

Chapter 2: Documentary Evidence

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*How fine has the day been, how bright was the sun!
How lovely and joyful the course that he run,
Though he rose in a mist when his race he begun,
And there followed some droopings of rain!
But now the fair traveller's come to the west,
His rays are all gold and his beauties are best;
He paints the skies gay as he sinks to his rest,
And foretells a bright rising again.*

Isaac Watts

Introduction

Any investigation into Southampton's medieval tenements must begin with the Terrier of 1454 (Burgess 1976). This manuscript was created as a record of households in order to produce an assessment of the payment each property should contribute toward the upkeep of the town defences. The extent of obligation was defined as specific lengths of town wall between arrow loops, the number of loops assigned increasing with respect to the value of the property. The document's virtue for the historian and archaeologist is that it

provides a street-by-street description of medieval Southampton including every capital tenement, tenement and cottages that existed in 1454: the level of detail is sufficient for an analysis of the manuscript to have generated a map of the town showing tenements located by their position in the Terrier's property sequences and in relation to the streets, towers and gates of the town walls (Burgess 1976; Fig. 2.1). Although not stated, Burgess clearly based his interpretative map on the earliest reliable mapping; the 1846 Royal Engineers' Plan of Southampton (Fig. 2.2, referred to throughout as the Royal Engineers' Plan). The correlation between the tenements described in the Terrier and the visible long, thin and characteristically medieval property boundaries on the 19th-century plan does not appear to have been overly problematic. Subsequent Ordnance Survey maps show that the same distinctive boundaries are still visible, fossilised in the development of the French Quarter.

Although the Terrier is the only comprehensive listing of properties there are early useful documentary sources which provide some earlier detail on individual tenements. These include the 13th-century Langabulum Roll and *Rotulus Antiquissimus*, along with the published analysis of the Priory of St Denys (Blake 1981) which record the priories' holdings and rentals within the French Quarter. Subsequent analyses cross-reference these early tenements to the tenement numbers used by Burgess (Kaye 1976; Blake 1981). The Terrier numbers are used throughout the current publication, although both High Street and French Street have been renumbered at least once in modern times. In the periods preceding the establishment of tenement numbers in the Terrier (including the late Saxon and Anglo-Norman periods), two other sets of property numbering have been established based on the analysis of the archaeological evidence (detailed in Chapter 3).

The Hospital of St Julian's (or God's House) to the south-east of the excavated site (see Figure 1.7) was founded for the poor in the 1190s, during the reign of Richard I, by Gervase of Hampton or Southampton (later known as le Riche), a reeve of Southampton (Kaye 1976, xxv). Documents relating to the hospital are held at Queen's College, Oxford, including charters, household accounts and rent rolls, which begin in the time of Edward I. The Cartulary of the God's House records was published by Kaye (1976 and 1984) and several of

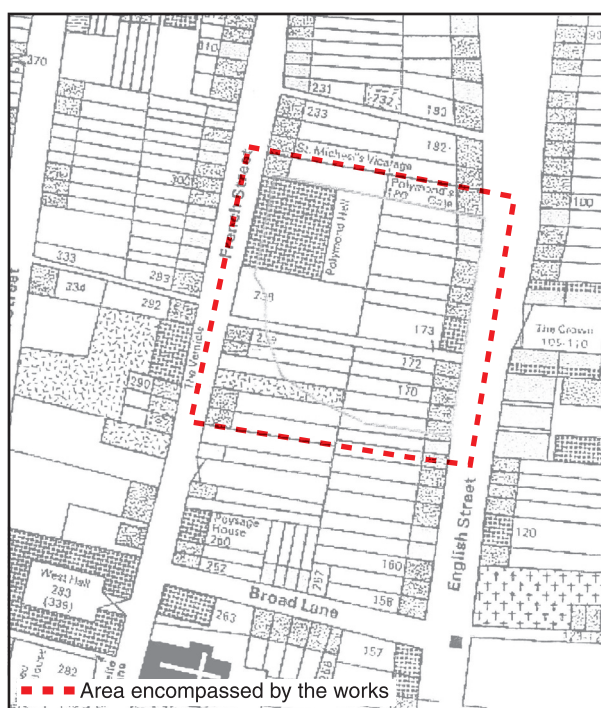


Fig. 2.1 Plan of 15th-century Southampton showing the properties at the French Quarter site listed in the Terrier (1454) (after Burgess 1976, insert map)

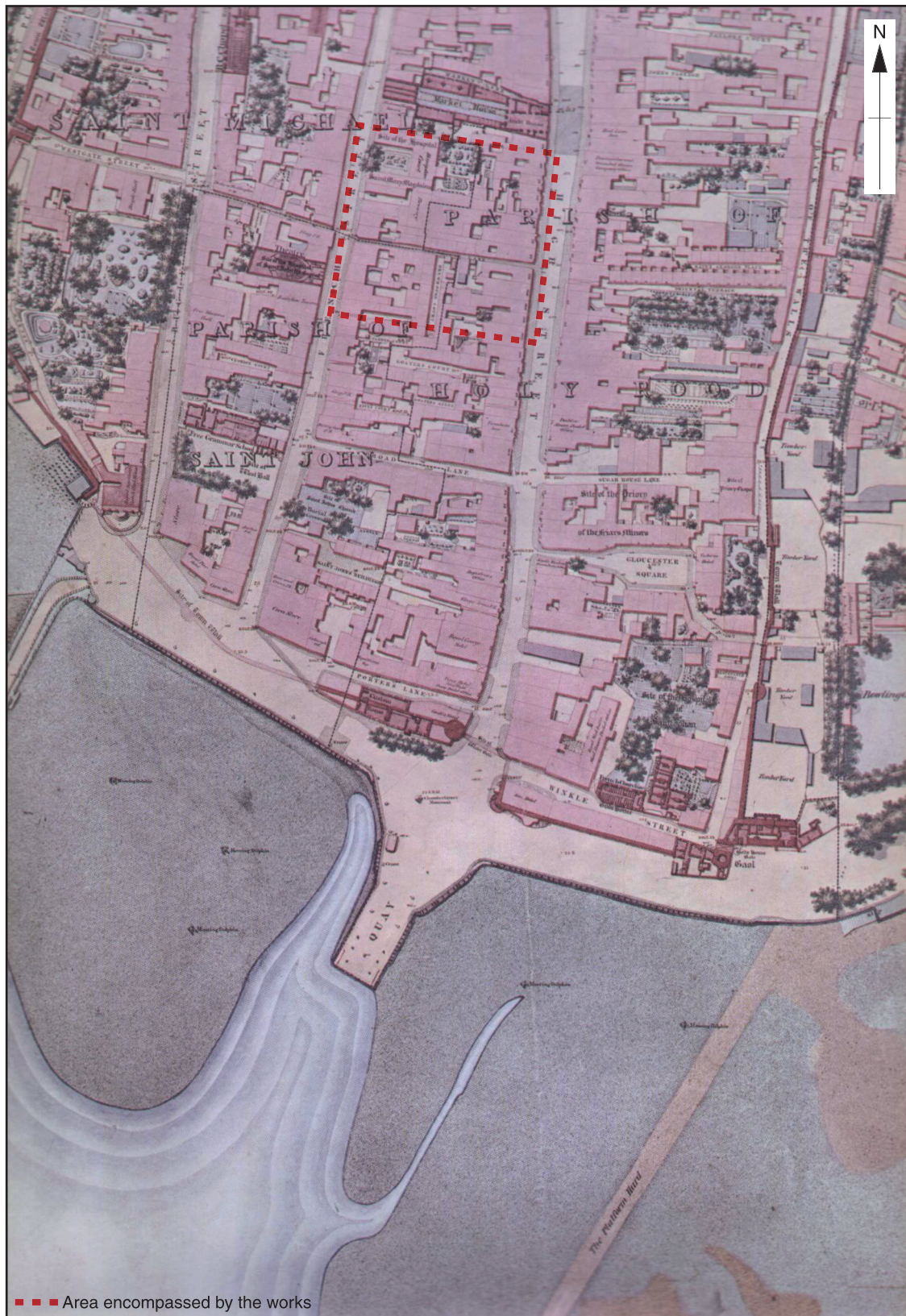


Fig. 2.2 *The Royal Engineers' Plan (1846): detail from the Plan of the Borough of Southampton. Surveyed in 1845-6 by Sergeant W.Campbell and a detachment of Royal sappers and miners under the command of Capt W.Yolland R.E. (by permission of Southampton City Council)*



Fig. 2.3 Tenement allocation on the excavation site

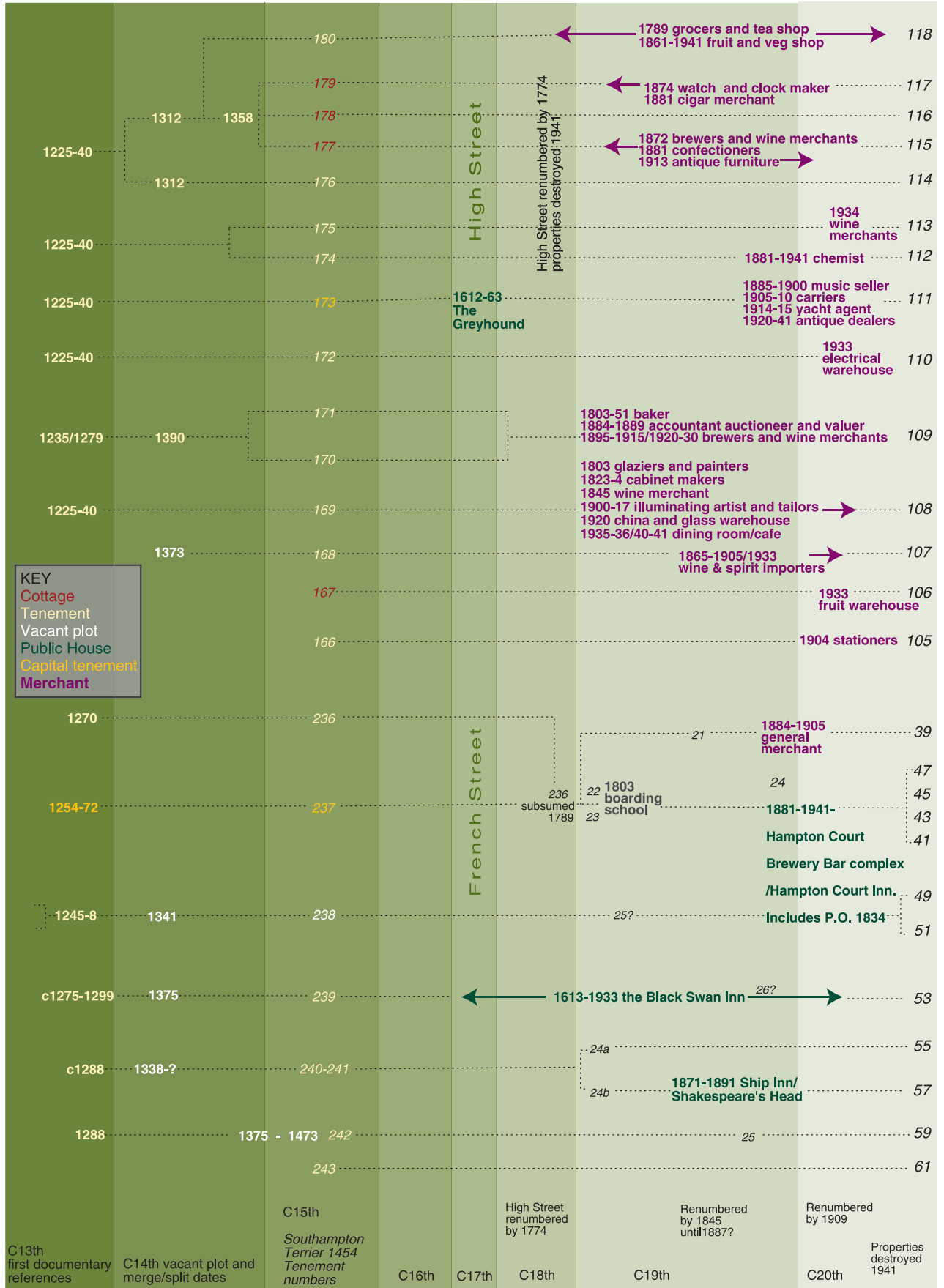


Fig. 2.4 Recorded land use

the properties at the French Quarter site were held by this institution.

The layout of the medieval tenements is indicated in Fig. 2.3, with the broad history of tenement development in relation to the documentary evidence being indicated in Fig. 2.4. The earliest tenement references at the French Quarter site relate to the first half of the 13th century, a period in Southampton's history of wealth and prosperity. This was evidenced in the construction of the town walls, a boom of house building in stone and an apparent transition from the post-Conquest organic development of the town to a 'planned' grid of tenements. By this time the site was bounded by English Street (High Street) to the east and French Street to the west. Houses fronting English Street fell within the pre-Conquest parish of Holy Rood, while those on French Street were divided between the parish of St Michael (to the north) and the parish of St John (to the south). It seems likely that both churches were established immediately post-conquest. St John's is first mentioned in 1071, when it was bequeathed to the abbey of St Mary of Lire in Evreux, France, by William Fitz-Osbern. St Michael's Church was founded c 1070.

