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UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

BUILDING DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTHAMPTON

1750 - 1830 :

THE IMPACT OF THE SPA

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UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

ABSTRACT

FACULTY OF ARTS

HISTORY

Doctor of Philosophy

BUILDING DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTHAMPTON 1750 - 1830 :

THE IMPACT OF THE SPA

by Janice Renee Stovold

Despite the undoubted significance of the spa in its contribution towards the expansion and improvement of Southampton, there has been a lack of detailed studies of this development. The period 1750 - 1830 was one of considerable change within the provincial towns, yet relatively little is known about these individual towns. This thesis draws upon a wide variety of sources, including title deeds, probate records, corporation papers, newspapers and directories, in order to trace the course of building in Southampton in the spa period. Before 1750, Southampton was suffering as a declining port with little or no incentive to expand. The growing popularity of the town both as a spa and seaside resort, however, encouraged builders to design and erect new crescents and squares of Georgian houses, and modernise existing areas. The impact of the spa was to be seen chiefly in the parish of All Saints. As the spa progressed, a new demand for housing the town's labouring population in St. Mary's parish also emerged. Builders were either craftsmen or leisured men who co-operated together on their projects and obtained their finance chiefly from local sources. Land was readily available, and was conveyed or leased to the builders upon terms that were favourable to them and which specifically encouraged building. Situation, however, was of prime importance, and poorly sited building ventures could fail.

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ABBREVIATIONS

CRO	City Record Office, Southampton
HRO	Hampshire Record Office
PRO	Public Record Office
CRL	City Reference Library, Southampton.

Figure and Table captions :

Figures and Tables are generally placed immediately *after* the text pages where they are discussed; separate captions are not therefore given.

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INTRODUCTION

There can be little doubt that Southampton in its immediate pre-spa period was suffering from a change of fortunes brought about by the vicissitudes of trade. Certainly, a reduction in the town's Mediterranean commercial interests and a failure to compete successfully with other British ports for a share in traffic to the American colonies, served to enhance an impoverishment that partial trade revivals could not counter.¹ Moreover, the period of depression had been lengthy and prolonged. From a nadir at the close of the sixteenth century to the first decades of the eighteenth century only remnants of foreign trade plus some increase in coastal traffic funded the port.² By 1750 the port was at a decidedly low ebb, and its poverty was exacerbated by the very length of time it had been struggling.

In the eighteenth century, the Corporation suggested but mediocre

1. For a full discussion of Southampton's trade links in the pre-spa period, see A. Temple Patterson, A History of Southampton 1700 - 1914, 1966, 1 : Chapter 1.
2. Ancient trading connections with the Channel Islands dating back at least to the Norman Conquest, were still maintained, however, This trade differed in importance in terms of a percentage of Southampton's total trade; a minor matter only in medieval days of prosperity, during the days of the port's decline from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries, it was one of a few small-scale trades which kept the port from sinking into complete obscurity. For details of this trade see A. Anderson, Trade between the Channel Islands (particularly Jersey) and Southampton in the mid-Eighteenth Century, in Bulletin of the Societe Jersiaise (1964). See also D.F. Lamb, The Seaborne Trade of Southampton in the first half of the Seventeenth Century, Southampton M. Phil thesis, 1972. Lamb concludes that, despite periods of buoyancy in seaborne commerce, the town was not a particularly prosperous place during this period.

means to recapture this lost trade.¹ Further, it made little attempt to keep up appearances vis-a-vis the town itself. Many contemporary observers described Southampton at this time as 'decayed' and 'neglected', attributing the overall crumbling appearance of the town to the failure of the port. Daniel Defoe declared " 'Tis in a manner dying with age; the decay of the trade is the real decay of the town",² whilst Celia Fiennes observed "but now the trade has failed and the town almost forsooke and neglected".³ The decay was evidently visible, for whilst only a modest wealth at best could be made in the port its very houses were crumbling away. In the 1690's Bishop Gibson wrote "the great houses of its merchants are dropping to the ground and only show its ancient significance".⁴ The Castle was "old" and "ruinated",⁵ St. John's church had had to be demolished due to neglect and the Corporation tried halfheartedly to persuade the townspeople to rebuild at "void grounds and desolate and ruinous houses".⁶

