view, but rather provides striking and unifying corroboration, both verbal and visual, for other evidence of what Ipswich was like in 1669.

APPENDIX

COSIMO IN NEWMARKET

The Prince of Tuscany's visit to Newmarket is as well-reported as his journey through Ipswich is not. Extracts from this part of the account of his travels have appeared frequently, even in standard source books like *English Historical Documents*. In particular, there is a description of King Charles performing the ceremony of touching for the King's Evil which is arguably the best known part of the entire work because it is the most detailed eyewitness report of this custom that we have (Browning 1966, 70). Even the original sketch of Newmarket has been reproduced recently,³⁰ although apparently not directly from the manuscript. Nevertheless, while it is not necessary to discuss the Newmarket episode in detail, some supplementary notes might be found useful.

Not surprisingly, sport was a major component of a trip to what was already the King's favourite retreat. The account contains an early description of a race over Rowley's Mile, held between the horses of Bernard Howard and Thomas Elliot. Elliot's horse won, apparently against all expectation.³¹ Howard was a minor member of the famous family of that name, being the fourth son of the Earl of Arundel. He has been described as the 'Admiral Rous of his day in Turf matters' (Hore 1886, II, 257). Elliot, by contrast, has generally been ignored, or else incorrectly identified. However, when someone like Hutton (1989, 42) remarks that almost nothing is known about him, one can only assume that he is referring to Elliot's early life,³² because there is in fact quite a lot of information about him to be found. He was married to the daughter of Charles's nurse, Lady Christabel Wyndham, and was prominent at Charles's Court in exile, as well as after the Restoration. By 1669 he was Master of His Majesty's Harriers, for which post he received £500 a year. He retired from this post at the end of 1674, when his son (also Thomas) succeeded him in

that appointment. At the end of February 1669, he had been put in charge of the improvements to the house the King had bought at Newmarket, and after his death his widow continued as housekeeper on a lifetime basis. Elliot's death can be dated fairly precisely to between 26 July and 23 August 1677.³³

Again, Cosimo did not stay in a private house, but rather in an inn that was opposite the King's new residence. This was recorded as the 'Maidens' Inn', presumably meaning the 'Maid's Head'.³⁴ Before leaving Newmarket, the King expressed regret that Cosimo had been so forceful in his desire to be treated without any special pomp, because otherwise he would naturally have fêted him in the sumptuous manner befitting a prince. In fact, Charles had been hugely lucky that Cosimo wanted to go incognito, because the truth was that he simply could not afford the extravagant expense that fully formal hosting entailed. But then the King was always an exemplary liar, and Cosimo as consistently abstemious.

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NOTES

- 1 No substantial work on Cosimo III (1642–1723) exists. The most detailed discussion remains Acton 1980.
- 2 All dates are new style unless otherwise indicated.
- 3 '... the Prince of Thuscany hath not above some 30 or 40 in his traine; being in incognito, yet keeps a very noble table, having both Italian, French, Spanish, and English cooks, which makes a various but much comended table. He designs not above a month's stay, and 15000£ expence for it . . . but he wholly applies himself to entertaine the English lords who visit and dine with him . . .' (H.M.C. *Rutland* 2, 12, Chaworth to Roos).
- 4 Surprisingly, Magalotti (1637–1712) too awaits his biographer, although see Fermi 1903, and Cochrane 1973, 231–313. Gornia was acting as physician, and a contemporary copy of his diary is in the British Library, B.L. Add. MS 16,504. Corsini, like Magalotti, had accompanied the Prince on his previous travels.
- 5 This textual point is discussed by Crinò 1968, xiv ff.
- 6 B.M.L. MSS Med. Pal. 123 (section on England in Vol. II). Nineteenth-century copy (defective) in British Library B.L. Add. MSS 33,767 (A and B).
- 7 *Travels of Cosmo*, 1821. It is intended that the production of this book will be discussed by R.E. Clayton in *Print Quarterly*, forthcoming.
- 8 For example in Hoogewerff 1919, Sanchez Rivero 1933, and Budke 1976.
- 9 Although Cosimo did not go to Framlingham Castle, he did visit Landguard Fort, and the diarists could have got confused. As for the names of the rivers, it is apposite to quote Defoe on this topic: '... a Traveller will hardly understand me, especially a Seaman, when I speake of the River *Stour* and the River *Orwell* at Harwich, for they know them by no other Names than those of Maningtre-Water, and Ipswich-Water . . .' (Defoe 1724, 1, 57).
- 10 Percevall: B.L. Add. MS 47,058, f. 4. Thornhill: 'The country on each side of Ipswich [is] . . . well wooded' (B.L. Add. MS 34,788, f. 14). Cf. Defoe 1724, 1, 69: 'The Country round *Ipswich* . . . is an inexhaustable Store-House of Timber'.
- 11 But this does seem to be borrowed directly from Speed, who was writing nearly seventy years earlier: 'Had *Ipswich* . . . beene as fortunate in her Surname, as shee is blessed with commerce and buildings, she might