The tenements described below are set out in two blocks: those along the High Street/English Street frontage and those along French Street. The modern street numbers are indicated, with earlier numbering shown on Fig. 2.4. The analysis generally focuses on the medieval and post-medieval periods. Selected tenements have been more fully analysed and include later evidence, largely on the basis of their significance in relation to the project's research objectives. Details of each tenement are summarised in tabular form in Appendix 1, which also includes further details of some of the tenement histories at later periods.

The High Street/English Street tenements

Tenement 166 (No. 105 High Street)

The earliest reference found for Tenement 166 is the Terrier of 1454 which groups Tenements 164-166 together, describing them as 'the three tenements lying together of Thomas Payn, late of William Nycoll, formerly of William Ravenston, in which John William, John Flecher and Thomas Pyrie now live'. A William Dymminge, joiner, was registered as the occupant in c 1620 (1620 Directory No 128). During renumbering carried out before 1774, Tenement 166 became No. 105 High Street.

Tenement 167 (No. 106 High Street) (Table App.1.1)

This property, along with Tenement 168, was owned by William Overay (senior) between 1400-1428. Overay was a prominent townsman, being Steward in 1393-4, Mayor in 1398-9 and a parliamentary burgess in 1426. On William's death the property passed to his widow Agnes. The Terrier of 1454

describes Tenements 167 and 168 as 'the cottage and tenement lying together of Agnes Overay, late of William Overay... now of Peter Stonerd'. Perhaps this is also the Peter Sone, poticarie (apothecary) registered in 1495 along with the entry 'tenement ... bi the yere (beside the freres part for an obit)' (Carr 1969, 87-8). Later documentary evidence comes from the 1620 directory which has John Jeames as the occupier before 1620 (he died in 1616) and 'Burish Daniell, merchant' listed (Directory No. 127). In 1871 Kellys' directory has Alfred Munday at No. 106, further identified as Alfred Modney & family, cabinet maker & upholsterer in the 1881 census. In 1933, the building is labelled as a fruit warehouse on the Goad insurance plans.

Tenement 168 (No. 107 High Street) (Table App.1.1)

The first documentary reference for Tenement 168 is in 1373. In the Cartulary of God's House rentals, Tenement 169 is noted as being bounded by 'Henry Gosberd's empty plot'. Similarly in 1409 Tenement 169 is north of the tenement of William Soper lately acquired by John Lymborne. At some point before 1454 the property passed to William Overay (also owner of cottage/Tenement 167) as the Terrier describes the two as 'late of William Overay now Agnes Overay cottage and tenement'.

In 1476 Tenement 168 is listed (alongside Tenement 167) in the possessions of St Denys with a rental of 2s. In the late 15th and early 16th centuries occupation of the cottage (Tenement 167) and tenement is by Peter Stonerd and in 1495 Peter Sone; poticarie (see Tenement 167 above). The 1620 Directory has an entry for John Jeames 'died 1616' at the property. The Cartulary of God's House records for Tenement 243 in 1629 note a Thomas Deboke in relation to the tenement to the east (Tenement 168). Arséné Gricourt et Fils were trading at No. 107 High Street from c 1865 to c 1905 as wine and spirit importers. In 1905 Fuller, Smith & Turner brewers had lease of No. 107 High Street.

Tenements 169-171 (?Nos 107 to 109 High Street) (Tables App.1.2 and 1.3)

The arrangement of these tenements is slightly more complex than that of many of the other properties. The 1454 Terrier has an entry for all three and describes the central Tenement 170 as 'the tenement with a narrow entry of Richard Holte, late of William Chamberlayn, in which John Derby lives'. The description is borne out by the archaeological remains (Chapter 4). Kaye speculates that the insertion or, more accurately, the property subdivision to create Tenement 170 must have occurred after the God's House Cartulary entry for Tenement 171 in 1359 (Kaye 1976, Vol II, pp 359 and 220, Roll 366). This indicates adjacency between what would become Tenements 169 and 171. Kaye also notes that the first entry in the God's House Records that indicates the presence of Tenement 170 is in 1435

(Kaye 1976, 360 Roll 403). These two properties can, however, be 'adjacent' either side of the lane that led to Tenement 170 and they were both God's House rentals. The entrance to Tenement 170 predates 1435, appearing in the documentary evidence in 1399-1401 when the entry in the God's House rental roll describes the two properties as '*iuxta parvam venellam*' (next to the little lane). Tenement 170 was not a God's House rental and its date of origin cannot be inferred from its general absence and the occasional note of its existence in the God's House rental rolls. Regardless of date of origin, neither the form of the Tenement 170 building or the lane leading to it survived to affect the shape of the tenement properties visible on the 1846 Royal Engineers' Plan. On this map only two properties and no lane are visible. The properties exhibit the same long parallel boundaries running back from the High Street frontages that are evident along the length of the High Street.

In 1225-40 the Langabulum Rolls entry relating to Tenement 169 is '*De Terr' iuxta petrinum N de Kively et portam que fuit Emie Fortin*' ('of land next to the stone house of N de Kively and gate which has been Emie Fortin'). The Tenement is also noted in the *Rotulus Antiquissimus* (1235-49) as being held by Robert Isembard for a rental of 1 lb of cumin, payable on the 1st September, the feast of St Egidius (otherwise known as St Giles). The cumin was still being noted as an annual obligation on the property, though long unpaid, in 1516. William de Rupela (William de la Rochelle) is listed as occupant of Tenement 169 in 1250 followed in 1273-78 by an Isabella Boneit.

Tenements 169 and 171 were held jointly and sublet at several times in the 14th century, by Walter Upryt in 1307-10 and around 1350-55 by Isabel le Taverner and her son John. Tenements 170-171 are frequently referred to as two shops (*selds* or *stagias*). All three tenements are noted in the Terrier: Tenement 169 under the ownership of Walter Clerk and occupancy of John Peny, Tenement 170 occupied by Richard Holte and John Derby is described as the 'tenement with a narrow entry late of William Chamberlayn. Tenement 171 is owned by John Beddel and occupied by Nicholas Phillip. A tenant of Tenement 169 in the mid 15th century is referred to as a *poticharius*, or apothecary, and later the tenement is said to be occupied by *unus Gallicus*. At least one and possibly two early 15th-century tenants of Tenements 170-71 are referred to as *corvyser* or cordwainer (leather worker). Records of the tenements ownership and occupancy are largely complete to the mid 17th century but with little further information within the records viewed.

The Hospital of God's House had lost its rent to Tenement 169, possibly as early as the 1640s. An attempt was made to find information in the archives of Queen's College Oxford, but no more details were found. The Hospital of God's House temporarily recovered rents from Tenements 170-1 c 1629 but had lost them by the 18th century.

An auction of 1920, shows that Nos 108 and 109 High Street, along with other nearby properties, were owned by the Marquis of Winchester; the title commencing with the will of the 15th Marquis, who had died in 1899.¹ Beyond this, nothing is known of ownership. Directories and some censuses have been searched for Nos 108 and 109 High Street as it possible that it was these properties that came to be built on the sites of Tenements 169-171, although precise identification has not been possible. Property numbers for the High Street were different in the 18th century.

No. 108 High Street was used for various businesses from c 1803 to c 1871: by a painter, cabinet maker, coal merchant, wine and spirit merchant (Fletcher *et al.* 1845, 87),² and woollen draper. Various other businesses followed and by 1924 the use had changed to tea rooms. It remained as some form of eating house from c 1935 to its destruction during the Second World War. No. 109 High Street was used as a baker's premises from c 1803 to c 1851 by various people, a noteworthy one being William Bryer of 1845: as the successor to Mrs Osbaldiston he was a bread and fancy biscuit baker to Her Majesty, supplying Her Majesty's yacht (Fletcher *et al.* 1845, 112). Joseph Osbaldiston, baker, was also a tenant at Tenement 240-41 in 1829. No. 109 High Street was used for various businesses from c 1865 to c 1895, some of which may have supplied the great liners in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Brewhouse Lane and Brewhouse Court (Fig. 2.5)

Brewhouse Lane was an historic thoroughfare originating at least as far back as the Anglo-Norman period (see Chapter 7). It formerly linked English Street and French Street and ran from east to west through the centre of the excavation site. The lane is shown on the 1846 Royal Engineers' Plan and early OS mapping and is attested in many of the historic records under various names: Granteslane (in Kaye 1984, 15), Gropelane in 1385, Fennellane 1435 and finally Brewhouse Lane in the Southampton Terrier (Burgess (ed) 1976, 67).

The card index at Southampton Record Office gives a number of references for this route, only one of which, the earliest, has been examined. This consists of title deeds for Nos 1-9 from 1790-1866, for what was discovered to be Brewhouse Court.³ The 1846 map of the town indicates that part of the ex-Greyhound site, No. 111 High Street (Tenement 173) had been developed. It appears that Joseph Savage built seven messuages or tenements and premises here between 1803 and 1835 (see Tenement 173).⁴ This became quite a complex site linked, at least by one-time ownership or tenure, with Tenement 239 on the corner (the Black Swan).

On 28/29 September 1790, Samuel Miller, only son and heir of Samuel Miller (brewer) sold this plot (which became Brewhouse Court) to Peter Watts, cabinet maker. The boundaries were given as: 'land of Queen's College Oxford, Warden Hospital of St

Julian, known as God's House, some time occupied by Peter Cosher ... then of widow Brewer and Nicholas Smith on the south, the Lane leading to High St known as Morgan Emott's Lane and Brewhouse Lane on the north, French Street on the west and land formerly of Henry Goddard but then of John Brown and others on the east'. This describes the corner property, Tenement 239. The 1790 deeds gave the east bounds as simply being lands of Queen's College and the next deed in the series, a mortgage of January 1829, gives the east bound as a tenement of Queen's College occupied by Joseph Osbaldiston, baker. From directory evidence, various occupants are listed from 1803 to 1909 in Brewhouse Lane, and from 1811 to 1940-41 in Brewhouse Court. Although the late 18th-century deed contains a plan that implies that Samuel Miller held all the land on the west, the bounds in the deed give more details. Miller retained a small piece of land, on the south of Brewhouse Lane, and on the north-east side of the plot sold. It measured 6ft 7 ins at the north and south by 17ft on east and west and this was to the north of the 'necessaries' (ie latrines). No right of way across the land where the tenements were built was reserved to him, and the 1846 map shows houses built right up to the back of Tenement 239 and the other properties in French Street and abutting Brewhouse Lane.

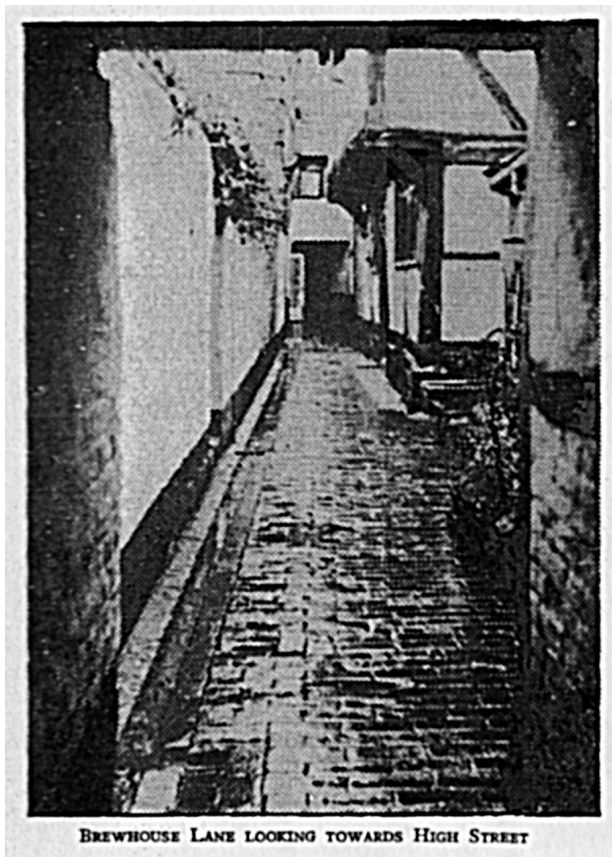


Fig. 2.5 Brewhouse Lane, looking east towards High Street, unknown date, showing timber-framed buildings (from Sandell 1953, opposite p 60)

Nine houses were subsequently built by Peter Watts in a court (ie Brewhouse Court) to the south of Brewhouse Lane, carved out of the land he bought from Samuel Miller (who still owned the land to the west). The development is shown on the 1846 Royal Engineers' Plan and is included in the detailed Dilapidated Housing Survey (1890-1914).

An illustration of Brewhouse Lane provides a view towards High Street (Fig. 2.5). It shows a narrow alleyway with buildings either side and, at the High Street end, one of the tenements goes right over the lane, with an opening provided underneath it for passage; it is possible that another such arrangement existed at the French Street end. The overhanging timber-framed building to the south of the lane appears to have been a jettied timber-framed house.

St Denys Garden

Documentary references between the 14th and 17th centuries combine to show the presence of a large garden to the rear (west) of the High Street/English Street properties, extending at times from the west of Tenement 180 and east of French Street Tenement 237 to the north of Brewhouse Lane. The garden was the possession of St Denys Priory until its dissolution in 1536. Its approximate extent is shown on Fig 2.3. Generally the garden appears in historic references as the adjacent property of a particular tenement or group of tenements when it is clearly not leased with the noted properties.