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1. Corporation Journals, 25 October 1754, 8 May 1761 and 19 June 1761. Some surprise was expressed by the Corporation at this state of affairs: "(Southampton) was formerly one of the most considerable leading sea ports in the kingdom and is so advantageously situated that the present great decay of its trade has been matter of universal wonder...". The measures taken included the abolition of petty customs on trade with Africa and America and an extension to Watergate Quay "to make it more convenient for ships of larger Burthen" and also "to make a provision for the more safe lying there of ships in bad weather".
 2. G.D.H. Cole (ed.), A Tour through England and Wales: Daniel Defoe, 1 : 141.
 3. C. Morris (ed.), The Journeys of Celia Fiennes, p. 54.
 4. E. Gibson (ed.), Camden's Britannia col 132.
 5. L.G. Wickham Legg (ed.), "A Relation of a Short Survey of the Western Counties made by a Lieutenant of the Military Company in Norwich in 1635" in Camden Miscellany, Vol. XVI, pp. 55-7. Lieutenant Hammond, particularly interested in defences, described Southampton's Castle as "an old ruinated Castle, inuirm'd with a round strong wall, which florished when King John lay there".
 6. Corporation Journals, 22 October 1708, 31 July 1692 and 21 February 1707.

Whilst it is plausible that Southampton was not totally in the state of devastation and neglect its contemporary visitors have made out, it nevertheless displayed some obvious decay in the form of ruined and empty buildings.¹

Salvation was to come in a novel form, for it was the vogue of drinking the waters of mineral springs that precipitated the emergence of Southampton as a southern spa, coupled with a growing medical belief in the benefits of sea-bathing. Encouraged by innumerable treatises issued by their doctors, the Georgian gentry flocked to the popular resorts. There, they ritually drank spa waters, many of which had a distinctly acquired taste, and immersed themselves in cold baths as a cure for all manner of ills.²

Southampton had a unique dual advantage to offer the summer visitor: mineral waters from a chalybeate spring, and a beach with an extensive vista.³

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1. A.T. Patterson, op. et loc. cit. Professor Patterson discusses the issue of neglect more fully.
 2. See W. Addison, English Spas, 1951, passim. Eminent doctors as Sir John Floyer, Dr Russell and Dr Hales stated their belief in the use of sea-water as a cure for chronic disease and to be used as a preventive medicine. Dr. Granville was another well-known figure around spa towns advocating "quiescent posture" whilst in the bath, and Southampton's own Dr. Speed published a treatise on the benefits of the sea-water around the Isle of Wight.
 3. The chief source of this spring was at the bottom of Orchard Street. The Cherry Gardens were laid out around the font. The Chalybeate water was said to have a strong corrugating taste and was thought to possess similar qualities in healing powers as the water at Tunbridge Wells. There were two further springs in Houndwell, then a field; one was a spring of fresh warm water whilst the other was said to cure eye disorders.

From the 1720's onwards "persons of quality" discovered Southampton. Many notable people began to follow the example set by the Earl of Peterborough who, after a distinguished career in the army, retired south to a rented house on the outskirts of the town.¹ However, it was the patronage of Frederick, Prince of Wales, that did most to stimulate the interest of courtiers and their entourage, and provide the greatest boost to the spa's development. For not only did this royal patron bathe in Southampton water and declare the experience invigorating, but he also expressed a particular desire to be admitted to the town as an honorary burgess.² Despite the Prince of Wales' untimely death less than three months after the ceremonious presentation of the freedom of the town, for Southampton his visit was fortunate. Men and women of rank discovered that Southampton had become an exclusive retreat for the summer season where they could be assured of meeting others of good breeding. "Most gentlemen of this town", explained a Guide Book, "are men of fortune, independence, and generosity, who keep the happy medium between avarice and extravagance, meanness and profusion; men who do not debase their characters by an intimacy with the vulgar and their manners, nor proudly despise their equals...".³

By 1781 Southampton was able to boast that it had more royal burgesses than any other town in England.⁴

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1. The house was Bevois Mount. Peterborough later bought and enlarged the property and entertained there a variety of eminent visitors including Alexander Pope, Voltaire and Swift.
 2. Corporation Journals, 14 December 1750 and 21 June 1751.
 3. Baker's Southampton Guide, 1775, p.10.
 4. Baker's Southampton Guide, 1781, pp. 38-9. The royal burgesses were the (then) late Prince of Wales, the late Duke of York, the Duke of Gloucester and the Duke of Cumberland.