- worthily have borne the title of a Citie: neither ranked in the lowest rowe, whose trade, circuite, and seat, doth equall most places of the Land besides' (Speed 1611, 33). There are many other examples.
- 12 Jouvin 1672, III/2, 529. But Defoe (1724, I, 60) says the tide rose thirteen or fourteen feet, giving twenty-four feet 'very near the Town'.
- 13 '... about the Year 1668 (when I first knew the Place) ...' (Defoe 1724, I, 58).
- 14 B.L. Add. MS 47,057, f. 6.
- 15 Macky explains Buckingham's remark as follows: 'The Meaning of this last Description is, that the Town is divided into the Names of parishes, and not Streets; and my Lord *Hereford's* Bowling-Green is rolled by Asses in Boats, that their feet may make no impression on the Green'. Thornhill attributed the remark not to Buckingham, but to Harry Killegrew, a courtier of local extraction, and so perhaps the more likely source (B.L. Add. MS 34,788, f. 3). It should be said the Defoe is very critical of Macky's 'wild Observations' on Ipswich, claiming that he 'took very little Notice of the Town ...' (Defoe I, 61).
- 16 S.R.O.I., HD 250/1.
- 17 S.R.O.I., C9/11/63. The Chamberlains' Accounts for 1668–69 are missing.
- 18 Because of his travelling incognito, references to Cosimo's visit are often not to be found in the relevant records. Even with some more important places that Cosimo went to, and where one might reasonably expect to find some archival trace, there is often none. For example, in respect of a major city, Budke (1976, 53), reports that 'a search in the state archives at Nijmegen for data on this visit yields a negative result'. So far there seems to be no mention in Ipswich's archives. The Assembly Book of the time shows that the town was more preoccupied with the entertainment of some Dutch linen manufacturers who were shortly to visit (S.R.O.I., C6/1/6, f. 402). Charles II's visit: *C.S.P.D.* 1668–69, 7 (Ludkin to Williamson); another contemporary description: S.R.O.I., C13/1, f. 57v. Gun salute: S.R.O.I., C9/20/87. Fees of homage cost a further £36 6s. 0d. (S.R.O.I., C13/1, f. 58r). St Mary-le-Tower spent £1 on bell-ringing, twice as much as it usually did to mark royal occasions like the King's birthday (S.R.O.I., FB 91/A1/2).
- 19 White's article is not to be dismissed. James appears to draw very heavily on Thompson 1946, 7–37, omitting only the caution and circumspection that were better retained. There are two copies of the tax assessment: S.R.O.I., K 30/2/1 and HA 247/5/2. An imperfect transcript of the former was published in Chamberlain [1889], while the latter, concealed among the Edgar family papers, has been ignored. Reed appears to be unaware of its existence. Yet this copy is easily the superior of the two. Treasurers' accounts: S.R.O.I., C9/20/92 sqq. Petty Rents: S.R.O.I., C9/16/4 (1668) and C9/16/5 (1672). Map: Ogilby 1698, ff. 2, 5.