Tenement 172 (No. 110 High Street) (Table App.1.4)

The initial reference to this property was made in 1225-40, when it was described as 'land between land and gate'. At the time of the Terrier, it was noted to be a vacant corner tenement lying to the south of a small lane. No deeds survive for this tenement.

Tenement 173 (No. 111 High Street) (Table App.1.5)

This property owed a rent to the Hospital of God's House; this was 3s per annum from the 13th century until it was lost by the Hospital, probably by the early 17th century. This property is not far north from the main Fleming family tenement at the corner of Broad Lane and High Street, making it possible that some of the family lived here in premises held from the Hospital of God's House. John le Fleming senior was associated with the premises from 1325 until about 1333, though he did not die until 1336. His son Henry was then associated with it from at least 1338 to 1357. The family association continued with Joan, Walter le Fleming's daughter (he was probably Henry's brother and thereby she was Henry's niece) from 1358 to 1373 and from 1375 with her husband Thomas Bawe until the mid 1390s (Platt 1973, 239-40). The widow of Thomas Baw held tenure in 1408. Clearly the

family association was lengthy and it would not be surprising if they undertook major building works while they held it.

Many other families were associated with the property, some also being associated with other tenements forming part of this study. During Nicholas Bylot's tenure he is said to have occupied Tenement 238 as his garden; this area also related to Tenement 237 as its garden.

Members of the Mills family held this property from about 1515. The period 1569 to 1603 lists others as paying the rent and it is unclear whether they were sub-tenants of the Mills family. Sheila Thomson, former city archivist, has Roger Morse at the Greyhound, as it was then called, in about 1620 (Thomson 1970, entry no. 123). The Cartulary refers to Sir John Mill's tenure and their sequestration for delinquency but says the rents were later restored to God's House. Their 1730 rental apparently has a blank for the situation then and it appears that they had lost the rent by that date (Kaye 1976, 366). The Abstract of Title of the Misses Purbeck, made after 1750, shows quite clearly that the Mill family used the property as their own. There was no challenge of this behaviour nor any enfranchisement prior to Sir John Mill selling it in 1663, with Tenement 180 (Polymond's Gate; see below). It was sold to John Taylor in 1663; when he died in 1696 it passed to his son William who lived there (with reversion to his brother Joseph in default of heirs).

Title deeds for the period 1663-1885 have been examined.⁵ George Rowcliffe, merchant, owned it until 1750 and it was in possession of William Miller in 1772, when it transferred to the younger Samuel Miller (at Tenement 240-41 and Brewhouse Court). This is the same William Miller who sold the piece of garden ground purchased by Mary Woodford in 1772 (see Tenement 237, Polymond's Hall/Little St Dennis/Hampton Court below). In 1801 it was acquired by Joseph Savage (grocer and tea dealer) who built seven messuages or tenements and premises in Brewhouse Lane between 1803 and 1835. No. 111 traded as a bakers from c 1803-1871. From 1881-1900 it was used by a music seller and in 1885, the vault was underlet to Messrs Gricourt. Arséné Gricourt et Fils were trading at No. 107 High Street from c 1865 to c 1905 as wine and spirit importers, and may, therefore, have been using the vault for storage. It is termed 'Maison Française' in 1905. From c 1905 to c 1915 it was used as a carriers and then as a yacht agents. From 1918 to its destruction by bombing in the Second World War, it was used by Joseph Alfred Blanchard, antique dealer, who had purchased it in 1926.

Tenement 174 (No. 112 High Street) (Table App.1.6)

Tenement 174 is first noted as an entry in the Langabulum Rolls in the 13th century (see Table App.1.6). In the late 14th century for a fairly short period it is among the possessions of John Polymond (who also owned Tenements 175, 237,

238 and 180). At the time of the Terrier, Tenements 174 and 175 are described as 'the two tenements ...in which John William, tailor and Thomas Corbet live'. Records of ownership and tenancy for the tenement are relatively complete and continually attest to the joint holding of Tenements 174 and 175 until the 19th century.

In the 1881 census Tenement 174 (No. 112 High Street) is listed as a dispensing chemist. The property was still a chemist when destroyed by bombing in the Second World War. Hundreds of bottles, ointment jars and photographic development equipment were revealed during excavation of the cellar (see Chapter 4). One ointment jar was labelled 'Cullwicks celebrated Skin Ointment - for the cure of all skin diseases - prepared only by William Martin Pharmaceutical & Foreign Chemist 112 High Street Southampton'.

Tenement 175 (No. 113 High Street) (Table App.1.6)

Tenement 175 is first noted (as integrated with Tenement 174) as an entry in the Langabulum Rolls in the 13th century. In the late 14th century, for a fairly short period, it is among the possessions of John Polymond (who also held Tenements 174, 237, 238 and 180). As noted above, records of ownership and tenancy for the tenement are relatively complete (see Table App.1.6) and continually indicate the joint holding of Tenements 174 and 175 until the 19th century. No trades are given for the tenement in the 19th-century directories but by 1934 the tenement has become a wine merchants (clearly of some size given the extensive rebuilding of the plot).

Tenement 176 (No. 114 High Street) (Tables App.1.7 and 1.8)

There are no particularly illuminating documentary references to this property, which is referred to as a tenement in the Terrier of 1454. The first definite instance of its existence is in the early 14th century in the God's House Cartulary (although not a God's House rental) where it is noted as the adjacent property to Tenement 177 occupied by a Walter le Wodere (Kaye 1984, 361). While the variety of sources available give many names of subsequent owners and tenants little further information is provided.

Tenements 177-179 (Nos 115-117 High Street) (Tables App.1.9-1.12)

There is documentary evidence for three tenements in this area from the 13th century, although the specific tenements cannot be confidently allocated until the 14th century. The properties are commonly described as shops. Early owners include the prominent town merchants and wool traders Adam le Horder and Richard de Barflete. There is an oven noted at one of the tenements in 1359 in the will

High Street/English Street – Literary references

John Leland writing in about 1540 described High Street/English Street:

There be 3. Principal streates yn Hampton, whereof that that goithe from the barre-gate to the water gate is one of the faireste streates that ys yn any town of al England, and is welle buildid for timbre building.

Lieutenant Hammond a military officer from Norwich in 1635:

I tooke a full view of all her pretty, well compacted Streets and Buildings; but one street especially, transcends any other Towns Street in England, that runs on neere a quarter of a Mile, through the midst of her, from North to South Gate, which Buildings both within and without, I meane the Fabrickes, and Inhabitants, are fayre, neat, beautifull, straight and handsome, which by matching and Trucking with her fostering Neighbour Islands (Jersey and Gernsey) hath brought them to this Perfection.

Daniel Defoe's description of the town and High Street in about 1724:

The town is large, has many people in it, a noble fair High-Street, a spacious key; and if its trade should revive, is able to entertain great numbers of people.

confirmation of William Jardyn (by his wife Alice) bequeathing the property to God's House. She died the same year (Kaye speculates that the almost simultaneous deaths suggest that the plague was responsible; Kaye 1976, Vol. II, 361). Perhaps the oven was at Tenement 178 where a baker is recorded in 1357-61. These tenements are described as three small cottages (of God's House) lying together, in the Terrier of 1454 (Burgess 1976, 66-7). A Robert Potycary (apothecary) is listed at Tenement 177 in the late 15th century.

Tenement 180: Polymond's Gate (later No. 118 High Street) (Table App.1.13)

In c 1312 Tenement 180 was held by Richard de Barflete, who also held Tenements 177-9 to the south of it. In the late 14th century the property was owned by John Polymond who also owned Tenement 237 (now called Polymond's Hall). Tenement 180 was termed Polymond's Gate, implying that there was access through it to the larger property. By 1431 and 1435 the Hall and Gate were held by William Flecchere who was still occupying the Gate in 1454 but not the Hall: details of the tenement at this period are therefore given along with those of Tenement 237 below.

By the 17th century this property was totally separate from Tenement 237, Polymond's Hall. Sheila Thomson has the occupant c 1620 as William Yelding, attorney-at-law.⁶ Her notes of the bounds of the property to the north list John Taylor, chandler as being at this property in 1634.⁷ It was not until 1663 that he became the owner, purchasing the premises from Sir John Mill. The property must have been in the ownership of his family since the Dissolution. John Taylor purchased two properties from Sir John Mill, this and No. 111, the Greyhound (Tenement 173) for £189.⁸ John

Taylor, who had been in occupation since at least 1634, was in residence. While the detailed deeds do not survive, the draft Abstract of Title which does is quite informative and was made in the 1750s when this house belonged to the Misses Purbeck. The earliest description of the premises, given in 1663, was:

..messuage or tenement with garden now occupied by John Taylor in High Street between High Street, messuage late occupied by Thomas Daniel, another messuage in possession of Richard Speed another messuage late of William Plenty and two other messuages in several possessions of John Rowland and said Rose Prower on east and south garden in possession of Susan Coombs on west and tenement in possession of Thomas Hill on north. Measuring the messuage in length 73ft in breadth next High St 32ft and next to tenement said garden belonging to the same messuage to tenement 48ft and the said garden containing in length from said tenement in possession Thomas Hill to said tenement in possession said Rose Prower 88ft and in breadth throughout 50ft and also all stables edifices etc.

When this plot had been identified on the site plan it became clear that the tenement of Thomas Hill must have been Tenement 181, those of Thomas Daniel, Richard Speed and late of William Plenty and the two of John Rowland and Rose Prower on the east and south being Tenements 179, 178, 177, 176 and 174-5. Notes seen for Tenement 176 indicate that George Speed became the owner of that property in 1666.⁹ The Abstract later has John Vining in the house once of William Plenty, meaning that the Cartulary of God's House enables this to be identified as Tenement 177 (Kaye 1976, 364). The situation regarding Tenement 178 is rather more complex – it was a God's House tenement until the

early 20th century. There appears to be an association of one of John Taylor's granddaughters, Elizabeth Phetiplace, with Tenement 178 and with another sister, Eleanor Whislad, with Tenement 179. The Cartulary descriptions of these tenements in the 1770s, however, give measurements which do not appear to reach the boundary of the garden of Tenement 180 to their west (Kaye 1976, 365). Susan Combes, as noted below, was at Polymond's Hall (Tenement 237).

John Taylor's will of 1696 shows that he held several properties in the town. These two properties he had purchased in the High Street, in 1663, he left to his sons Joseph and William who were actually living in them. There were complex provisions for them to hold them for life and then to their heirs, or the heirs of the survivor of them or, in default, to the right heirs of John Taylor. From the descriptions given this property is the one occupied by Joseph and his wife Mary. The Abstract lists an Agreement to Levy a Fine in January 1711/12 between Joseph Taylor and his wife Mary relating to this property (and Tenement 173) and Richard Searle, wine cooper. Thus it seems that William's line failed and Joseph was the survivor. There appears to be a legal fiction here either to simply confirm Joseph's title or to break the entail; there is insufficient information in the Abstract to be certain. From what follows, it is suspected that it was a legal device used to break the entail.

Joseph's will of December 1718, *inter alia*, gave the premises in which he resided to his wife Mary for life then to his sister Elinor Whislad, widow, and her heirs provided she paid to his sister Elizabeth Phetiplace, widow, £5 per annum for life; the other High Street house went to his executors to sell to discharge his debts. It appears to have been this house, Tenement 180, which was to be sold, primarily to pay Thomas Bandwell £220 he was owed.

In February 1722/3 Joseph Taylor's executors and widow, and Joseph's sisters, Elizabeth Phetiplace and Elinor Whislad sold the premises to Robert Rice, currier. Richard Bartholemew and Robert Guy or their assigns then occupied it. The detailed description of the location, which was deleted in the surviving draft deed, makes it clear this was Tenement 180. No consideration was noted in the draft deeds but at about the same time a mortgage which Thomas Bandwell had for £231, on these premises and Tenement 173, was assigned by all the parties involved to Robert Rice and his trustee, John Janverin. This seems rather odd and it may be that the transactions taking place here have been misinterpreted; it was certainly Robert Rice who appears as the owner thereafter.

It is at this time, February 1722, that the garden to the rear of Tenement 180 and which ran south behind Tenements 179-176 was sold off to the sisters of Joseph, namely Elinor Whislad and Elizabeth Phetiplace. This must have been part of a family arrangement to satisfy all parties and enable the

sale, and assignment of the mortgage, to Robert Rice to take place. Infuriatingly not all of the relevant deeds survive to tell the full story. Robert Rice conveyed to Elinor Whislad 'a plot, being part of a garden belonging to Tenement 180' measuring in length east to west on north side next to the tenement 25ft and on south side from west part thereof to a Nook or jet against the garden now in the tenure of Andrew Hewlett 18ft and in breadth north to south 9ft' and 'also a small passage or entry leading from the said tenement now of James Rowcliffe to said garden plot, as same is now bounded out and is in the tenure of said James Rowcliffe which said passage is 4ft 6ins in length and 4ft 3 ins in breadth'. This description is difficult to follow as the garden of Andrew Hewlett has not been identified. If it was Tenement 179 it should, from the description, mean a passage between the two properties (which may have been beneath a building which overhung it).

