

RICHARD HAMMOND OF CODDENHAM: FLORIST AND PHILOSOPHER

by JOHN BLATCHLY

BUT FOR THE survival of a small book, a manuscript with an early example of a printed title page (Pls XXXVIII, XXXIX), Richard and Susanna Hammond of Coddenham would forever have remained in the sort of obscurity almost inevitable for a country shoemaker and his wife. He will not have been the only Suffolk carnation fancier, far from it. Nor, sadly, will the Hammonds have been unusual in losing all their children, the final and most crushing blow coming with the death of their son William at sixteen when he must have seemed past the most vulnerable stages. It is only slightly surprising that when the Reverend Nicholas Bacon of Shrubland Hall came to bury his parishioner in November 1773 he recorded that Richard was in his seventy-third year when in fact he had been christened at Hemingstone in February 1692. That at least makes better sense of his having married Susanna Walker at Coddenham in September 1717 in the incumbency of the remarkable squarson Balthasar Gardemau.

What brings these Hammonds to our notice is the precious survival of a slim manuscript volume bound in full red morocco and measuring 4½ by 6½ inches with this intriguing title gold-blocked in the tooled central panel of the front board:

CARN-
TIONS
R * H

The antique spot marbled end papers, like the spine and back board, are comparatively recent renewals, and one must turn past three folios closely covered by Hammond's stylish hand before the printed title page is discovered:

CARNATIONS
Cultivated by
RICHARD HAMMOND
OF
CODDENHAM
IN THE
County of
SUFFOLK
1733.

On the next six rectos Hammond numbered and named eighty-four varieties of carnations using the facing versos and eight more for full page water-colour drawings of twelve of them, the unlisted 'Prince of Orange' and his humorous 'O Look what the Earwig have done' (Pl.XL). A good old Suffolk boy *would* say 'hev done', of course. Then follow lists in double columns of his Annuals, 'Perannuals', and Roses, all grown in 1733, with three more versos filled by drawings of 'Campanual Piramidalis', Damask Rose and White Rose. Hammond enjoyed varying the appearance and layout of his lists with the liberal alternate use of red and black ink, and simple pen and ink borders.

The book must have remained in this partly filled state until after William's death in 1746, when Richard felt driven to cover every available blank leaf, even the white space on the title page, with his philosophical and religious thoughts, none the less engaging for the eccentricity of his spelling and the words he misused or even invented. His religious fervour at that time was undimmed two decades later when he came to write his will, as the long and pious preamble (see Appendix) and the anti-nonconformist sentiments in his provisions for godchildren on their marriages show:

Furthermore my Will concerning is that the above said legacys be not paid untill the day of each legatees marriages & then not without their brides and bridegrooms produce every one of them a certificate from the register of the respective parishes of their being baptized in their infancy into the communion of the mother church of England & if any of the said legatees die singel or otherwise forfeit their legacys by not conforming to the directions of this my Will by marrying to a Descenter from the Church then those so forfeited legacys shall remain vested in my estate as if not willed & disposed off.

A staunch Churchman then, it is no surprise that he was also a Tory, voting in the County election of 1727 with his Huguenot vicar and most of the Coddendam freeholders for the Blues: Sir William Barker and Sir Jermyn Davers, Baronets, rather than for John Holt, Esq. the Whig Candidate. It will be simplest if carnations and the homilies which, ivy-like, entwine them in the original only because the empty pages were spread out, are here separated. My first task is to set Richard Hammond and his life in context.

THE HAMMOND FAMILY AND ITS ROOTS

The parish of Coddendam with its adjacent chapelry of Crowfield is situated some seven miles N. by W. of Ipswich and three miles E.S.E. of Needham Market. Hemingstone is the next parish in the Ipswich direction, and in the records of all three places there are Hammonds, at that time *alias* Barker, from the mid 16th century onwards. Ours was certainly the third Richard Hammond in successive generations, probably the fifth if it was his great-great-grandfather Richard who married Alice Deye at Coddendam in 1613.

His grandfather Richard, of Hemingstone, married Hannah Abbett of Helmingham in 1664. Ten years later when they were taxed on three hearths at Hemingstone, Richard and Hannah had a son Richard and four daughters, but by the time there were six children they had moved to Crowfield where two more sons were baptised in 1679 and 1681.

Our Richard's parents were Richard and Frances; he had a younger brother George as well as two sisters, Hannah and Frances, who outlived him. Richard senior was Churchwarden of Hemingstone in 1721 to 1723 and died in 1737. No trade is stated in his probate inventory, but there are indications that he farmed in a small way, keeping cattle and pigs; their goods were then valued at £153 10s. 3d. His widow spent her last years at Ipswich where she died aged ninety-three in 1760, but she was brought back to lie beside her husband whose headstone on the south side of the church is weathered beyond legibility.