Throughout the heyday of the spa, in particular the decades of the 1770's, 1780's and 1790's, nobility and gentry alike were attracted to the pageantry Southampton now offered in the form of countless assemblies, amusements and theatrical performances. A new wealth was generated; and the town was forced to acknowledge the new age, and improve. For it was this unexpected change in the source of the town's wealth that revitalised the inhabitants and rekindled an interest in the overall appearance of Southampton.

The spa undoubtedly brought wealth to various segments of southern society, and promoted an urban development that was the forerunner to the later even more prosperous Victorian era. A few enterprising individuals in the town in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries recognised the need for both improvement and expansion to keep pace with the influx of visitors. To save an old port from further decline they encouraged a new-found source of wealth. The results included better paving of the town, the introduction of elements of town planning, and some vehicular control.

The significance of the spa, in terms of improvements made to both the layout of the town and the housing stock, cannot be overstated. Before the post-1750 influx of noteworthy visitors, Southampton, as a dwindling port, lacked incentive to modernise - and this incentive was in terms of both financial encouragement and psychological vitality. But in only a relatively short period of time, the spa brought that incentive, and became the key to modernisation, improvement, rebuilding and new-building. Indeed by the 1790's at the latest, contemporary observers could comment: "Southampton is one of the most neat and pleasant towns I ever saw" and "Upon the whole Southampton is a large and respectable town, very clean and of a pleasing appearance; the

Houses, generally, are good...".¹

That the spa and the sea-side resort were but transitory phenomena in the history of the town is doubtless true; that Southampton never ascended to the high popularity of Bath and Brighton is also unquestioned. But for a time the town was filled to capacity and more by the seasonal visitors, and such was the impact these visitors made that for a while the financial basis of Southampton was altered. The requirements of the port and the merchants were superseded by those of the holiday-makers. Large family houses, houses subdivided into lodging rooms, coaching inns, fashionable shops and nearby country estates were all necessary. Accessibility, too, was vital, but in terms of a coaching network with London and other popular resorts rather than trading communications.

However, to prosper as a spa, Southampton had to provide the first requirement of a resort - good quality accommodation. The unprecedented influx of wealthy visitors demanded that the housing stock be greatly augmented. Further, it was essential that new concepts in architecture be followed, and that these additional houses take on a showcase nature. New standards of urban design and new ideas in interior decor had to be pursued in order to offer a setting of stylish, fashionable residences. The quality of housing was determined by fashion and pleasure, since the spa dictated development throughout the latter half of the eighteenth century and into

1. See R. Douch (ed.), Visitors' Descriptions: Southampton 1540-1956, 1961, pp. 19-23. The two descriptions cited here are from E.J. Climenson (ed.), Passages from the Diaries of Mrs. Lybbe Powys of Hardwick House, Oxon., 1899, pp. 273-4. This extract relates to a visit made to Southampton in 1792. The second extract is from Moy Thomas, Letters Descriptive of a Tour to the Isle of Wight and into the West of England in the Summer of the year 1810, Victoria Art Gallery and Municipal Libraries, Bath, MS 1859, ff 47-50.

the early years of the nineteenth. The impact of this demand was to be seen in the Georgian facades that replaced the old houses and lined the streets of Southampton.

But the spa did not govern the development of the entire town, for there were humbler areas within Southampton. Essentially, there was a difference in the levels of prosperity present in the resort, and the extension of the fashionable areas was ^{accompanied} by a need for growth in other quarters. The spa period thus produced domestic buildings of a widely varying size, quality and cost from one area to another. This thesis will therefore examine the nature of the new buildings of Southampton constructed during the period 1750-1830, in order to understand the complex layout of the town, its changing shape and social character. Further, the business aspects of house-building and the complexities inherent in the building industry are investigated with the aim of providing a detailed analysis of the fabric of Southampton the spa, and of justifying the spa's role in the innovation of building styles.

CHAPTER ONE

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

1. Building Histories

The following is a select list of some of the secondary material found most useful in the preparation of this thesis. It does not include all those works listed in the bibliography.