The Abstract refers to another lease at the same time to Elizabeth Phetiplace of a garden plot but sadly no details were given. She is known to have held Tenement 178 from the Hospital of God's House. About six months later, August 1723, Robert Rice sold to Elizabeth Phetiplace, for £14 10s,

...a piece of ground whereon a stable lately stood with all bricks, timber etc thereon of the stable lying there adjoining to tenement and garden in occupation of Andrew Hewlett in Holy Rood parish being part of garden belonging to messuage of Robert Rice and then in tenure of Richard Bartholemew Robert Guy and others a messuage or tenement of George Speed on east the said garden belonging to said messuage or tenement of Robert Rice on west a garden plot of Elinor Whislad and on north messuage or tenement in tenure of Charles Tyrrell esq, on south . . . measures north to south 19ft 6 ins and in breadth east to west 70ft.

This appears to equate with a plot along the south of the garden of Tenement 180, which runs behind Tenements 179-176. The 1663 measurements of the Tenement 180 garden would seem to stop at the south end of what had been believed to be the garden of Tenement 177 but, if the description given here is right (and the description rather than the measurements in 1663) then it did extend right down to the south of what was thought to be the garden of Tenement 176. The measurements would bring it sufficiently far east as to roughly coincide with the backs of the boundaries of the God's House Tenements 179-177.

In January 1723/4 Robert Rice and his wife Mary conveyed the messuage and garden of 1722/3 to Richard Purbeck, mariner, for £272 2s excluding the three pieces of ground leased to Elinor Whislad and Elizabeth Phetiplace. One can only speculate that the other piece of ground must have been what was later part of Tenements 178 or 177; the former is more likely.

Richard Purbeck, who is also known to have acquired the tenement to the north (Tenement 181, later the Audit House site) made a will on 12 May 1750 whereby he bequeathed the property to his son William with provisions for the remainder in the event of him dying without heirs, one of which was for it to go to his daughter Jenny Purbeck. The Purbeck family held a block of tenements here, from Tenement 181 to Tenement 178 by 1772. William Purbeck held Tenements 178 and 179 (later Nos 116 and 117 High Street) in 1774 of the Hospital of God's House (the former was described as 'late Norris' and the latter as 'late Whislad'). The Misses Purbeck, presumably William's daughters, possibly occupied these premises, Tenement 180. It may have been let to Messrs Hallow and Trim who are known to have been in occupation in 1789 that the Abstract of Title was prepared.¹⁰ The directories list Trim and Kellow, at No. 118 High Street from 1803 to c 1855. During this time they are listed variously as Trim and Kellow, grocers; John Kellow and Co, grocers and tea dealers; Kellow and Bienvenu, grocers and tea dealers; and solely as N Bienvenu. From c 1861 to c 1905, Oakley, later Oakley and Watling, nurserymen and fruiterers, are listed at No. 118 High Street (Tenement 180); moving to No. 56 High Street, c 1906. They supplied fruit, vegetables and flowers to the *Titanic* (Hyslop *et al.* 1994, 53). From c 1914 to its destruction, R Drouet and Co Ltd, wholesale fruit merchants, were listed at No. 118 High Street. The premises therefore remained associated with grocers for over 150 years; from c 1780s to c 1940s.

The French Street tenements

Tenement 236 (No. 20 French Street) (Fig. 2.6) (Table App.1.14)

While this is not one of the key tenements within the excavation area, it requires consideration as it bounded Polymond's Hall to the north and was sometimes held with it. The first reference to it occurs in 1270 when it may have been held by Richard de Thurdeleston. Its surviving deeds proved to contain a plan, which gives a tiny glimpse into Polymond's Hall.

In February 1737/8 William Jacob, butcher and his wife Pannel together with Richard Jacob, hellier (ie tiler, slater or thatcher) and plumber and his wife Ann, and Sarah Jacob, widow of Joseph Jacob, shipwright deceased executed a 'Deed to declare Uses of Fine' to Matthew Woodford, gentleman.¹¹ The property was then occupied by these members of the Jacob family. This legal device was part of a common fictitious lawsuit to sell the property to Matthew Woodford. A few months earlier he had purchased Polymond's Hall from Isaac Watts' executors. It was probably because ownership of it was necessary for him to expand the Polymond's Hall site in the way he wished that he bought it. He must have carried out that work some time before his

death in 1767. In December 1782, his executors sold it for £400 to Sophia Woodford, spinster, probably a daughter, who then lived in Winchester.¹² It was then described as:

Messuage or tenement and garden on east side of French St bounded by tenement late occupied by Matthew Woodford on south by tenement called the Fish Kettle on north, by garden occupied by Misses Purbeck on east and measures east to west 98ft, north to south at west end 23ft 10ins and at east end 20ft now occupied by Israel mariner or undertenants.

The accompanying plan is the earliest found to show any part of Polymond's Hall (Fig. 2.6). The following are the pertinent details from it: West French St frontage 23ft 10ins: Dwelling house 35ft 5ins sold to Miss Sophia Woodford – below it Mr Woodford's wall Little St Dennis Coach House (ie the north side of Polymond's Hall site next to French Street). Then the next measurement 21ft on the south of this plot, then the wash house to the south of it; next to the latter noted 'This piece not to be built on to obstruct the Window or in any manner whatsoever'; to east of that 'This wall not to be raised or built on' then mark for staircase window with Mr Woodford's wall below it. The Court and garden w-e 62ft 7ins and east boundary n-s 20ft; east boundary Misses Purbeck's wall.

As a result of this it is clear that the coach house, certainly by the end of Mr Woodford's life, was on the north-west corner of the plot. The plan shows that, and confirms the right of light to Polymond's Hall (as altered by Woodford) on the north side over the yard or garden of Tenement 236.

A Counterpart Lease for seven years dated 16th September 1786 at £20 per annum to John Reed, tailor, shows that the cellars under the house had become part of the property to the south. The lease specifically excluded 'the vault or cellar running under the front of the house and free access thereto from French Street'.¹³

In March 1790 Sophia Woodford sold the property to John Reed for £420 reserving the right to light to the then owners of Polymond's Hall/Little St Dennis. No mention was then made of the vault or cellar underneath it, meaning that it is not known whether it was regarded part of this property, as it should have been, or part of Polymond's Hall site. The accompanying plan and measurements were the same as in 1782 except for the substitution of the then owners and occupants of the properties. John Reed had to mortgage the property; he borrowed £400 on its security from Herbert Hawes, draper. There are notes that the mortgage was discharged by June 1794 but he took out another mortgage in 1802. John Reed died and probate of his will was granted to his widow Ann in November 1807. She had a life interest in the property, which then passed to their children. This property became known as No. 20 French Street, further details of which are

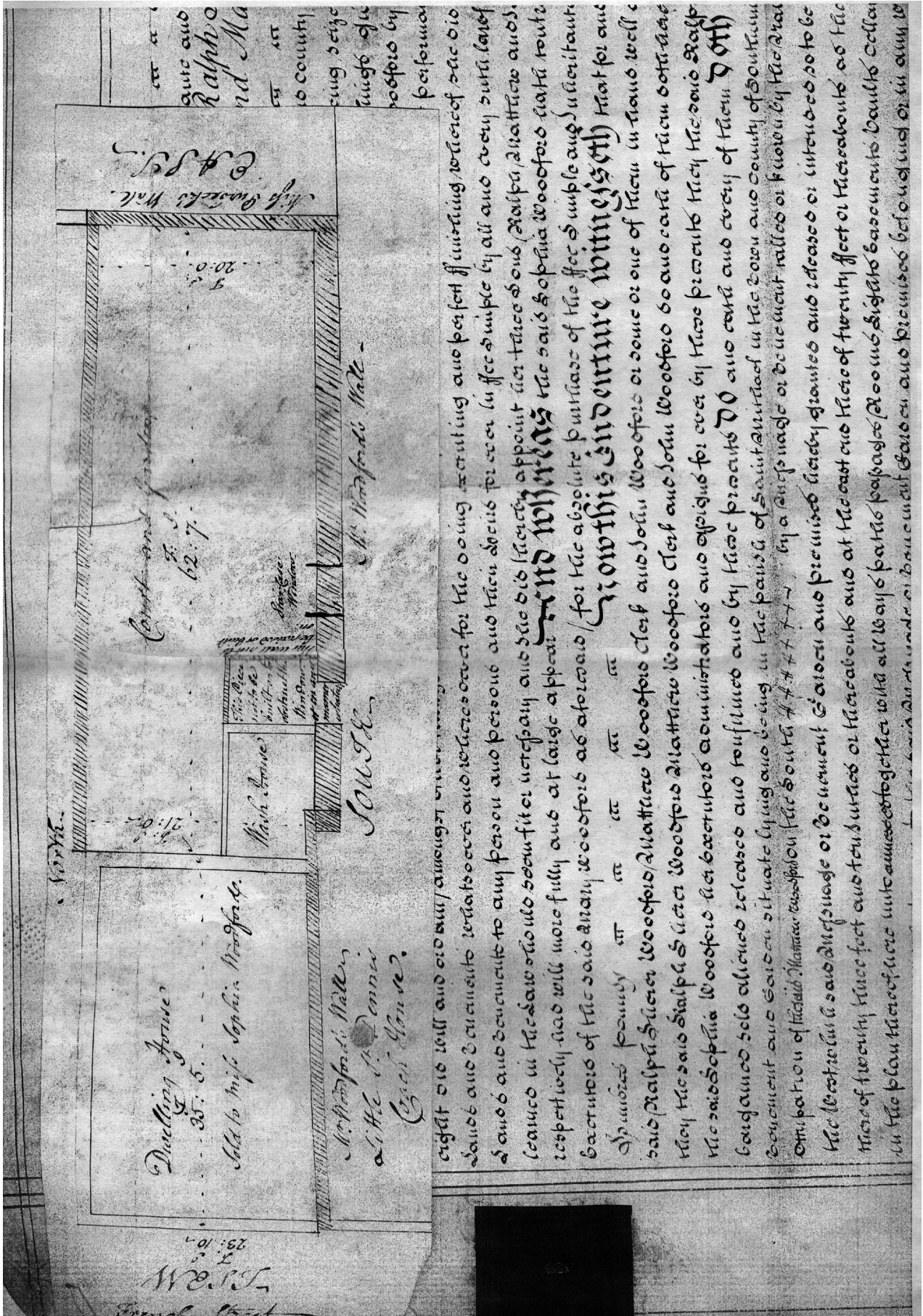


Fig. 2.6 Tenements 236 and 237, Nos 37-39 French Street, plan of Tenement 236 detailing aspects of Tenement 237, 1782 (SRO SCA/4/470)

summarised below under Polymond's Hall/Little St Dennis/Hampton Court.

Tenement 237 (Polymond's Hall) and Tenement 180 (Polymond's Gate) (Nos 41-47 odd, French Street, No. 118 High Street) (Tables App.1.15-1.17)

The Hall and Gate

This is a complex site; the Hall is in the parish of St Michael and the Gate in that of Holy Rood. It possibly began as a large stone house at Tenement 237 accessed by a gateway from the High Street which became known as Polymond's Gate (Tenement 180). The original stone house on the site is undoubtedly that of Richard of Leicester in the early to mid 13th century (Kaye 1984, 16). Both tenements appear to have become the property of St Denys Priory by different routes, although the evidence is unclear. Blake suggests that it was not until 1371 that Roger Haywode left this valuable tenement (Tenement 237) to the Priory to endow a canon to serve as chaplain, but the Cartulary of God's House refers to it in the bounds of the garden plot to the south in 1337-40 as then being a St Denys tenement (Blake 1981, xxxviii; Kaye 1976, 225). Polymond's Gate was held by Richard de Barflete, who also held Tenements 177-9 to the south of it, c 1312 (Kaye 1976, 361). At that time Richard's brother, Nicholas, was at the Hall but had left by 1324. It is possible that he and his brother gave the two properties to the Priory.

Interestingly, it was from the gate site (Tenement 180) that St Denys derived the larger rent, 40s per annum, whereas the Hall, Tenement 237, only rendered 26s 8d per annum (Blake 1981, fiche pp 67 & 101, published fiche nos 1 & 2). This might suggest that the former was originally the more important site.

The earliest documentary evidence comes from the text of the Langabulum Roll which may indicate that the Polymond's Gate site, and others in the vicinity, were held in the very early 13th century by three different people. By the time the tax roll was made, about the mid 1250s, it was held by Richard of Leicester who also had a great stone house at the hall site. Subsequently, probably about the time the copy of the tax roll was made in the later 13th century, the gate site and tenements south of it were held by different people, one by Adam le Horder and two by Richard de Bedest (possibly Baddesley) (Kaye 1984, 6, 7, 15, 16).¹⁴ The later holder of the hall was recorded as Nicholas de Barflete (Kaye 1984, 7, 16; Blake 1981, lxx; Platt 1973, 232).¹⁵

In 1324 the north bounds to Tenements 177-79 gave Tenement 180 as tenements formerly of William of Exeter; there is no indication of 'ownership' by St Denys but it must have come into their hands by 1371 when it was recited as being their property in the bounds to Tenement 177-179 although no 'occupier' was given. Thus at some point between these dates that the Priory came into

possession of Tenement 180. If Blake is correct about the Priory also acquiring Polymond's Hall in 1371, the acquisitions could be contemporaneous but the evidence indicates that Polymond's Hall had passed to the Priory by 1337 when it was occupied by William le Coupere (Kaye 1976, 225; Blake 1981, fiche pp 101-2, published fiche 2).