Richard must have served an apprenticeship to become a cordwainer. His marriage to Susanna Walker (whose family cannot be traced) and the baptisms of their children are all recorded at Coddendam. Susanna, born in 1718, died six years later; Richard and George who were christened in 1719/20 and 1727 must surely have died young, but their burials do not appear in any of the registers examined. William arrived early in 1729/30 but died in November 1746. Lists of Coddendam parish officers exist from 1740 in which year Richard Hammond was one of the Overseers of the Poor; he may have been churchwarden before that but did not hold office later. When Samuel Pickering, Notary Publick in Ipswich, engrossed Richard Hammond's probate inventory [S.R.O.I., FE1/31/58], he styled the deceased 'yeoman'. Adding amounts

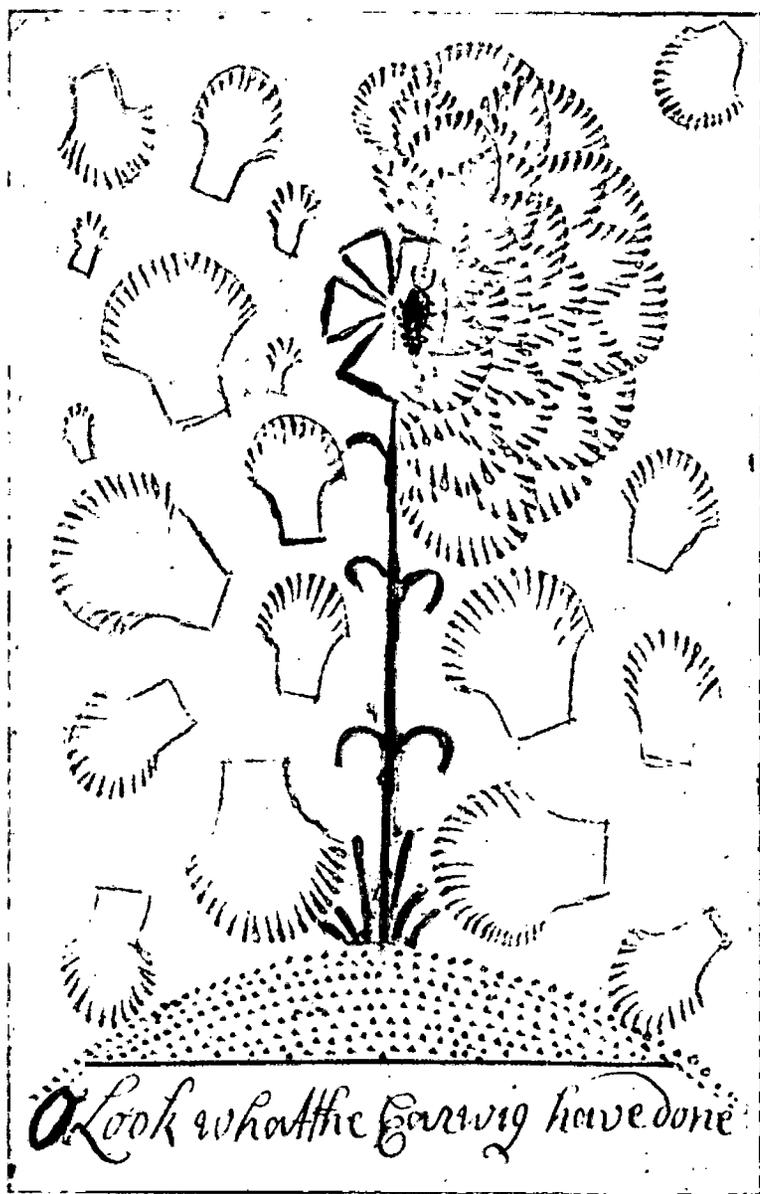


PLATE XL - 'O Look what the Earwig have done' (Hammond's manuscript; actual size).

owed by various creditors to the value of goods and chattels, the total came to £169 5s. from which nearly £13 went in fees and funeral expenses. Susanna survived her husband by just two and half years, when this Hammond line came to an end.

Notary Pickering was a busybody, an antiquary and book-man. In 1731 he commissioned a typographic book label from John Bagnall of Ipswich, almost the earliest ex-libris we know of from that place. He listed 'In the Study Bureau & bookcase' at Hammond's house in Coddenham 'a large Bible, and a Common Prayer Book, and fifty one Books of different sorts, an Inkstand, and sand dish . . . ' and if he could have had his choice of a single book, he would

have been likely to choose the Carnation manuscript, with its printed title page, for his cabinet of curiosities. There is no better hypothesis for its survival in such good condition today.

FLOROMANIA IN IPSWICH AND AROUND

Perhaps because the *Ipswich Journal* only commenced publication that year, the first advertisement of a Carnation event in Ipswich was carried in the Bury St Edmunds paper, the *Suffolk Mercury and St Edmundsbury Post* for 11 July 1720:

The Suffolk Flowerists Feast, for the Carnation Season, will be held at the Bear and Crown in Ipswich, on Thursday the 21st Day of July, where all Gentlemen Lovers of Flowers and Gardens will be very welcome. . .

The *Ipswich Journal* was John Bagnall's first publishing venture when, having completed his apprenticeship in London, he set up a press in St Mary at the Elms in Ipswich in 1720. He probably purchased the bookselling business of Henry Truelove which had flourished there since at least 1707. The paper survived under various proprietors until 1902. Bagnall moved 'near the Cornhill' by April 1724, then *via* premises in the Buttermarket to St Nicholas Street by 1733; from 1732 to 1737 the title was temporarily changed to the *Ipswich Gazette*. Since both local and national files of the early issues are incomplete, what follows is based on surviving issues. The *Journal* for 4 July and 11 July 1730 carried news of another Feast:

THE Florists Feast for Carnations will be held at the White Horse Tavern in Ipswich, on Tuesday the Twenty first of July 1730, where your Company is desired at Dinner by
Your Humble Servants
Edward Evers
and Stewards
Robert Judd

No further announcements appear between then and August 1740 with the single and extremely fortuitous exception of one placed with Bagnall by Richard Hammond and George Cooper for a 'Meeting of Florists' on Tuesday 30 July 1734 at the Crown in Coddenham (Fig. 72; Pl.XLI). George Cooper the elder had been Landlord from 1711 to his death in 1731; his son George, host to the meeting, carried on until his death in April 1756. No other advertisements involving Coddenham or Hammond have been found, but there is no reason to suppose that the 1734 show was the last. It seems probable however that William Hammond's death in 1746 brought his father's activities in the field to a close. Certainly his inventory gives no hint of horticultural, or indeed, shoemaking activities, but presumably at over eighty years of age he would have retired from both craft and hobby in any case.