- 20 References to inns demand caution, because establishments come and go, and a common name can attach itself to two entirely distinct inns separated by years. So to see which inns existed in 1669, it is important to consider mainly only evidence from within a few years either side of that date. 'White Horse': Shrive's inventory, S.R.O.I., FE 1/4, f. 56. 'Griffin': White 1888, 165. 'Swan': this may have existed by 1664, when a charity based on income from the 'Swan' was apparently instituted by a John Parker (Canning 1747, 194; no earlier reference). This man, never explicitly connected with the 'Swan', disappears from the churchwardens' accounts after that year (S.R.O.I., FB 91/A1/2). The first certain mention of the 'Swan' for this period is in the will of Robert Parker, dated 1673 (S.R.O.I., HA 61/436/195). Robert Parker was from Bramford, but a man of that name does appear in the churchwardens' accounts for St Mary-le-Tower – before 1665, right next to John Parker. This implies that the two may have been related. Whatever the truth about John Parker's charity, it seems reasonable, on balance, to assume that the 'Swan' existed in 1669. Ellis's inventory: S.R.O.I., FE 1/4, f. 34. 'A great posting establishment' (White 1888, 168) was the 'White Hart': S.R.O.I., HA 93/2/2846 (will of Thomas Blomfield, 1678). When Lord Oxford visited the town in December 1737, he stayed 'at the "Cross" tavern in Market place, very good people' (H.M.C. *Portland* 6, 169); see White 1888, 171f. Among those inns no longer standing, photographs are reproduced in James 1991 of the 'King's Head' (16), the 'Waggon' (34) and the 'Angel' (60); however, neither the 'Queen's Head' nor the 'Half Moon' pictured are the ones discussed here.
- 21 Coffee-houses habitually served meals, and a wide variety of drinks, including alcoholic ones, as well as coffee. Cosimo certainly went to at least one of these establishments. When he visited Oxford, he stayed at the 'Angel' (Crinò 1968, 97). This was the first coffee-house in England. It had appeared as recently as 1650, but, although the spread of such places was initially slow, it is quite possible that there was already a coffee-house in Ipswich by 1669. 'In Ipswich the first coffee houses were evidently founded towards the end of the seventeenth century, but the exact date is not known. Possibly they began in the 1660s, since coffee was considered an antidote to the plague' (Jones 1952, 247). It is certain that there were two coffee-houses in Ipswich (both in St Mary-le-Tower parish) by 1689 (S.R.O.I., HA 247/5/2, f. 7). Jones only notices one (Thomas Smith's), suggesting that this was opened in April of that year (Jones 1961, 126f.). But his argument, based on the Churchwardens' accounts (S.R.O.I., FB 91/A1/2), is not certain, since several establishments known to have existed do not feature there. In fact, it is Sarah Thorpe's coffee-house that is first to be recorded. She paid for a licence in 1686–87 (S.R.O.I., C9/20/97). The Treasurers' accounts for the previous year are missing. For the years prior to that the lists certainly seem to be incomplete, so it is not impossible that her coffee-house was open earlier. Nevertheless, she too first appears in the Churchwardens'