John Polymond appears to have held both properties in the latter half of the 14th century though no precise details are known. Blake indicates that he held the Hall (Tenement 237) as sub-tenant of Thomas Marlburgh (Blake 1981, fiche p 102 – published fiche 2), but if that were the case and Polymond was only a sub-tenant, it would not have been necessary for John Polymond's executors to quitclaim it back to the Priory after his death.

In Polymond's time this property was called 'Onergisplace'. Colin Platt gives a summary of John Polymond's career. He was mayor five times between 1365 and 1391, served as parliamentary burgess four times between 1365 and 1384; he served the king as collector of customs and subsidies, sometimes in association with other merchants; he supervised musters, surveyed and arrested goods; he organised the king's works in the town on the Castle. He also rebuilt the Weigh House, the ruins of which still stand, south of this site, in French Street. In recognition of his services to the king he was granted exemption from holding municipal and royal offices in 1383 if he wished, but he does not seem to have availed himself of this privilege, continuing to serve into the 1390s. As he was involved, with other prominent townsmen, in a number of illegal schemes he may have used his position of authority to ill use, by modern standards. He was involved in the taking of excessive profits on collection of subsidies for the king, making prohibited sales to the king's enemies, forestalling and obtaining fraudulent customs. He, and his co-offenders, must have been held in high esteem by the king to escape with pardons (Platt 1973, 255).

No documentary evidence has been found to prove that John Polymond re-built the house on the site and indeed, it is possible that he occupied Richard Leicester's great stone house, which had been there for some time. It seems highly likely that someone of his status and apparent wealth would have ensured that his house was one of the best, which may have entailed totally rebuilding or substantially re-modelling it. He must have made it memorable for the house to be known long after his demise as Polymond's Hall. It was by no means the only house John Polymond held or owned in the town, but it was the one in which he lived (Platt 1973, 255). After John Polymond's death his executors quitclaimed the property to St Denys, thus confirming their title to it, and in doing so stated that it had once been held by Lawrence de Mees and had passed to the Priory by a bequest of a man whose name began with R – sadly the rest of the

name is lost. Blake took this as an indication that the benefactor was Roger Haywode but, as St Denys ownership is known to predate him by over thirty years it is probably someone else (Richard de Barflete is suggested as a possibility). Haywode certainly bequeathed a messuage in the town worth 26s 8d per annum in mortmain for the maintenance of a chaplain to celebrate mass daily. Perhaps the terms of his tenure were such that, as with John Polymond, it had to be given back to them in this way in order for them to retain ownership (Blake 1981, fiche p 102, published fiche 2).

Thomas Marleburgh, about whom little is known except that he served the town as one of the Burgesses of Parliament on nine occasions, certainly held the Hall and the Gate after John Polymond's death (Davies 1993, 201-2):¹⁶ the Gate site from at least 1409 and the Hall definitely from 1401 to 1425 (Kaye 1976, 226, 362; Carr 1969, pp 91, 92, 107). He may have occupied both from the same date, perhaps fairly soon after John Polymond's death in 1393/4. The site of the gate (Tenement 180) was described, in 1406, as '*quod edificator ultra magnam portam*' (Kaye 1976, 361-2). By 1431 and 1435 the Hall and Gate were held by William Flecchere who was still occupying the Gate in 1454 but not the Hall (Kaye 1976, 362; Burgess (ed) 1976, 76-77, Carr 1969, 91. SRO SC4/2/262).

John Renaud, who was also associated with nearby Bull Hall, held Polymond's Hall of the Priory. When he died in 1422 he bequeathed it to his wife Clemencia with a reversion to St Denys if she died before the expiry of the lease, subject to the celebration of her anniversary (ie that of her death) and maintaining a chaplain to celebrate mass two days a week (Blake 1981, fiche p 102, published fiche 2). It is said that the property was then called 'Pulmondes Place'.

The Southampton Terrier of 1454 lists Christopher de Vernagis living in the Hall at the time it was held of St Denys Priory by Robert Aylward but the Gate was occupied by William Fleccher and Arnold Turk (Burgess 1976, 76-77). Sub-letting was common and the larger Southampton properties were often occupied by foreign, especially Italian, merchants – West Hall and its long association with the De Marini family of Genoa for example. Christopher de Vernagis was a Genoese merchant whose stay in the town may have been short; he was mentioned in the water bailiff's accounts for 1453/4 (Ruddock 1951, 131; Gidden 1927, 38).¹⁷ It is known that in about 1457 a member of his establishment at Polymond's Hall, Lorenzo de' Rossi, complained of his inability to get justice in the mayor's court because of: 'the evyll Wyll and malice' he bore to Christofano de Vernaccia and all the other Genoese merchants in Southampton, trying 'by all the Ways and menes that he kan to hurt and to make thyn to voyd the said Town of Suthampton Ageynst all right and gode conscience and to the grete hurte of the said marchauntes of Jeyne' (Ruddock 1951, 175-6). The

mayor at this time was William Clerk (Davies 1993, 174). Accusations of this nature were nothing new – mayors were either biased in favour of or against the Italian merchants (Ruddock 1951, 169-179 for example). Christopher de Vernagis' landlord, Robert Aylward, was a supporter of the Italian merchants; he served in several town offices including four terms as mayor (Ruddock 1951, 169-71; Platt 1973, 230).

Another Italian, Antonio Perugino, Venetian Consul, is said to have resided in the property during the 15th century. This information, published by Sandell, is said to have come to her from Ruddock and, as Sandell's volume was published seven years after Ruddock's comprehensive work on the Italians in the town, it is possible that it came from Ruddock's subsequent researches, which were never published by her (Sandell 1958, 80). If this is so, Perugino's occupation was probably before the end of the century. It is known that the Southampton consul in 1495 was Almore Gritti who was on board the Venetian galley flagship having dinner when the French attacked and took the diners prisoner (Ruddock 1951, 137). Another consul appointed that year was Thomas Overy, a leading town burgess who became governor of Jersey a few years later (James 1977; Brown 1864, no. 640).

In 1476 the Priory derived a 40s rent from the Gate (much higher than the 26s 8d from the Hall) being let to a Reginald Baker; it was then described as a tenement, once of John Polymond and a shop once of William Fleccher (Blake 1981, fiche p 67, 101, published fiche 1 & 2).

St Denys Priory was dissolved in 1536 and its lands went into the hands of the families involved in their suppression (Blake 1981, 1). While Francis Dawtrey acquired the main St Denys estate the Mill family appear to have acquired at least some of the property holdings within the town (Platt 1973, 204-208). It is possible that these properties were some of those on which the Mill family held the 90-year leases which Platt refers to (Platt 1973, 208). Blake cites a demise by Indenture in 1535/6, only two years after the Priory was dissolved, of St Dennis Great House with adjacent garden in French Street east and two other ruinous tenements with adjacent gardens in English Street west to George and Richard Mill (Blake 1981, fiche pp 67, 102, published fiche 1 & 2).¹⁸ That this may have been a lease rather than a sale is indicated by John Mill bequeathing it to one of his sons when he died in 1551. It was then described as 'Seynt Denys Olde House alias Polymondes Hall' and included cellars and garden and 'such part of the garden as is enclosed with pales adjacent to the corner tenement of Thomas Edmond's' (Blake 1981, fiche p 102, published fiche 2). It is possible that Thomas Edmonds occupied Tenement 173 since its garden appears to have extended behind Tenements 174 and 175 to reach the boundary of Tenement 237. Indeed, Tenement 173 is known to have been held

by the Mills family from the Hospital of God's House and occupied by a family named Edmonds at this period (Kaye 1976, 366). The 1535/6 descriptions probably included the gate site. From this period the two properties are clearly separate and are therefore discussed individually from this date (see Tenement 180 above).

Polymond's Hall/Little St Dennis/Hampton Court
(Figs 2.7-2.10)

The name 'John Mylles gent' is that associated with the Hall from the garden boundary of Tenement 177 in 1589; this would be the son of John Mill who died in 1551 (Kaye 1976, 363).¹⁹ In 1589 and c 1605 information from the boundaries of Tenement 178 show that the occupants of the hall were members of the Stavely family, Paul and Thomas respectively (Kaye 1976, 264).²⁰ They are likely to have been tenants of the Mills family. Paul Staveley was assessed for local and national tax in Holy Rood at this time and is therefore unlikely to have been resident in the Hall but a 'Mr Stavelies howsse' was assessed in the ward of St Michael and St John in the 1575 scavage rate; this may be the entry for the Hall. Sheila Thomson placed Matthew Vibert, a sergemaker, in the house c 1620 (Thomson 1970, 64, entry no 232). The size of the house would have made it ideal for cloth manufacture; famously the Delamotte family used another nearby capital messuage, the West Hall, for their New Draperies.

Title deeds begin with an Abstract of Title to the property, then that of the Revd Mr Woodford and others.²¹ This confirms that the Hall passed to the Mill family as the root of title begins with the sale by a descendant of John Mill. The Abstract of Title only summarises the details in the deeds but it is of great assistance. In 1663 Sir John Mill of Newton Bury in Eling conveyed the premises to a widow, Susanna Combes for £156. It would appear that she and her late husband, John had been in occupation prior to the sale (a fairly common practice). This fits in with the information from the bounds of Tenement 177 in the High Street, a God's House property, where tenure is said to have been held by John Mylles, gentleman in 1589 and 1623 (Kaye 1976, 363). In 1663 the property was described as a capital messuage known as Little St Dennis in French Street 'with all houses edifices buildings stables outhouses backsides gardens orchards shops cellars ways paths passages easements common of pasture profits and commodities whatsoever to the said capital messuage or tenement'. The description implies a large property. Clearly there were cellars, though those extant at this date were substantially altered by a successor in title, as will be seen below. The types of outbuildings listed are fairly common for properties of this size and importance and were intended to cover anything which might be on the site, or ever had been, and any rights which went with it. It is rare that one actually finds the phrase 'common of pasture' as such rights were often

regarded as part of the 'appurtenances'; undoubtedly the holder of this property had pasturing rights in the town in the Common and/or the Lammas lands.

A search of the Hampshire Record Office index for 'John Combes' has produced two entries worth examination – one is an inventory in 1661 where he is described as possibly being a shearsmith which is doubtless indicated by the tools of trade listed; the other is a reference in an estate collection to the ownership of the manor of Upton by the Combes family. It has not been possible to establish whether the two John Combes, both of about the same date, are the same or different people as the Upton manor reference has not been examined.²² The inventory has been studied (Appendix 2) and it seems plausible that it is that of Little St Dennis. Susannah Coombes, widow, is mentioned in the Latin clause. The total valuation is £188 7s 10d which includes additional inventories taken at Dipdon (possibly Dibden, near Southampton) of £41 17s, and Upton of £13 15s. The inventory lists the following rooms and buildings: the hall, the chamber over kitchen, the chamber next to this, the chamber over the entrance, the gallery, the back chamber, the chamber over the coal house, the chamber within this, the kitchen, the brewhouse and seller, the mill house, the other mill house, the mill loft, the malt loft, the loft over the porch, the shear shop, the press house, a little room by the hall and the court. These combine to make a substantial set of buildings, set around a courtyard. Among the many items listed is a pair of virginoles and frame at 15s, in the hall, 24 ounces of silver plate at £5 16s, a maple cup tipped with silver at £1, feather bedding amounting to £12 3s and cheese valued at £15. The 'fowling peece' listed in the kitchen may have been a gun used on the nearby marshes. The character of the outbuildings appear to suggest that John Combes was a shearsmith. There is no stock of cloth listed, however, so perhaps he was no longer trading, although there are debts of £17 9s 4d due on the books. The shear shop appears to have been a workshop rather than for retail. A John Coombes, merchant of Bristol City, was made a burgess of Southampton in 1686 when he is listed as being the son of John Coombes late of Southampton, merchant, deceased.²³ This could be the same John Coombes (Combes) mentioned earlier.

Isaac Watts, clothier, purchased the premises from Mrs Coombes, who then lived in Salisbury, for £210 in August 1689. Consequently the family did not own the house when Isaac Watts junior, the hymn writer, was born in 1674. It is perhaps more likely that he was born in the property in Above Bar which his father later conveyed to the Above Bar Congregational Church but, if the family lived here before they purchased it, it is just possible that he was born here.

In his will made on 16 September 1735, Isaac Watts, clothier, left his 'dwelling house called Little

St Dennis with malthouse, garden and appurtenances' to his son Enoch and his son-in-law Joseph Brackstone for the uses of his will. No details of the beneficiaries of the will, nor his date of death or when the will was proved are given.

After the death of Isaac Watts senior his occupation was given as schoolmaster, either alone or in conjunction with that of clothier. At this period it was, strictly speaking, necessary to obtain a licence from the local Bishop, in this case the Bishop of Winchester, to teach. The Bishop's Subscription books, which contain the surviving licences, have been searched from 1665 to 1734 without finding an entry for any schoolmaster in the town.²⁴ The Visitation Returns for 1725 have been published and that for St Michael lists no school (Ward 1995, 124). Oddly, it does not mention the Watts family as being Dissenters, it simply says: 'Dissenters – a meeting house lately built for Anabaptists though not above 3 or 4 of that sect live in the parish, poor people. No Quakers, about 40 Presbyterians'.