The progress and spread of Florists Feasts in Suffolk during the twelve years 1734 to 1746 may be briefly summarised. In 1740 Joseph Rivers held one at the Little White Horse in St Matthew's parish in Ipswich. Two seasons later John Thorogood and William Death were the stewards for John Folkard's at the Angel in Bramford and a week later they organised one for Rivers at the Golden Fleece in St Matthew's. In July 1743 at John Gifford's at the King's Arms, Hadleigh there was a splendid prize offered: 'A WIGG of fifteen Shillings Value will be given *gratis* to those that shew the compleatest Carnation of their own Blowing; all others have no share in the Prize.' 'Two old wigs' feature in Richard Hammond's inventory under 'Wearing Apparel of the s[ai]d dec[eas]ed' but the chance of one being a prize wig is negligible. There was another Feast at the Bramford Angel five days later. In 1744 the announcement was addressed:

ADVERTISEMENT.

THIS is to give Notice to all Gentlemen FLORISTS and others, That at the Crown in Coddenham, Suffolk, will be a Meeting of Florists on Tuesday the 30th of this Instant, and all Gentlemen and others shall meet with a hearty Welcome from their Humble Servant, GEORGE COOPER.

RICHARD HAMMOND }
AND } STEWARDS
GEORGE COOPER }

FIG. 72 – Advertisement for the meeting of florists at the Coddenham Crown (*Ipswich Gazette*, 13–20 July 1734).

Sir

You are desir'd to meet a Friendly Society of GARDENERS and FLORISTS at Mr JOSEPH RIVERS'S, at the GOLDEN FLEECE in St Matthew's Parish, IPSWICH on Tuesday the 7th of August next promptly at One o'Clock there to Dine with your Friends and Servants,

JAMES WILDER
JOHN THOROGOOD STEWARDS

On 29 July 1745 a similar function at the Fleece was called 'The Annual Show of Carnations' at which 'Dinner will be ready at One o'Clock'.

The next year's events had new venues. At Simon Jackaman's Bowling Green in St Nicholas parish, Ipswich gentlemen were invited who admired carnations, called 'these curious Flowers' and were 'desirous of seeing them blown in Perfection'. There was also a Floral Feast at the Drum in Hadleigh; at the Sign of the Cross in Wickham Market the prize was to be 'a small piece of Plate of Twelve shillings value'.

HAMMOND'S CARNATIONS

In Table I, numbers indicate Hammond's fourteen drawings of varieties. John Harvey has pointed out that some of the names correspond with those of varieties supplied by the nurseryman Henry Woodman of Strand-next-the-Green, Chiswick to Henry Ellison, Esq. of Gateshead Park in County Durham in 1729. Numbers prefaced 'W' refer to Woodman's varieties, and the Glory of Brantford (No 70 below) must surely be another which Hammond obtained directly or indirectly from Woodman, since Brentford neighbours Chiswick. Some notes attempt to elucidate names. Heater (Nos 1, 11 and 21) must be the Hayter whose carnation Queen Caroline is engraved as Plate 91 in *The Compleat Florist*, 1747. Ruth Duthie (Duthie 1982) suggests that Hayter and others whose surnames preface those of varieties were raisers rather than nurserymen.