Despite a number of studies on political, social and economic aspects of the Georgian period in Britain's history, the building of the newly-emergent towns has featured but rarely. However, a few key works do exist about the building of the eighteenth century towns. The most comprehensive of these treatments is, without doubt, that of C.W. Chalklin, The Provincial Towns of Georgian England: A Study of the Building Process 1740-1820 (1974). In this book Chalklin examines the nature and extent of house-building in the largest and most rapidly growing towns, those with populations over 25,000 in 1820, excluding the capital. Making an in-depth analysis of seven towns in particular (Bath, Birmingham, Hull, Liverpool, Manchester, Nottingham and Portsmouth), Chalklin looks first at the extent of urban growth, followed by an especially detailed examination of the business aspect of house construction - the work of the speculator and the builder respectively. This, "the first full scale study of the building process as it occurred in the urban history of this country", represents an important move forward in the methodology employed by urban historians.¹ For Chalklin, unable to find a single archive informative enough for his purpose, was nevertheless successful in culling that information from a variety of sources. His book not only

1. C.W. Chalklin, op. cit., p. viii.

illustrates an important use of hitherto untapped resources, but also demonstrates how little is known of the building of these Georgian towns.

Certain distinguished towns have received specialised treatments by a number of historians in the past. W. Ison describes The Georgian Buildings of Bath, from 1700 to 1830 (1948) and The Georgian Buildings of Bristol (1952). Both of these highlight the Georgian architecture, yet the Bath study contains informative sections on the principal personalities involved in its construction, plus an interesting chronological survey of the development. The interior arrangement of certain exceptional houses, and their materials of construction, is also included, as is an account of the planning of the city. In Bristol, Ison lists the chief architects and building craftsmen in alphabetical order, thus providing some biographical detail.

Bath has also been the subject of a scholarly investigation by R.S. Neale, Bath 1680-1850 A Social History of a Valley of Pleasure Yet a Sink of Iniquity (1981). The building booms of Bath are well documented, and the entire sweeping study is exceptionally well illustrated with tables and figures of a demographic and fiscal nature. Houses and population are linked to weekly coach services in the City, for instance, and details of certain leases on particular estates are tabulated. The chapter on "Stockjobbers and Entrepreneurs" (Chapter Five) includes much-needed information on the costs of key development projects and an analysis of the intricacies of credit. Indeed, Professor Neale argues the point that the much-lauded architectural showpiece of Bath was also a "monument to the credit-raising ingenuity of the eighteenth century" dependent upon the resourcefulness of the landowners in raising finance.¹ Altogether, the book takes a different perspective on the social life of Bath from that normally adopted, in that Professor Neale

1. R.S. Neale, op. cit., p. 169.

writes as much on the labouring population of Bath as on its distinguished visitors. Similarly, the landowners and peasants are not neglected. But it is the information provided on real estate that is of especial interest, since in Professor Neale's own words, he "has much to say about property, land, labour, money, credit and business enterprise, and about contradictions between those with and those without property".¹

In addition to these major works, the building aspect of towns has been touched on in such works as A History of Hull (1980) by Edward Gillett and Kenneth MacMahon. This particular history provides an account from medieval days through to the twentieth century from an urban history perspective, examining Georgian Hull when "the town changed more rapidly than it had ever done before".² Some information is also included in this study of street work, traffic restrictions, and policies as regards encroachments.

In The Making of Urban Scotland (1978) Ian H. Adams suggests that planning was essential in the making of Georgian Edinburgh, since the development of the Squares was in actual fact the development of the one-class dormitory suburb, representing the desire of the prosperous to be physically, as well as socially, separated from the less well-to-do. Further, a series of building regulations restricted the activities of the architects and craftsmen, for the Council was anxious to control appearance. However, in Glasgow at the same time, developments were somewhat

1. R.S. Neale, op. cit., p. 11.

2. Gillett and MacMahon, op. cit., p. 198.

piecemeal - often the erection of a single house signalled the opening of a new street.¹

Another important study is that ^{by} a symposium edited by Stanley D. Chapman, The History of Working-Class Housing (1971). Contents include the results of research into working-class houses in specific provincial towns, namely Glasgow (by John Butt), Leeds (by M.W. Beresford), Nottingham (by S.D. Chapman) and Liverpool (by James H. Treble). All these essays are useful when studying the siting of lower class housing, the materials employed, relative costs and sanitary conditions. When a large proportion of other works on Georgian building concentrates upon the "elegance" of the architecture and superiority of the actual construction, this book marks a significant development in the examination of the other side of the coin - that of the provision of housing for the growing labouring classes. Birmingham is here analysed in respect of the contribution of building clubs and the Freehold Land Society. The practice of selling properties in small clusters suggests the developments were funded by "a numerous order of people with small capitals".² Further, these essays generally suggest that there existed in the eighteenth century and the nineteenth century an elite of artisans who responded to greater economic opportunities and higher earnings by investing their savings in dwelling-houses. Naturally, these investigations were carried out in northern ^{and midland} towns indissolubly linked to the initial impetus and expansion caused by industrialisation. Southern, more traditional, towns do not feature, and it may be that conclusions drawn from Liverpool and Leeds do not necessarily apply to Bath, Weymouth and Southampton.