- accounts for 1686–87. This suggests she may well have opened between Michaelmas 1685 and Easter 1686, but perhaps someone else ran the coffee-house before her.
- 22 The yacht is not actually named, but its captain is given as Thomas Crow (Crinò 1968, 245). This man was regularly in command of the *Henrietta* at this time (*C.S.P.D.* 1668–69, 395, 418). The *Henrietta* had been built in 1663 by Christopher Pett (1620–68), master shipwright at Woolwich and Deptford, and was sunk in action ten years later. It was the King's favourite yacht, gilded, and with elaborate carved work (Pepys 1970–83, iv, 123, 149; v, 24 and n.). Cosimo had travelled to Ipswich in a carriage lent to him by the Secretary of State, Lord Arlington (*C.S.P.V.* 1669–70, 66).
 - 23 For Petre and Gascoigne (Bernardino Guasconi), see their entries in *D.N.B.* Plott as secretary to Cosimo: *C.S.P.D.* 1673, 465; as diplomat: Bell 1990, 168, 206, although the *floruit* Bell gives is inadequate, since Plott was still alive in 1706 (Fermi 1904, letter no. 795). Magalotti at Ipswich: Fermi 1903, 46.
 - 24 B.L. Add. MS 16,504, f. 134.
 - 25 Buck's 1741 view was first distributed in Buck, n.d., vol. v. Clevely's painting hangs in Christchurch Mansion. The *Ipswich Journal* began publication in 1720, but only carried a picture of the town during its phase as the *Ipswich Gazette* (1732–1737).
 - 26 S.R.O.I., C13/1, f. 53v.
 - 27 Among windmills still standing, those at Bourne Mill in Cambridgeshire (which dates from before 1636), Willoughby in Lancashire, and Friskney Tofts in Lincolnshire, are most similar to the one pictured (Wailles 1979, 8, 14, 48. Bourne Mill can be visited). The oldest extant postmill in Suffolk is Drinkstone, which is dated 1689; but its trestle is enclosed (Dolman 1978, 9). The last open-trestle postmill to stand in the county was (until 1934) at Horham (Flint 1979, 17). A photograph of this, taken in 1925, appears in Woolford 1929. It closely resembles the mill in the view. Apart from the mill on Lingfield's Hill and the two (Handford and Stoke) owned by the town, the only other mill that existed for certain (by 1674) was somewhere near the Belstead Road (S.R.O.I., C13/1 f. 52r); Clarke (1830, 265) indicates that there were two in this area, but this one may in fact be the same as Stoke Mill. May (1984, 17) feels able to identify the windmill in the foreground of the Newmarket panorama, which supports the impression that a real, rather than a generic, mill is being shown in the view of Ipswich. The only apparent inaccuracy is that the legs of the structure would have stood on supporting bricks, to prevent the wood from rotting. But these are omitted in other contemporary representations of mills. Suffolk postmills are discussed fully in Flint 1979, 5–30.
 - 28 By, for example, Crinò in conversation with the author (cf. Crinò 1968, xxxf.), and Hoogewerff 1919, Sanchez Rivero 1933, Budke 1976, Ciardi Dupré dal Poggetto 1976, Gurrieri 1979, and *D.B.I.* (s.v. Baldi), among others. For Baldi, see his entry in *D.B.I.*
 - 29 Much of Cosimo's life was dominated by sorrow and frustration, principally occasioned by the diminution of Tuscany's importance, by the failure of his marriage (his wife left Tuscany for good in 1675), and by the dissoluteness of his children. Indeed, his son Gian Gastone, who succeeded him in 1723, was the last Medicean Grand Duke of Tuscany. 'This journey certainly remained among his most happy memories, and perhaps during his sad life, his thoughts turned many times to those delightful days, as he leafed through the large albums of travel notes which with the enthusiasm of a "modern" tourist he had compiled . . .' (Piero Ruschi on nos. 214–15 in Gurrieri 1979).
 - 30 On the inside cover of May 1984.
 - 31 H.M.C., *5th Report*, 487b (Denton to Verney).
 - 32 Although even in this case, we know that Elliot was a Page of Honour to Charles I as early as 1633 (*C.S.P.D.* 1633–34, 220).
 - 33 Salary as Master of Harriers: *C.T.B.* 1669–72, 261 (4 August (O.S.) 1669). Retirement and succession of son: B.L. Add. MS 28,075, f. 139. In charge of repairing house: *C.T.B.* 1669–72, 28. Widow as housekeeper: *C.T.B.* 1676–79, 745. Elliot's death: *C.S.P.D.* 1677–78, 318, 330.
 - 34 'Osteria delle Donzelle' (Crinò 1968, 71). Unfortunately, although May (1984, 23) quotes from this same page, he does not discuss this inn and its connection with the 'Maid's Head'; but they must be the same. The 'Maid's Head' in later years: May 1984, 49, 64. Restoration Newmarket: May 1988. It will be seen already that May is mistaken in assigning (as he seems to) the picture of Newmarket, and the account of the Prince's visit there, to Cosimo personally (May 1984, 19 and 23).

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Printed works: abbreviations

- C.S.P.D. *Calendars of State Papers, Domestic.*
C.S.P.V. *Calendars of State Papers, Venetian.*
C.T.B. *Calendars of Treasury Books.*
D.B.I. *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani.*
D.N.B. *Dictionary of National Biography.*
H.M.C. Historical Manuscripts Commission.
N.Q. *Notes and Queries.*

Abbreviations for MSS

- B.L. Add. MSS British Library, Additonal Manuscripts.
B.M.L. MSS Med. Pal. Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Manoscritti Medicei Palatini.
S.R.O.I. Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich Branch.