As Isaac Watts senior had been imprisoned for Nonconformity in 1683 and left his family to live in London for two years thereafter, it is rather surprising that the vicar of St Michael, William Kingsman, (described as curate in the Visitation Return) should totally ignore the existence of such a prominent family of dissenters living only a few hundred yards south of the church in one of the larger houses in the parish (Russell 1940, 187 and illustration 12, facing page 188; Ward 1995, 124).²⁵ According to Russell, Isaac Watts senior was said to have 'kept a boarding-school, to which 'several gentlemen in America and the West Indies send their sons'' and suggests that the school may have closed when Watts went to London in the 1680s after his imprisonment (Russell 1940, 187). If that had been the case it is understandable that he was only described as a clothier in August 1689 but equally it would be appropriate if he had not yet started his school.

When his Executors sold the property in December 1737 he was described as having been clothier and schoolmaster implying that he was operating a school, possibly at the house, towards the end of his life. This may have been a new venture or resumption of an old one. Clearly he taught his son Isaac, and probably his other sons, Richard, Enoch and Thomas, before they all went on to King Edward's Grammar School. Isaac junior would still have been at home when his father bought this house, even if he had not been born there.

Isaac Watts junior would have lived here with his family until he left for London to continue his studies in 1690; he is known to have returned to Southampton from time to time, certainly for a few weeks in 1692, for two and a quarter years in 1694 and a visit in June 1707 (Russell 1940, 189, 191). He doubtless stayed in the family home.

The house underwent two major refurbishments if not substantial re-building. The extant photo-

graphs of the building before post-war demolition show a mainly late 19th-century brick building and it is very difficult to see, from the French Street side, any of the structure that is clearly earlier than the re-buildings.

The executors of Isaac Watt's senior, his son Enoch and son-in-law, Joseph Brackstone, sold the premises for £512 10s to Matthew Woodford, gentleman, in December 1737. It appears to have formed part of a marriage settlement by the family on Matthew's wife Mary (nee Bridoake – a niece of Ralph Brideoak, archdeacon of Winchester). They had married by this date. The premises were described as:

All that capital messuage or tenement and premises with appurtenances commonly called Little St Dennis ... with all houses outhouses stables courts gardens yards orchards vaults cellars etc between tenement heretofore of widow Hobbs formerly in occupation of Arthur Leytes cooper and late of widow Jacobs or undertenant(s) on north, land late of Joseph Taylor and then of Taylor his widow on south, a messuage in occupation of Richard Purbeck grocer or his trustees on east French St on west together with all and singular houses outhouses edifices buildings structures stables courts yards backsides curtillages gardens orchards vaults cellars sollars entries ways paths passageways gutters sinks drains water courses lights easements commons privileges commodities advantages emoluments hereditaments and appurtenances whatsoever to the said capital messuage or tenement and premises ...' In case there was any doubt as to the entitlement to title there was an Indenture of Fine early in 1738.²⁶

It was Matthew Woodford who substantially remodelled the building, including re-building the cellars as found in the excavations (Chapter 4). He carried out a substantial amount of work on this house (and at least one other he owned) before his death in November 1767.²⁷ His widow Mary inherited his estate. During Mary's tenure, in February 1772 she added to the extent of the site, purchasing a plot of land from William Miller described as:

All that piece or parcel of garden ground situate and being in the Back Street of the said town of Southampton formerly called French Street in the parish of St Michael and lying behind the messuage or tenement of Woodyear pastry cook and contains in breadth at the front part thereof 27 feet of assize little more or less and in length 82 feet of assize little more or less as the same was then and for some time past had been occupied and enjoyed by the said Mary Woodford Together with all ways paths passages easements profits privileges commons commodities advantages emoluments and appurtenances whatsoever to the same....

Mary Woodford died in 1778.²⁸ As it was another eleven years before the property was sold it must

have been let. The tenant in 1789 is known to have been Sir John Collins of whom little is known save that he was a naval captain based in the town at this time (Temple Patterson 1966, 77).²⁹ When one of Mary Woodford's executors and trustees agreed to sell the premises to William Steele of Southampton, wine cooper, in May 1789 he paid £20 immediately and was to pay a further £1080 on the formal sale in June, ie a total of £1100.³⁰ It is this agreement which contains the only dimensions ever given in the surviving deeds for Little St Denys: '... front 85ft rear 90ft depth from east to west 142ft with the stable, coachhouse, vault and other offices and Buildings thereunto belonging with covenants to be therein contained ...'.³¹

The draft deed relating to the sale to William Steele is all that survives and the endorsements on it indicate that it was kept as a copy; the original deed does not appear to have survived. It is this deed that sets out the details of the financial arrangements behind the marriage settlement on Mary Woodford, née Bridoque, and confirms that the money settled on her was used as follows:

... purchased the fee simple and inheritance of the Capital messuage or tenement with the appurtenances there hereinafter mentioned for the sum of £512 10s and had at his own proper costs and charges laid out and expended the further sum of £600 in repairing and new building of the said Capital messuage or tenement with good large and commodious vaults and making other additional erections and buildings thereon so that the said was then let ... yearly rent ... sum of £50 clear of all taxes and reprises whatsoever (land tax only excepted) and was of the full value of £1000 sterling at the least to be sold ...'.³²

This confirms the belief that Matthew Woodford carried out the repair and rebuilding works and that the work took place between 1737 and 1767. The description of the premises sold to William Steele in 1789 was much the same as those given in 1737 except that the east boundary was 'late in the tenure or occupation of Richard Purbeck grocer but now of Messrs Hallow and Trim (?) grocers'. William Steele took out a mortgage on the property a few weeks after buying it (a not uncommon practice at this period); he borrowed £850 from Elizabeth Lintott secured on the premises and the mortgage deed confirms that Sir John Collins was in occupation.³³ He doubtless remained there for the term of his tenancy. It seems likely that the Steele family moved in at some time and made yet further alterations to the property. It was during their tenure that the property, and possibly at least parts of Tenement 236 and Tenement 238, became known as Hampton Court. William Steele died in June 1814 apparently leaving a complex financial arrangement of mortgages and loans, some of which were secured on the property; others seem to have been by way of 'gentleman's agreements'.

William Steele bequeathed his estate equally among his three children, William Brice Steele, Maria Steele and George Steele.³⁴ The apparently elder brother, William Brice Steele, took out Letters of Administration for his father's estate in 1815, the executors appointed having refused to act. William Brice Steele took the entire estate into his own management and control. When he died in October 1817 he left his entire estate to his sister Maria Steele, a spinster. Thus Maria held two thirds and her brother George one third. From a complex draft mortgage it would appear that William Steele was indebted to Charles Hilgrove Esq and George Atherly Esq, then Banking partners, in the sum of £624 12s and to Charles Marett, gentleman, in the sum of £362 18s 4d as his attorney-at-law. William Brice Steele, during his period of holding the reins of the family concern, paid the former £408 17s 6d part of the debt and interest, and the latter £221 10d in part payment; when he died there remained due £275 13s 8d and £176 6s respectively. Maria Steele subsequently paid further sums, but only £75 and £37 8s 10d respectively. This was not enough to satisfy these creditors who issued a Bill in Chancery in 1826 against Maria Steele and her brother George demanding payment or forfeiture of their estate. The position was further complicated by there having been a mortgage of £1500 taken out on the property in May 1802. It appears that the situation was resolved by a subsequent mortgage in September 1826 of £2500, £1500 of which was used to discharge the 1802 mortgage, which was in favour of Charles Sharp of Ringwood, gentleman, and his wife Ursula, James Caldecot Sharp of Romsey, gentleman and Richard Sharp of Christchurch, gentleman. At this time the property was still described as Little St Dennis but it had been divided into four 'distinct dwelling houses a carpenter's shop garden ground storehouse a workshop and two tenements'. Elsewhere in the deeds is the first reference to part of a workshop having been converted to a brewhouse. The brewhouse in the John Combes inventory of 1661, was apparently no longer in existence. In October 1827 Maria Steele and George Steele executed a further mortgage in favour of George Atherly Esq and Charles Marret gentleman in respect of the remaining debt due to them; they paid them a further £169 10s 6d and £128 17s 2d respectively. They then seem to have 'done a deal' over the remaining debts and, on the basis that the Steeles paid the Chancery suit costs, these creditors agreed to accept £115 and £85 respectively, along with interest at 5% per annum and these sums were secured by mortgage on the premises.

The Steeles sub-let most of the tenements into which they had divided the property. Perhaps they had used the money raised by mortgage in 1802, or the extra in 1825, to carry out the building works. Interestingly, the mortgage to Atherly and Marret, but not – it appears – that to the Sharps, includes the plot of land which the Woodford's added to the

property in 1772.³⁵ The following description was given in October 1827:

...And also all that the said piece of ground formerly Garden ground site in French St aforesaid and lying on the south side of said Capital dwelling house and premises called Little St Dennis and lying behind the messuage or tenement formerly of Woodyear pastry cook and now of William John Kellow grocer constant in breadth in front thereof 27 ft tog with the storehouse and workshops formerly built thereon by said William Steele deceased now in part converted into a Brewery and tenements and also all other buildings and erections now standing and being thereof in the occupation of the said Maria Steele and George Steele or their under tenants . . .

It is therefore clear that in 1827 part of Tenement 238 was now regarded as part of Hampton Court and while Miss Maria Steele and her brother George occupied one of the four tenements it is not clear which one; the others were let to Henry Crapp, a

tailor, widow Crawford and Mary Ann Watson, the postmistress. The house she lived in may have been used as a post office.

A print of c 1860³⁶ shows Hampton Court set back (Fig. 2.7), as is reflected by Cooper's painting (Fig. 2.8A) and other photographs, with, importantly, two tenements, one each side, having been built adjoining the west fronts of the building (Cooper also painted a view of the rear of the building, Fig. 2.8B). Cooper's views of the late 19th century can be compared with similar views in the early 20th century (Figs 2.9A and B). At the front of the building a low wall with iron railings and a single, central gate allowed access into the court where photographs show the path split into two, and each leading to a front door within the court. The northern half of the complex still existed c 1940 as it is seen, damaged, in a post-war photograph.³⁷ It appears that this is what the writer viewed in 1880, as he described Isaac Watts' former home, '...one side of it is a public-house and the other a marine store. It must have been a plain but roomy,

DR. WATTS' FRENCH STREET HOME.

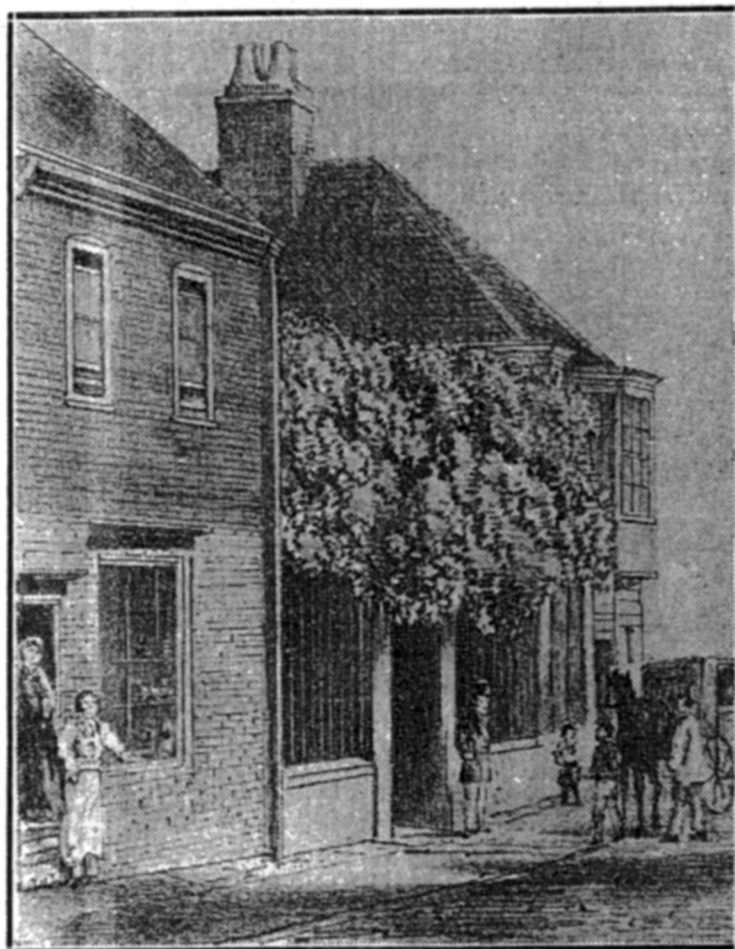


Fig. 2.7 Tenement 237. Hampton Court, front view looking south-east, with tenements adjoining each side. 1860's print in newspaper of 1927 (SRO D/NC Folder 7, *The Hampshire Advertiser and Southampton Times*)

substantial building, standing back with its garden behind it, full of lofty rooms and rambling nooks and passages' (Paxton Hood 1880, 11).