1. Ian H. Adams, op. cit., pp. 73 and 77.

2. S.D. Chapman, op. cit., p. 227.

The building of other towns has been investigated by historians for this period, but generally these investigations have been confined to architectural or social interest. Business aspects, if mentioned at all, are subordinated. Brighton, for example, has been well documented, as has London.¹

However, the economic and business aspects of Georgian constructions have been tackled in a number of essays. D.J. Olsen has written about the Norfolk estate in Sheffield and the Eton College Estate at Chalcots in Hampstead in The Victorian City (1973) edited by H.J. Dyos and Michael Wolff.² A section is devoted to Georgian town planning, concluding that since a "good" eighteenth^{or} early nineteenth century town plan demanded coherence and uniformity (of facade, of design, and of social status in the inhabitants) it also required segregation "with the garden squares and principal streets reserved for the better sort of resident, the back streets for the middling sort, and the courts and mews for the lower orders, decently screened from view".³ Social integration was neither desired nor achieved by the Georgian planners. Landlords exercised a varying control over builders, Olsen suggests, encapsulated in the building agreements. For whereas in Sheffield this was no more than a verbal agreement by which the builder agreed to erect the buildings and the landlord agreed to grant future leases, in London this was a long detailed document stating the type of house to be built, the quality of the materials, and the nature of any restrictive covenants.

Professor Dyos has himself investigated housing developments, covenants and leases in the case of Camberwell in Victorian Suburb:

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1. J. Summerson, Georgian London, 1945, passim.
 2. H.J. Dyos and M. Wolff, op. cit., pp. 333-358.
 3. Ibid., p. 339.

A Study of the Growth of Camberwell (1961). In Scotland, J.R. Kellett has written about Property Speculators and the Building of Glasgow 1780-1830;¹ and A.J. Youngson on The Making of Classical Edinburgh 1750-1840 (1966).

Local studies have, therefore, begun to make headway in this area, but much still remains to be done. P.J. Corfield's The Impact of English Towns (1982) has been a more recent addition to the library on urban history. Corfield argues that in the eighteenth century towns became self-consciously "modern", as opposed to the rustication of rural England, and crystallised the newly evolving lifestyles in their local guides and directories which "conveyed fresh and vivid impressions of the physical and social ambience of the developing towns".² This emergence of an urban identity, coupled with the growth in size and number of towns up and down the country, accentuated their impact in terms of their physical, social, cultural, political and economic influence.

From the viewpoint of economic history, Marian Bowley has made a study of building owners and the markets for buildings.³ However, this is principally concerned with the Victorian era. Nevertheless, Bowley argues that estate developers were by no means a creation of the nineteenth century alone; in the eighteenth century there persisted a need to invest in property, as was witnessed by the emergence of the co-operative

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1. Scottish Journal of Political Economy, VIII. 1961.
 2. P.J. Corfield, op. cit., pp. 186-8.
 3. Marian Bowley, The British Building Industry, 1966, p. 330.

societies and building societies.¹ The building industry itself consisted for the most part of small employers, often with links to a particular craft or skill, who subsequently developed into the self-employed master or small firm.²

Clearly, however, there is a marked absence of detailed surveys of individual towns concentrating on the building and business aspects of their growth. Such analysis would help to understand the urban changes that took place over the Georgian period, and possibly relate such changes to a wider economic, political and cultural plane. But for the time being, little is known in most of our provincial towns about the people who involved themselves in speculative house-building - the land-holders, the craftsmen, the gentlemen builders, and their sources of finance. The careers of these people, their methods, their profits, and the sheer extent of their activity, are largely unknown quantities.

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1. Little is in fact known of the early history of the building societies, although E.J. Cleary makes mention of the earliest known society, that of Ketley's in Birmingham about 1775 in The Building Society Movement, 1965, p. 11. The origins of these societies and Friendly Associations, and their rapid spread around the turn of the century, represents another area in the growth of towns that needs to be fully investigated. Most research so far has concentrated on their effects after the passage of the Building Societies Act 1836, yet there were clearly societies in existence prior to that date, and funds may well have been diverted into building projects.
 2. Marian Bowley, *op. cit.*, p. 339.