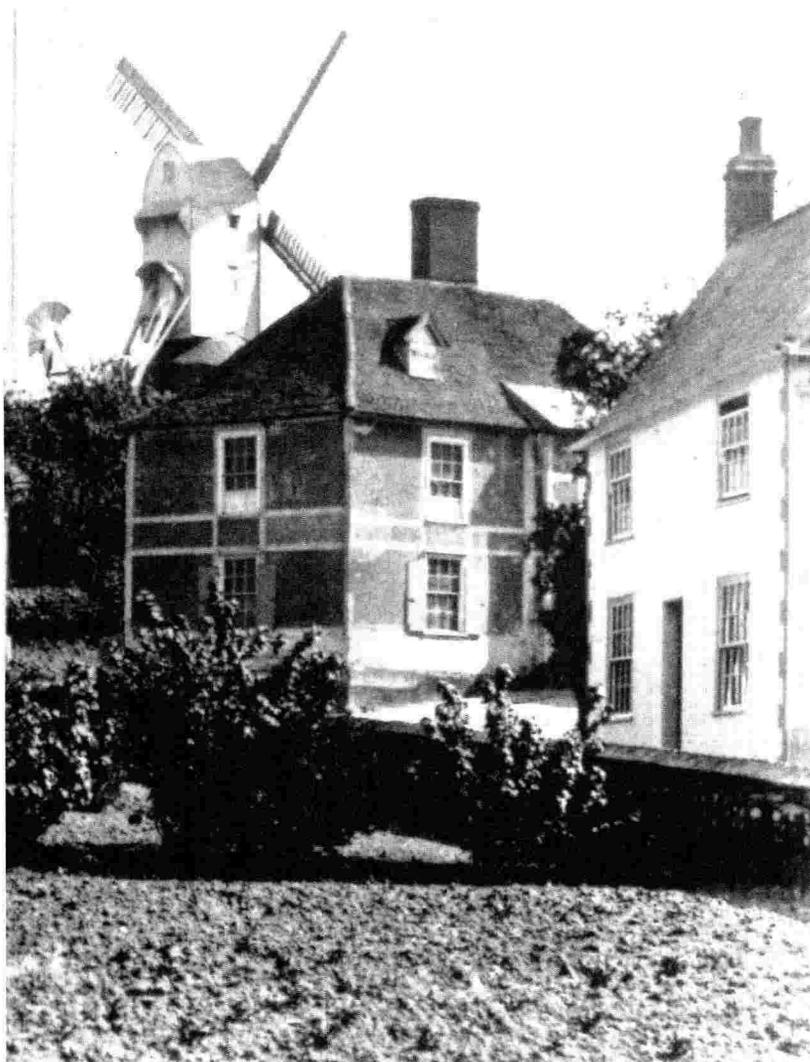


PLATE XLI – The Crown Inn at Coddham in the 19th century.

TABLE I

<i>Variety</i>	<i>Hammond's Illustrations</i>	<i>Notes</i>	<i>Woodman</i>
1 Heaters Queen Caroline	12	d. 1737	
2 South Sea Beast	7		
3 Consargus			
4 Royall Purpell			
5 Romes painted Lady			
6 Princes Amealy		Amelia Sophia 1711–86	
7 Prince Royall			
8 Glory of Winsor			W.10
9 Princes Sofiah		?see 6 above	
10 Ann of Great Britain		m. 1734 the Prince of Orange	

RICHARD HAMMOND OF CODDENHAM

<i>Variety</i>	<i>Hammond's Illustrations</i>	<i>Notes</i>	<i>Woodman</i>
11 Heater's King			
12 Princes Ann of Denmark	15		
13 Cutters Nounber 7			
14 Counties of Shaftsbury		Jane Ewer, wife of 3rd Earl d. 1751	
15 The Glory of London			W.11
16 Mr Mumby Nounber 88	11		
17 Great Charles			
18 Potters Blood Royall			
19 Bloody Hero	14		
20 Duke of Holston	1	Duke of Holstein	W.1
21 Heaters Prince of Whales		Frederick Lewis 1707-51	
22 Dolens Queen Caroline	2	See 1 above	
23 Mr Dealls Nounber 15			
24 Potters King			
25 Earl of Strafford		Thos Wentworth 3rd earl d. 1739	
26 Featers Jewell			
27 Topoms Princes Royall			
28 Duches of Richmond		Sarah, wife of 2nd Duke d. 1751	
29 Princes Sobaskeney		Princess Sobieski	W.5
30 Duke of Queensborough	9	Charles 3rd Duke m. 1720 d. 1778	
31 Painted Lord			
32 The Brandswick	8	Electer of Brunswick is	W.13
33 Mitchells Delight			
34 Readings Blood Royall			
35 Queen Ann		1655-1714	
36 Love in Triumph Paint			
37 Topams Prince		Topham's Prince of Wales is	W.9
38 Topams Princes Amealy	6	See 6 above	
39 Earl of Essex		William 3rd Earl d. 1743	
40 Lord Cutts		Baron, cr. 1690 dsp 1706/7	
41 Lady Waymouth		[Viscountess] Lady Weymouth is	W.14
42 Topoms delight			
43 Fair Rosmona			
44 The Britainay			
45 Topoms King		Topham's King George is	W.4
46 Richmonds Princes			
47 Alderman Child		See 83 below	
48 Counties of Bristol	3	Eliz. Felton, 2nd w. of 3rd earl d. 1741	
49 Featers Blood Royall			
50 The Royal Globb	4	Royal Globe	
51 Clear Virgen			
52 Glory of Reading			W.2
53 Dame of Honour			
54 Grimords Jewell			
55 Duke of Bluford			
56 Mr Parkers Jemmy			
57 The Old Jewell in Triumph			
58 Alderman Pearsons		See 82 below	
59 Countice of Strafford		See 25 Anne Johnson w. of 3rd Earl d. 1754	
60 Weastons King			
61 Barran Nonsuch			
62 Westmester Grafton			
63 The Norwich Blazse			
64 Potters painted Lady	13		
65 Newmans seedling			
66 Winsors Carilion			
67 The Sultanns Beasant			
68 Winsor Carilion			
69 Queen of Shebey		Sheba	

<i>Variety</i>	<i>Hammond's Illustrations</i>	<i>Notes</i>	<i>Woodman</i>
70	Glory of London Brantford		
71	Baren Ridill	Baronets, in fact	
72	Smyths Seedling		
73	The Glorey of Britton		
74	The New Epsom		
75	Topom King Rectified		
76	Topom Prince Rectified		
77	Epercuras		
78	Mr Boltans 1733		
79	Cutters No: 4		
80	Curties Scarlet		
81	The Mayor of Norwich		
82	Alderman persons		
83	Alderman Child		
84	Van guilders Quee Caroline		

C.O. Moreton in Appendix A to his *Old Pinks and Carnations*, lists and describes the Painted Lady and Princesse Royale as two old varieties which survived when he was writing in 1955, the first from the late 16th century and the second from c.1680. John Harvey suggests that Curties may be Edward Curtis, gardener of Southampton, 1681, and Newman may be Robert Newman, d. 1683, gardener and nurseryman of Dorking. Parker could be the Thomas Parker who in 1711 supplied tulip roots to Weston Underwood, Bucks., and Potter of Mitcham in the 17th century was associated with herb growing, especially lavender.