The directory of 1880 gives the occupier of No. 21 French Street as Robert Pim and his will of 1900 gives his occupation as marine store dealer.³⁸ This therefore suggests that the house to the north was No. 21 French Street: it is listed as such all through the directories from 1834 through to 1905. From 1909 it is no longer listed. French Street was

renumbered in 1906.³⁹ The property was used variously, but for much of the time it was a general merchant's shop (see Table App.1.16). The 1940's photograph shows two front entrances. Originally, there was only one front entrance as shown in the 1860's print. This alteration may have come about c 1905 when, for the first time, two occupants are listed in the directory; Mrs Alice Herron, shopkeeper and Stevens Brothers, general dealers. The 1940's photograph also shows a side door,

A



B



Fig. 2.8 A) Tenement 237. Hampton Court, French Street, by W.M. Cooper, 1896-7, looking east; from 2006 Calendar (April) Historic Watercolours of Southampton (by permission of Southampton City Council)
 B) Tenement 237. Hampton Court, back of Watts' house, 1896-7, by W.M. Cooper, 1896-7, looking west; from 2007 Calendar (December) Historic Watercolours of Southampton (by permission of Southampton City Council)

which would have been accessed through Hampton Court itself.

The tenement adjoining to the south is more difficult to identify. It would be convenient to think that the 'public-house' of 1880 was *Hampton Court Brewery Bar* and No. 24 French Street is listed as such from 1881. It is renumbered as No. 49 French Street, in 1906, and remains at this location right

through to 1940-41 (ie after Forder's Brewery has been taken over and redeveloped, see below). It is possible that *Hampton Court Brewery Bar* moved or that the tenement adjoining the south of Hampton Court was another public house.

It has been extremely difficult to interpret the site covered by Hampton Court, the brewery site, which later became Forder's, and *Hampton Court Brewery*

A



B



Fig. 2.9 A) Tenement 237. Hampton Court, French Street, early 20th century? (by permission of Southampton City Council) B) Tenement 237. Back view of Watts' house, French Street, looking west. Early 20th century? (by permission of Southampton City Council)

Bar. Two properties, Nos 20 and 25 French Street – one north and one south of this area – remained stable throughout the directories, and these aid identification of the Hampton Court/brewery site.

No. 20 (later No. 37, Tenement 236) is shown in the 1940's photograph as adjoining Hampton Court (if the above interpretation is correct, and the tenement attached to Hampton Court is No. 21 French Street). Joseph Ball held the lease in 1833,⁴⁰ which ties in with the 1834 directory for No. 20 French Street. The directories give the occupants through to 1910-11; there are no listings from 1914-46 (see Table App.1.14). An advertisement for 1845, when Ball and Co appeared to have moved to No. 6 High Street, states that they were silk mercers, shawlmen, linen-drapers, lacemen, hosiers and haberdashers, importers of foreign silks, shawls, embroideries, gloves, ribbons, flowers, and family mourning and funerals were completely furnished (Fletcher *et al.* 1845, 125, Messrs J and C Ball). From 1884 to 1911, the property was occupied by fish salesmen, with one exception, *c* 1898, when it was a wholesale fruit merchants.

No. 25 (later No. 51, part of Tenement 238) French Street, situated on the north side of Brewhouse Lane, is listed in the directories almost continuously from 1834 to 1941, generally as a shop. This shows that it was separate from the Hampton Court/brewery site, and was not demolished in the rebuilding work on the brewery site in 1928. With No. 20 French Street to the north and No. 25 French Street to the south of the Hampton Court/brewery site, and No. 21 French Street attached to the north of the west side, Nos 22, 23, and 24 French Street would appear to cover the Hampton Court/brewery site, up to 1906.

From the directories, Hampton Court was listed variously, for example as Hampton Court alone, or the occupants were listed between No. 21 and No. 23 but given no number, or listed under No. 22. In the census of 1861, Nos 22 and 23 are both listed as Hampton Court, however, as the occupant of No. 23 was John Adams, a brewer, it seems plausible to interpret this as the brewery side of the court. Also in the 1881 census, Charles Higgins, a brewer, is listed under Hampton Court, but this time there is no No. 23 listed. From 1839 to 1883, it is difficult to ascertain precisely who was occupying which properties within the Hampton Court/brewery site, although it is possible to make suggestions by studying the occupants and their occupations over time. It appears that it was the north side that was associated with Isaac Watts and the south side with brewery development.

In 1803 and 1811, Hampton Court was again associated with a boarding school (see Isaac Watts senior, above). Several teachers are listed in French Street at this time, but it is impossible to know if they were working in Hampton Court, the grammar school or another school in French Street.⁴¹ Hampton Court is also believed to have been used as a post office.

From *c* 1884 to *c* 1916, a Harman family member was resident at Hampton Court, specifically listed as Isaac Watts' House; the north side of the court. Joseph William Harman is given as lecturer and singer in the census of 1881, a music vocalist of 1891, an elocutionist in directories of 1895 and 1898, and of independent means, aged 60, in the 1901 census. With renumbering, this property became No. 41 French Street, and from 1920 to 1925 it was occupied by Wilfred Baldwin. It is not listed after 1925. Sandell writes of Hampton Court in 1958:

During the 1760's, the old house was greatly altered and partly rebuilt in Georgian guise by a Mr. Matthew Woodford. In the rear portion much of the early masonry remained and even in 1950 a quantity of 15th century timber had survived in roofs, floors and panelling.

This Woodford house was called Hampton Court and was much admired, forming three sides of a square around a garden forecourt. From 1823 until 1837 the south side was the Southampton Post Office.

In the early years of this century, until well after the first World War, the north side was inhabited by Mr. and Mrs. Harman, and was most beautifully furnished in Georgian style. Their name, by the way, is remembered to-day in the Harman Room at the Temperance Institute, where many of their pictures can now be seen.

The house was damaged in this last war, but not irretrievable. A representative from the Georgian Group came down and gave a detailed report in 1950, stating in his summing-up that there was a great deal of interest in the building and that 'with care it could be reinstated to perfection.'

Unfortunately, nothing was done; the looters and hooligans got in and tore out all the valuable oak and pine panelling, stole the lead and everything moveable so that the building eventually had to be demolished: a melancholy story too often repeated in our post-war town' (Sandell 1958, 80-1).

Illustrations depicting Isaac Watts' house focus on the north side of Hampton Court, front and rear (an exception being the print of 1880 reproduced in 1927). Therefore, certainly from the late 1800s, it was believed that this part of Hampton Court was Isaac Watts' house. Another reference to the interior of this house in 1927 comes from A W Oke: 'The late Mr J Harman told me that a fine staircase at 41 High Street served as a model for the one at the White House at Washington, USA.'⁴²

A brewery is associated with this site from 1661 when John Combes' inventory lists a brewhouse. In 1735, the will of Isaac Watts mentions a malthouse. In 1827 a description of Hampton Court states 'with the storehouse and workshops formally built thereon ... now in part converted into a brewer and tenements.' This land appears to be related to the 'piece or parcel of garden ground' purchased in 1772 by Mary Woodford (see above) which was part of Tenement 238 although, as already stated, the

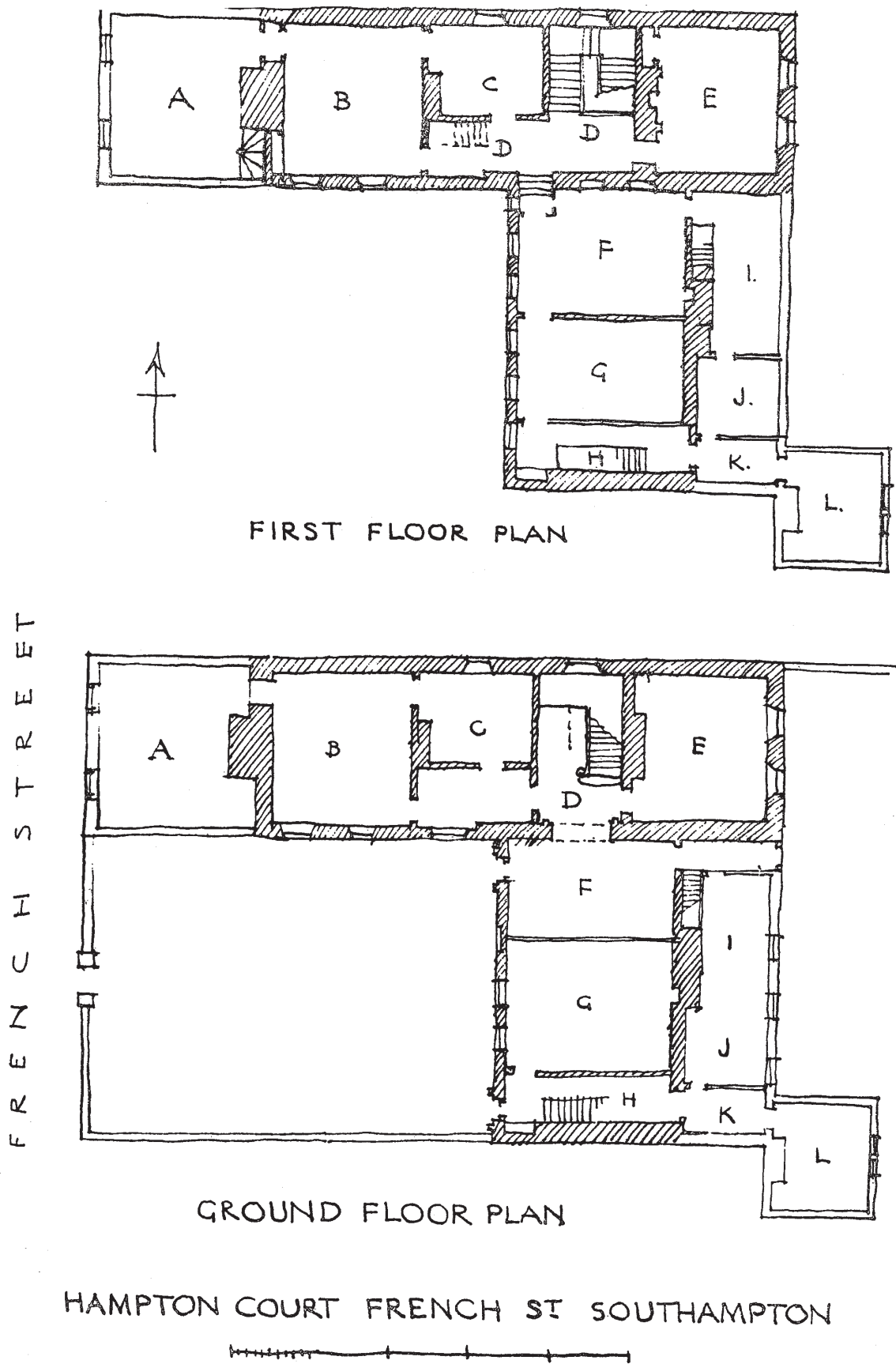


Fig. 2.10 Tenement 237. John MacGregor's 1953 plan of Hampton Court (by permission of Southampton City Council)

evidence is confusing. In 1803 and 1811, the Steeles are listed as wine merchants, coopers, and wine and spirit merchants. The south side of Hampton Court, or No. 23 French Street may have been part of the brewery complex along with the building developments on part of Tenement 238, and together these became Forder's Hampton Court Brewery. Several brewers are listed at this time, including Henry Lock and Charles Higgins. Forder's are listed either at No. 23 or No. 24 French Street from c 1871 through to c 1925 and from c 1884 to c 1890, they worked in partnership with John Burn. *Hampton Court Brewery Bar* is listed at No. 24 French Street from 1881 to 1905. Occupants are listed at No. 24 French Street from 1834 to 1865 (not 1861), but from 1871 to 1880 occupancy is unclear. From 1906, the premises become No. 49 French Street, which it remained until 1940-41.

Problems arise with the renumbering of 1906, as an extra house number appears to have been added to the Hampton Court/brewery site:

No. 20 French Street became No. 37 French Street
 No. 21 became No. 39 French Street
 No. 22 (?north side of Hampton Court, Harman's house) became No. 41
 No. 22 (?south side of Hampton Court, Baldwin at Brewery House) became No. 43
 No. ? (Thomas Batchelor) became No. 45
 No. 23 (Hampton Court Brewery) became No. 47
 No. 24 became (Hampton Court Brewery Bar) No. 49
 No. 25 became No. 51

Numbers 41, 43 and 45 French Street remained occupied until 1929-30. Numbers 41 and 43 (Isaac Watts' house and Brewery House) are not listed after c 1925. It is not possible to ascertain from the photographs of Nos 41 and 45 French Street⁴³ showing the bomb damage of 1940, what the precise layout of Hampton Court/brewery site was, although MacGregor produced a plan of the Hampton Court building in 1953 (Fig. 2.10). The photograph of No. 45 French Street appears to show what remains of the 1928 development of the site.

From 1834 to 1924, Forder and Co Ltd is also listed at No. 113 High Street (with John Burn and Co from 1834 to 1889). An advertisement for Burn and Forder at their High Street premises is shown in a directory of 1845 (Fletcher *et al.* 1845, 71). Aylward and Son Ltd are listed here from 1929 to 1940-1. Maps indicate that the premises at No. 113 High Street backed onto part of those in French Street.