OTHER FLOWERS

Hammond's lists of other flowers in his garden in 1733 are rare survivals, possibly of even greater interest than his carnations to horticultural historians. His spelling is preserved but bracketted suggestions are made where essential; items illustrated in the notebook are marked with an asterisk.

Annals Propagated by Richard Hammond: 1733

1	Scarlet Lynennis [Lychnis]	22	China pinks
2	French Marygold	23	Larks Heall [Spur]
3	Love Aple [Tomato]	24	Sun Flower
4	African Marygold	25	Nigella Romana
5	Capsiam [Capsicum]	26	Duch Wild poppy
6	Sweet Sutton	27	Whit Lupins
7	Convolus Minor	28	Scarlet beans
8	Fennal Balsam	29	Supurfulus peas
9	Bush Basil	30	Winged peas
10	Marvel of perue	31	Ranuclas [Ranunculus]
11	Nasturtium	32 to 36	blank
12	Pratling Jacks	37	Colibins [Columbines]
13	Straby pink	38	May Pinks
14	Rock poppy	39	Scabus
15	Virgina Wheat	40	Princes Feather
16	Stock July flower	41	Yelow Lupins
17	Sweet William	42	Oring Gords
18	Holyhoks	43	Auracula
19	Convolus Mager	44	Polonthos
20	Tulips	45	Cockscomb
21	Wall Flower	46 to 50	blank

Perennials Cultivated by Richard Hammond 1733

1	Carnation	12	Campanual*
2	Primerose	13	Polyanthos
3	Auricula	14	Hepatica
4	Double Vilet	15	Dasies
5	Ladys Shift	16	Charity
6	Ceathe [Catch] Flye	17	Holyhocks
7	Everlasting per	18	Rocket
8	Scarlet Lyenns[Lychnis]	19	Sweet William
9	Pinks 35 Sorts	20	Wall Flower
10	Stock July Flower	21	Pentaloons
11	blank	22	blank

Roses Cultivated by Richard Hammond 1733

1	The Muntly	12	The Cinnam
2	The Damask*	13	The Province
3	The Cristall	14	The Read Province
4	The Gilded	15	The Mundy
5	The White*	16	The Read
6	The Yellow	17	The Velvet
7	The dwarf	18	The Vergen
8 to 11	blank	19 to 22	blank

HAMMOND'S RELIGIOUS AND PHILOSOPHICAL WRITINGS

Hammond wrote on short lines with a liberal use of capital letters and a punctuation mark shown here as = but in the original ≈. It is confusing that he also used ≈ to break words across lines. There are very few full stops and sentences appear far longer than he surely intended them. The transcription is faithful to his text and line length, adding only a few clarifying letters or words in square brackets, removing many unnecessary capitals, but inserting others and full stops where he must have intended a new sentence to begin.

The style of writing is far too much his own for him to face a charge of copying the work of others. Most pieces seem to spring from personal experience and straight from the heart. A few, like 'King Johns reply to one of his solicensing courtiers', 'The Pagans description of fame', 'The applause of great dringing [drinking] reprovod' and 'The Academicks Epimeum [?] on Admiration' are short homilies with which he seems very familiar, retelling them in his own inimitable style. We must hope that 'A Brothers Admonition to his Sister upon her breaking a glass' had nothing to say to his sisters; Frances married in 1724, the other, Hannah, remained single, and both outlived him.

It is the last brief piece which probably holds the key to Hammond's enthusiasm for writing in this vein. 'The eminent endowments of our Clergymen are to be solid in Divinity Laborious in their ministry Heavenly in Society & a patern of sound piety.' Hammond was fortunate in the endowments of the clergymen he sat under in Coddenham church during his long life. There were only three; two were Bacon descendants of the great Lord Keeper, and the other, Balthasar Gardemau, had married their widowed grandmother to become head of the family at Shrubland Hall. Gardemau was born at Poitiers in 1656 and educated at the liberal Protestant Academy at Saumur. He came to England as a refugee in 1682 and ministered to the Huguenots at St Mary at the Elms in Ipswich, teaching their children in a room next to the Town Library, leaving the initials 'B.G.' in most of the books when he had perused them. In 1690 he took the living of Coddenham, adding Ashbocking two years later. In 1697 his patron, Nicholas Bacon, Esq., died

and fairly soon after (the record does not survive) he married his widow Lady Catherine Bacon, daughter of the first Earl of Sandwich (who was killed at Sole Bay in 1672), and lived at Shrubland until his death, much lamented, in 1739. A great lover of books, his widow was to ensure that 'the Bulck of my Study of Books' should be available for the 'free Use, Custody and Perusal' by the Vicars of Coddenham for ever. They are now in the Suffolk Record Office in Ipswich. It is perhaps significant that among the present 365 volumes we find the works of Plato in French (Paris 1699) and Seneca's *Morals by way of abstract* (London 1693), for Hammond liked to quote both classical authors, albeit in a somewhat rhetorical way; they had been quoted in the Coddenham pulpit, no doubt.

The next two holders of the Vicarage, John and Nicholas Bacon, were brothers and sons of Edward Bacon, Esq., the Lady Catherine their paternal grandmother. As it fell to Gardemau to christen Richard Hammond, so it was Nicholas Bacon who buried him. We have every reason to believe that Gardemau and the two Bacons were divines laborious enough to fit Hammond's specifications, heavenly in Suffolk society and patterns of sound piety. He will have heard their sermons week in and week out with Tory respect, and mulled over what he heard during the long hours he sat at his last. He was no versifier, having little feel for rhyme and still less for rhythm. But he does use one or two choice Suffolk words, notably in the stylistically accomplished effusions on the death of his son William, 'now welking in the ground'. Welking means 'to roll or knead together', in this macabre context perhaps mouldering into a lump. Welking is also a good word for what happened in the cobbler's mind to all the wisdom and piety he heard, for what he wrote demonstrates the deeply digested and thoroughly owned content of many sermons and much Bible reading: the real life of the early 18th century Church of England in Suffolk, very little documented otherwise and undervalued since. Hammond leaves for us reading matter which unfolds to give a most unusual experience. Keith Jones, on whose comments I have drawn liberally in this section, writes: 'Isn't it astonishing to get so close to what the auditors of sermons in those days had accumulated from their churchgoing (and no doubt on other occasions too) and how poor Hammond used them to withstand such pain as life gave him? Heart-wringing stuff.'

A precaution against the fear of Death -

Is to consider that before God denounced the sentence of death against our first parents he promised a Saviour & deliver[er] who should triumph over Death = & raise our bodies out of the dust immortal & glorious & deliver them from the prison of the grave who all our life time are subject to its bondage = Then why should we be surprised with that black melancholy veil which usually draw over our spirits when Death approach within view & shews his syth [scythe] & only some few sands remaining in the bottom of our glass of time = To expel which let us contemplate on that region whose filicity neither eye hath seen nor ear heard neither entered into the heart of man to conceive = as being proper thoughts for us as Christians when we are to compose ourselves for death = & not to think upon the pale & gastly aspect & grim countenance of Death & of our being wrapped up in the winding sheet: & of the melancholy solitude & strict retirement & dark prison of our graves.

A precaution against tomorrows Evils

Wherein it is observable that every abatement of happiness is a degree of punishment = & that extrem miseries may conquer the fortress of life & some few divine souls may long with stand

to be dissolved = Yet why should we be disturbed with tomorrows cares much less with remote possibilities = If we at any time have an ill-prospect appear before us of either private or publick calamities = & do foresee the storm to be gathering & the clouds thereof to appear black & lowering = as if charged with terror & ready to break over our heads. We should not be too much dismayed & terrified with a storm at a distance = For we may be laid low enough out of its reach before it breaks & than all our irrational perplexities are in vain: many such examples are to be seen of men disturbed with ill presages of what was coming = which events did not happen as they expected or were not so black & dismal as their asirted fancy had painted them =

A Brothers Admonition to his Sister upon her breaking a glass

See dear sister in this shattered glass
The hard fate of many a pretty lass
for women like glass being both frail & weak
And as apt to slide & as apt to break
Guard therefore every step with caution
for as is glass so is womans reputation
both brok to pieces with once falling
are for ever lost & past recalling

Barrenness peremptorily excused

Children as is observed by the psalmist are a gift & heritage which come of the Lord, therefore if the wise maker of all things think fit to keep the secret cabinet of nature locked & to withhold the blessing of increase = all the subtle endeavours of the greatest Apollons upon earth shall not be able to create one single fibre towards a natural production = For it is the Lord alone can make the barren woman to keep house and to be a joyful mother of children = When Sarah continued so long under discontent for want of issue & Abraham the friend of God had put the petitionary question to the Almighty Lord God = What wilt thou give me seeing I go childless = Whereof if the Spikenard of Arabia or the gold of Ophir would have mad the purchase, the distemper of Sarah's mind would have been removed = But Abraham although the farther of the faithful had no such blessings in his disposal but must wait Gods time & leisure = & then when the Almighty sendeth forth his voice tho Sarah be old and stricken in years yet shall she have pleasure her lord also being old = Jacob no doubt would have prevented that passionate expression of his beloved Rachel give me children or I die = Whould whole hecatombs of sacrifices or burnt offerings have made her fruitfull = but Jacob being so sensible of the contrary that his patience broke bounds = & he thus argues upon the principles of reason & propounded it as a question = & said: Am I Gods stead who hath withheld from thee the fruit of thy womb = being to her no other than a spiritual advise to consider who it was that had dominion over the storehouse of nature = & to submit with patience untill God in his alwise providence think fit to take away her reproach = & give her babes as she desired & issue as she requested even to the furnishing a table with children like olive branches & to make her like a fruitful vine about her husbands dwelling = for as Socrates observes we cannot beget those pleasures of the loving bed without Gods blessing & favour = for when Sarah, Rebekkah, Rachel & Hannah flew to heaven with the wings of ardent devotion = giving no sleep to their eyes nor slumber to their eyelids untill they had stormed heaven by violence & brought away a blessing by force =