Tenement 238 (Nos 49 and 51 French Street) (Tables App.1.18-1.19)

Tenement 238 is first noted as land held by Walter de Furno in the mid 13th century. In the 14th century it is described as a shop until 1338 when it is noted by Kaye to have been destroyed in the 1338

raid. In the late 14th century, John Polymond, already in possession of Tenement 237, acquired and enclosed part of Tenement 238, which he appears to have maintained as a garden. His successor Thomas Marleburgh also held Tenement 238 as a garden with Polymond's Hall. In the 1430s it became attached, again as a garden, to Tenement 173 (fronting onto the High Street). The joint property Tenement 173 and 238 was described in a lease of 1434 as extending from the stone wall of *Pulmondesplace*, and including a *latrina* at its eastern end and a stable at the north below the stone walls.

The property was described in the Terrier as 'the vacant plot situated on the north side of a lane there of Nicholas Bylot.....'. This was the garden plot recorded as being attached to Bylots' capital Tenement 173. The rental of 1476 described it as two vacant plots. Blake assigned the northern plot to St Denys Priory, while the southern half was a God's House rental (Smith 2001, 26). From the early 16th century until the early 18th century the property is described as garden attached to Tenement 173 and it was not until the mid 19th century that the presence of a building on the site was noted.

Tenements 239-241 (Nos 53-57 odd, French Street)
 (Table App.1.20-2.21)

The earliest reference for Tenement 239, which lay south of Brewhouse Lane, is in the late 13th century when the bounds are mentioned. In 1375 it is described as an empty plot and it may be that the building on the property was destroyed in the 1338 raid (as were the buildings on adjacent tenements). It is likely a building had been re-established by at least 1452 when a John Payn is owner and occupier. The tenement's later history is summarised below.

Tenement 240-1 is known to have been a tenement and garden. The excavation (Chapter 4) appears to place the tenement, which was also destroyed in the French Raid of October 1338, on Tenement 241; thus the garden would have been on Tenement 240. Robert de Bilesdone held the premises from the Hospital of God's House from about 1308 and may still have held it when he was killed in 1338. Despite having been destroyed the premises were still let out, often to tenants at will for various rents until August 1397 when the Hospital leased it to William Mapell on the condition that he built on it within six years. It is from a description of the premises when he had newly built a tenement in 1390 that the first dimensions of the plot size come: 94ft long from east to west and 23ft wide from north to south. This is its largest dimension.

This property, like Polymond's Hall, was also occupied by Italian merchants. In December 1473 Angelo Catayn and Cevo Catayn took a 10 year lease at 25s per annum (Kaye 1976, 401). They too had their disputes with the local merchants (Ruddock 1951, 105, 155, 178). Ruddock was of the opinion that Angelo left Southampton by 1470 which is contradicted by the lease of these premises

in 1473, unless it was another family member (Ruddock 1951, 216).⁴⁴ The next description which gives the dimensions of the plot was in July 1508 when Hospital of God's House granted a lease to John Hopton, merchant, for 12s per annum and a gallon of good wine. The plot then measured in length east to west 59ft 6ins extending to the garden of John Godfrey, and the street frontage was 22ft 10 ins; thus it backed on to Tenement 170-1 (Kaye 1976, 360, 401). This is very odd if it is plotted against the archaeological evidence, unless John Godfrey's plot extended much further westwards than is currently thought (Fig. 2.3). If it coincided with the known parish boundary in the 19th century, it seems that Tenement 240-1 had lost over 34 feet at its eastern boundary between 1390 and 1508.

The Hospital of God's House granted a 79 year lease to John and Alice Mill in June 1516 when the same measurements were given as in 1508 (Kaye 1976, 410). They appear to have sub-let and the occupant is noted as Anthony Manfield and his widow in the 1640s. Unless it was sub-let again, which is possible, it seems unlikely that Shelia Thomson's placement of this as being the house of Mistress Lamotte is correct (Thomson 1970, 78 entry no 329).⁴⁵

There are complications about the leasing of this property with Tenement 337 which have not been resolved but the information in the Cartulary relating to the period appears to tie in with deed evidence for Tenement 239 (Kaye 1976, 269, 401). It was a surprise to discover that this was not a tenement which the Mill family had leased from the Hospital of God's House and then subsumed into their own estates. The rents had varied considerably over the centuries which may or may not reflect the condition of the premises, but during most of the 16th century it had been 12s and an entry for 1730 implies that this had continued in the interim period but was then 17s per annum (Kaye 1976, 269, 401). In 1730 it was held by Joanne Hardy. Some time between then and 1774 it must have been acquired by Richard Taunton as, when described in 1774, it was held by Andrew Goater Haynes late Taunton (Kaye 1976, 269, 401). It is then that measurements are given and these are different again. The street frontage is, once again slightly different, this time being given as 25ft 5 ins (and the same at the rear) and east to west 75ft 9ins. It was south of a tenement called 'Old Brewhouse' in the tenure of Samuel Miller. These 1774 measurements are slightly greater than those of 1508 but still shorter than those of 1390. The 1774 measurements would have the eastern boundary not quite reach that of Brewhouse Court in about 1790 but as this was built by the time it was conveyed to the builder in 1790 he may well have acquired the land by agreement to build some time before. It is possible that the measurements are more approximate than is desirable or that they have been misinterpreted to date. The plot should cut what became Brewhouse Court.

The deeds for Tenement 239 have only been

cursorily examined as only the bounds, especially that to the south, were expected to be useful. In c 1620 the tenement's rating in the directory suggests the presence of a small house, perhaps a large garden. The owner Richard Loney was licensed to keep an alehouse. The title deeds for the public house that was present here, the Black Swan, begin in 1765 when James Brackstone and his wife Mary, sold their half interest in that property, and others, to Jeremiah Haynes, merchant. In 1767 Andrew Goater Haynes and Jeremiah Haynes sold each of their interests in this property to Samuel Miller the younger. Andrew Goater Haynes was another heir of Richard Taunton and, like his kinswoman Mary Brackstone, one of the beneficiaries of Taunton's will; they were the only people to derive great benefit from the Chancery case which ensued (Spooner 1968).⁴⁶ It therefore appears that Andrew Goater Haynes and James Brackstone jointly owned Tenement 239 in 1765, after which it was owned by Andrew Goater Haynes and Jeremiah Haynes though their relationship, if any, is unknown. Andrew Goater Haynes held Tenement 240-41 from the Hospital of God's House on his own, though Richard Taunton had held it at one time.

In 1790 some of the garden of Tenement 239 was sold by Samuel Miller to Peter Watts prior to his construction of Brewhouse Court (see above), but how Miller acquired the plots of land in between the properties in the High Street and French Street is not stated. Even if the bounds of Tenements 240-41 to 244 only extended to the western boundary of Brewhouse Court the land must have come from the gardens to Tenements 167-172 but there is no evidence of how this happened. The dimensions of Tenement 243, as known in 1451, suggest that it would have been truncated by the insertion of Brewhouse Court.

The directories indicate that there were five properties between Brewhouse Lane and Osman's Court, although the numbering of these prior to 1906 is erratic. The first property was generally referred to as No. 26 French Street (later No. 53, Tenement 239). It appears that the next two properties south, later renumbered as Nos 55 and 57 French Street, were possibly Tenement 240-1 (see Table App.1.21). From 1883, however, there is more consistent numbering and Nathan Cohen (a Prussian pawnbroker) and his family lived at what became No. 55 from 1883 to 1910-11. The house is generally numbered as either No. 24 or 24a. From 1914/15 to 1921, it was occupied by an antique dealer and then a shopkeeper. From 1924 to 1930, it was used as a lodging house.

The second property, later No. 57 French Street, was generally referred to as No. 24, 24a or 24b French Street. As early as 1851 the Shakespeare's Head is identified in the census, although its house number is not clear. This public house may date back to the late 1830s (Gallaher 1995, 95) and its function was to remain the same until c 1891. From 1898 to 1930, this property was used as a lodging house.

Tenement 242 (No. 59 French Street) (Table App.1.22)

A documentary reference of the late 13th century describes Tenement 242 as shops. It was one of the tenements destroyed in the raid of 1338 and is subsequently described as vacant or a garden or vacant plot until at least 1473.

Tenement 243 (No. 61 High Street) (Table App.1.23)

It is likely that this tenement formed part of *terra qui fui Campelini* with Tenements 240-1 and by the late 13th century it bore an apportioned rent of 1s 6d;

widow of John de Burgoyne for two tenements (this and Tenement 238). Kaye lists this tenement as one of those destroyed in the raid of 1338 and never rebuilt (Kaye 1976, vol I, table 2). However at the time of the Terrier survey it is described as the Tenement of the Prior and Brethren of God's House which John Bedell has rebuilt (or has recently had built) and which he holds of them for a term of years and in which Peter di Nigro now lives. He was probably a member of the Genoese merchant family variously known as de Negro, di Negri and di Negro, which was well represented in Southampton at this period.

CHAPTER 2 ENDNOTES

- 1 SRO SC 20/3/1/13
- 2 Advertisement for Hall (late Channell and Co)
- 3 SRO SC4/4/528
- 4 SCO SC 4/4/539
- 5 SRO SC4/4/539
- 6 Thomson 1968, 45, entry 116. Interestingly the neighbouring house to the south is said to be that of Richard Massey, town chandler and mercer who was apparently John Taylor's father-in-law, p 46 no 117. Perhaps this is Tenement 180 and not the Vibert entry.
- 7 City Archives file of notes made by Sheila Thomson, and others, in SRO re No. 119 High St
- 8 SRO D/PM Box 55/2/1⁵
- 9 Sheila Thomson's SRO file notes on No. 114 High Street.
- 10 SRO D/PM Box 47/86
- 11 SRO SC4/4/470
- 12 SRO SC4/4/470. There is also a draft of this deed at D/PM Box 47/91.
- 13 SRO D/PM Box 22/9
- 14 Simon of St Laurence, Viviani, and Wygorn held the Gate in the early 13th century. The Hall site was recorded as having previously been held by Cole's widow.
- 15 This Nicholas might have been the uncle of the Richard and Nicholas who were associated with both properties in the 14th century.
- 16 He served in the Parliaments of 1396/7, 1402, 1411, 1413-14, 1414, 1415, 421, 1422, and 1425-6.
- 17 As he was Genoese it is perhaps not surprising that his name does not appear in the *Calendar of State Papers Venetian Vol 1 1202-1509* (Brown 1864)
- 18 George and Richard were sons of John Mill, George died in 1568 (will PROB11/50) and Richard prior to 1551.
- 19 The same bounds were given in 1623 but by then John Mill was dead; he died in 1594.
- 20 Sheila Thomson's notes SRO of D/Pi 9-11
- 21 SRO D/PM Box 55/2/3
- 22 HRO catalogue – 1661AD/20 Inventory; 7M87/7/1 Poore estates, Upton deeds. 'By 1662 Upton was owned by the Combes family. On 3 Mar 1661/2 John Combes of Southampton, merchant, heir of the late John Combes, sold the estate to John Harwood of Deane, gent.
- 23 SRO SC 3/1/1 Fo. 242v
- 24 HRO 21M65F1/2, /3, /4, /6, /8, /10, 11
- 25 He was also imprisoned when Isaac junior was just one year old in 1675.
- 26 SRO D/PM Box 55/2/3
- 27 Tenement 174-5 – Sheila Thomson's notes on property in SRO
- 28 Tenement 174-5 – Sheila Thomson's notes on property in SRO
- 29 Pressure on him and other gentlemen living in the town encouraged them to become burgesses in 1788. His service at sea did not enable him to serve in office.
- 30 SRO D/PM Box 97/52
- 31 SRO D/PM Box 97/52
- 32 SRO D/PM Box 47/8
- 33 SRO D/PM Box 52/36
- 34 SRO S/PM Box 53/60
- 35 SRO D/PM Box 47/85

- ³⁶ SRO D/NC Folder 7 *The Hampshire Advertiser and Southampton Times* newspaper cutting of 13 August, 1927
- ³⁷ SRO SC/EN2/3/53 41 (Watts' House) French Street
- ³⁸ HRO 5M62/29 page 844
- ³⁹ *County Borough of Southampton Minutes of Proceedings of Council and Committees 1905-6* (1906) 27 March, 1906, 447. The Borough Engineer was directed to serve notices for the renumbering of the houses, but unfortunately these notices no longer exist.
- ⁴⁰ SRO SC4/4/470
- ⁴¹ For example, in 1828 a house was adapted for use as a school (SRO D/MH 13/6) possibly at No. 8 French Street which was listed as a ladies' school, Mrs Browne (Robson Directory 1839). There was a school at No. 41 French Street in 1851 (1851 census).
- ⁴² SRO D/NC Folder
- ⁴³ No. 41 French Street – SRO SC/EN2/3/53 and No. 45 French Street – SC/EN2/3/54
- ⁴⁴ Ruddock notes that Angelo remained in England and was granted denization in 1471.
- ⁴⁵ No mention is made of this being a Hospital of God's House tenement but confirms that Judith Delamotte was then herself at Westhall and is said to have sub-let this to tenants; there is no reference to Judith's tenure in the Cartulary of God's House.
- ⁴⁶ Andrew Goater Haynes was a descendant of Mary Taunton, Richard Taunton's aunt, who had married a man called Goater; Mary Brackstone was the daughter of Sarah Watts (Isaac Watts the hymnwriter's sister) and her husband Joseph Brackstone who had been one of his father-in-law's executors.