*Hammond on the Death of his son William
Most Courteous Reader*

Behold the hand of fate hath cut short with just disdain the long long views of poor designing man the wise disposer of all events = in his irrevocable sway The dissolution fixt To time place & way that my darling boy should pray to deaths rapid rage the only hopes of my senior days: & drooping age for whom I sink with grief: & in sorrow pays

that sum immense: imposed on length of days
which wrap all earthly joys extent in unbounded woe

A reproof by way of answer thereof

Surpress dear father your rage of grief & know that it was not man = but heaven that gave the blow which doomed me to these dismal shades: to joy no more you my lamenting parent: nor my native shore observe: the scale of fate ever wavering lies great Jehovah but turn it: & the stoutest dies like me: as yearly leaves I was with verdure crowned but smiling towards bloom: now welking in the ground bould courage may vaunt: but ebbing out its strength the stoutest of the race of man must yeild at length

His Epitaph

Such frailties as the best mortals share rest with thine ashes: nor shall envy dare disturb the peaceful reliques where they lie whilst guarden angels waft thy soul on high Admit thee to the chorus of the blest a willing travler & a welcome guest

An invitation to a good End

Is to begin as Plato observe to live well with the first bloomings of reason & understanding = & to give early & youthful speciments of piety & virtue by which principles we may look back on our past life to the very dawn of our first day = & enjoy our past years still viewing them with pleasure & satisfaction = & bring them all without remose to our last & final accompt

Advice to parents to take well the death of their children

By considering that it was not man but God that gave the blow & unto which in their appointed turn the stoutest of the race of man must yield at length = & therefore repine not if their deaths were unseasonable in leaving this life in their orphan state may not only in its minority but in its infancy = for that fruit which seemingly in mans apprehension is blown down green & untimely = yet nevertheless without doubt is gathered full ripe in Gods allwise & merciful providence =

King Johns reply to one of his soliciting courtiers

King John of England in his walking past a tomb being oversolicited by one of his attendance to untomb the bones that lay therein interred = giving this occasion for his reason that they were the remains of one who whilst living had been his majesties greatest enemy = O no said that great commiserating prince giving for his

contrary opinion this maxiom that he
wished all his enemies as honoura=
bly buried

The Pagans description of fame

Fame naturally having much of the
scould in her deportment as saith
Seneca the only way to silence her
is to be silent= And than at lenth
she will be out of breath with blo=
wing her own trumpet = Zeno com=
pare the instability thereof to the
madness of man who plant a piece
of ordinance to beat down an aspen
leaf which having always the
palsie in a short time would fall
of itself

The Illustrious character of our forefathers wives

who governed their children altho
many in number yet but few in noise =
steering them with a look whithe they
pleaseth = & when they were grown up
they taught them not pride but
painfulness = causing their hands to
cloath their backs & thereby to wear
the livery of their own industry
not teaching their daughters to
expect reverence before they are
deserving: but rather taught them
what courtesys they should pay to others
than what they should expect
from them

The applause of great dringing reproved

When Aeneas a prince Royal of Troy
in his praising the quality of great
dring commended Philip King of
Macedon for a jovell man that would
drink freely = to whom Demosthens
ye famous Macedonian oritor gave
for answer that that faculty was a good
quality in a sponge but not in
a man as a king

An encomium on death

O Death thou pleasing end to human woe
Thou cure of life Thou best of things here below
Maiest thou ever shun the coward & the slave
& thy soft slumbers only ease the brave

A precaution against covetousness

Worldly contentment on the passions
of the unbounded desires of worldly
men consisteth not in adding more
wealth but in subjecting their desires
equal as fire continues a good servant
while we omit adding fuel which
being multiplied is the cause of its
becoming an ill master = so a cov=
eteous mind will so over surfet than
be satisfied with earthly treasure
for he at first thought £10000 too
much for any one man will after=
ward think £10000000 too little for himself

The Academicks Epimeum on Admiration

Admiration being looked upon by the
unthinking part of this age as the
parent of Ignorance: but in ages
far removed from the present it was
considered by Plato that Divine philosopher
who stiles it the mother of wisdom
& averr that it was the first motive
that opened the eyes of men to everything
that was either divine fine or noble

Hammond on the grave of his son William

Oh guard those relics to your charge consigned
& beare the merits of the dead in mind - -
What sence what virtues dignified his Mind
In truth how dutiful: & in friendship kind
How loved he lived: & how lamented fell
his aged fathers Haert now feel: that morn he tell

The eminent endowments
of our Clergymen are to
be solid in Divinity
Laborious in their ministry
Heavenly in Society
& a patern of sound piety . . .

THE PRINTED TITLE-PAGE

Enough has been said about John Bagnall the printer and publisher of the *Ipswich Journal* and Pickering's book label to lead the reader to infer that he was the printer Richard Hammond went to for the title page of his manuscript book. It is perhaps hardly fair to attribute the work to any

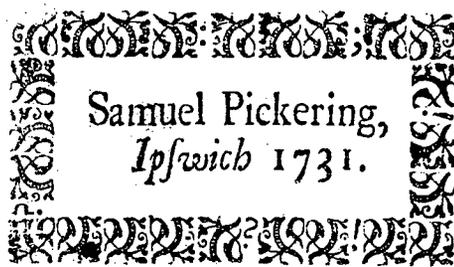
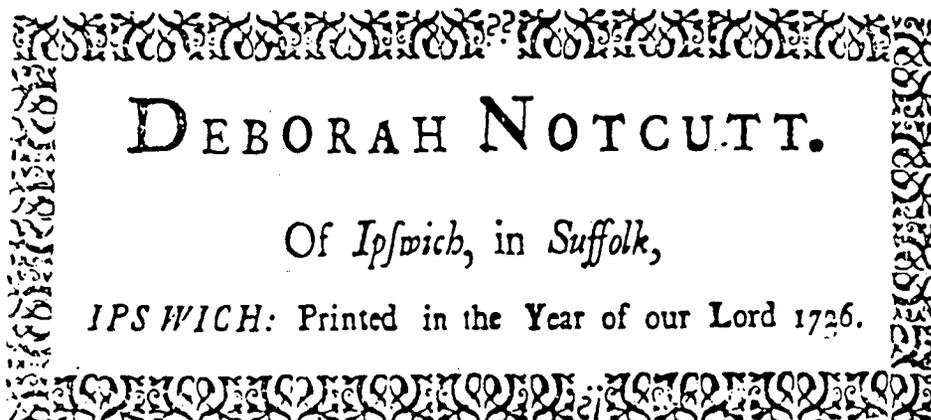


FIG. 73 – Two book labels by John Bagnall dated 1726 and 1733, one for Pickering who made Hammond’s inventory.

printer who valued his reputation, for the standard of layout and typography is rough and ready. The N of CODDENHAM is inverted for a start, and the choice of type sizes and leading follow none of the accepted conventions; most printers of the day would have introduced a line or two of Italic type into the composition. Assuming that it was printed locally, Ipswich is a great deal closer to Coddendam than Bury or Norwich which were the only other towns with presses at the time. We do know that Bagnall accepted and carried the advertisement for the meeting at the Crown in 1734; even that is a better piece of printing. Just one other thread of evidence points to Bagnall being prepared to take on very small jobs and not to take the greatest trouble over them: the keepsake he made for the six-year-old Deborah Notcutt in 1726 and the Pickering ex-libris (Fig. 73). The little girl’s father William was a nonconformist minister in Ipswich, an author whose works Bagnall may have hoped to print. If the typography is acceptable (and the reader must decide) the borders, particularly their filling with assorted marks of punctuation, could with a little extra care have been more of an adornment. Pickering’s border has left- and right-handed square fleurons in the ratio of 10 to 14; at least there are 25 of each in the earlier piece. Perhaps the production of minor jobs was left to the youngest apprentice without adequate supervision. Bagnall’s proper title pages demonstrate far greater care.

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First, I must thank Josephine and Martin Orskey for allowing me the great pleasure of examining their manuscript and inviting me to write about it. Then, since I know something of Suffolk but

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APPENDIX

THE PREAMBLE TO RICHARD HAMMOND'S WILL OF 1764, PROVED 1773

(S.R.O.I., IC/AA1/194/79)

In the name of God Everlasting Amen = Richard Hammond of Coddenham in the County of Suffolk Cordwainer in the Dioces of Norwich being advanced in years nevertheless of sound & perfect minde & Disposing memory Thanks be to the Almighty God for that Inestimable blessing = Therefore calling unto mind the mortality of my Body & although my Thread of Life hath escaped the various contingences incident to Human Natur yet by course of perfecting time it must be drawing to its final period & my body hastening apace to the dark silent grave the rendezvous of all the sons & daughters of Adam = from whose fall I know that it is by the wise disposer of all events appointed unto all his descendants once to die from which decree no earthly potent is exempted according to that irrevocable sentance denounced against our first parents in paradice who in their first strenth & vigor of nature could not withstand nor resist the force of that great leveller of mankind unto which infirmities the bodies of Adam & Eve were subjected in their state of innocence from which admonition I draw my conclusions that my departure is approaching near at hand = & from those expectations I do make declare & ordain this present manuscript to be my Last Will & Testament. To wit principally & first of all I resign my soul through the meritorious merits purchased for me with the most precious blood of my only Lord & Saviour Jesus Christ by whose atonement I recommend the same as to a faithful creator into the hands of God who gave it = my body I commit to the dark & silent prison of the grave in obedience to that doom pronounced against my first parent by the great monarch of the whole earth Dust that art & to dust thou shall return. To be interred in Coddenham churchyard between the two graves of my most dutiful & dearly beloved children Susan & William At the discretion of my executrix herein after named to whom I commit the sole order of that last memorial office of Christian duty to my silent corpes = nevertheless braving Death & the grave in the tryumphing language of the Prince of the Apostles in not fearing the sting of the one nor the victory of the other as not doubting but that at the general Resurrection I shall receive the same body again & that without diminuation of parts by the Almighty operative power of God through the merciful merits assured to me & all true believers by the glorious Trophy & Resurrection of our Lord & divin Saviour Jesus Christ our only triumphant & victorious deliverer from all our potential & formidable enemy to all allied to Adam = And as concerning such worldly estate wherewith it hath pleased Almighty God to bless me with in this life I give devise & dispose thereof in the manner & form following as first of all my just debts funeral expences & probat of this my Will be duly paid and then =
Item I give and bequeath to honour Susanna my dearly beloved wife all my household goods and moneys in hand & the rents of my real estates and all interest of all moneys on mortgages. etc.

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