2. Local Histories

In this section the various treatments so far accorded to the spa period in Southampton will be analysed. This is not a comprehensive bibliography.

There has been a comparative lack of study of Southampton from the mid-eighteenth to the early nineteenth centuries, despite the spa's undoubted significance in the expansion and improvement of the town. So far, the spa has received treatment solely in the spheres of social and corporate history.

The most comprehensive volumes with specific reference to the period are those of Professor A. Temple Patterson, A History of Southampton, 1700-1914, in particular, Volume I, An Oligarchy in Decline 1700-1835 (1966) which details the local political scene and demonstrates the interaction of social, economic and religious factors upon an out-dated and near-defunct political system.

The social life of the spa is accorded a fair treatment, mostly in various books and articles by Miss E.M. Sandell, all of which highlight the society atmosphere. Miss Sandell was a very prolific writer, and a great deal of what is known about the amusements of the spa can be attributed to her many years of detailed research.

Another noteworthy and much-praised series of articles appeared in the Southern Daily Echo under the pen-name of "Townsmen". E.A. Mitchell covered various aspects of Southampton's history and historic buildings in these articles, especially featuring anecdotes of the Georgian era. Many of his articles were published as Southampton Occasional Notes (1938). This volume was extensively illustrated with many items from the Lankester Collection of prints which was subsequently destroyed in the Blitz, and so is the only surviving record of these prints. As a result, these articles and illustrations are proving invaluable to present day local historians.

Two general histories of the town are of interest. J. Speed's

The History and Antiquity of Southampton, with some conjectures concerning the Roman Clausentum (c. 1770) is a contemporary history of some use. It was edited in 1909, however, by E.R. Aubrey and the introduction to this edition is fascinating and well-documented. Speed's history formed the basis of a more complete history of the town, J.S. Davies' A History of Southampton partly from the MS of Dr. Speed in the Southampton Archives (1883).

The Victoria History of the Counties in England is generally recognised as a valuable source for local historians. The account for Hampshire and the Isle of Wight is in five volumes (1900). The main entry for Southampton is in Volume Three, although other references occur throughout the work, under, for example, maritime history and ecclesiastical history. Unfortunately, however, no great detail is afforded the spa period.

Finally, some works have been produced on particular aspects of Southampton in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Bernard Knowles' Southampton: the English Gateway (1951) is useful primarily for its one chapter on Southampton and the French Wars and includes a list of ~~wars~~ ships built for these wars in the Southampton area.

A. Anderson has an article in the Bulletin of the Société Jersiaise (18 April 1964) detailing the ["]Trade between the Channel Islands (particularly Jersey) and Southampton in the mid-Eighteenth Century,["] and this is helpful since the majority of the town's trade at the time was with the Channel Islands.

J.P.M. Pannell has become the biographer of those pioneers in mechanical engineering, The Taylors of Southampton, (1955), and has a further chapter on them in another memorable study of the waterside, Old Southampton Shores (1967). This latter work also includes information on the social life of the spa.

Architecture has been most ably covered by N. Pevsner and D.W. Lloyd in the Buildings of England series. The volume on Hampshire and the

Isle of Wight contains a large and detailed section on Southampton by D.W. Lloyd (1967). The Architectural Review (1919) contains another essay on "The Architecture of Southampton" with some interesting illustrations.

Lastly, various booklets in the Southampton Papers series are also of specialised interest. R.A. Pelham's The Old Mills of Southampton (1963) makes passing mention of Walter Taylor of Woodmill. The account of the abortive canal project in The Bankrupt Canal, Southampton and Salisbury 1795-1808 by E. Welch (1966) relates the story of one aspect of the town's wish to improve communications and promote greater trade benefits. Two booklets by R. Douch for this series contain invaluable information: Visitors Descriptions of Southampton, 1540-1956 (1961), and Monuments and Memorials in Southampton (1968). One last category of specialised treatments is that accorded to important people. Little has been done in this field, other than in the form of essays or newspaper articles. However, R.A. Austen-Leigh did produce a small book on Jane Austen and Southampton (1949) which contains some mention of spa life.

3. Primary Sources

The following is not a comprehensive list of all the sources used in the preparation of this thesis, but a selection of those that have been found the most rewarding.

a) Printed Sources

A significant proportion of source material for the local historian is contained in numerous printed sources. This is especially true of the spa period in Southampton's history. This section examines the most common sources for building histories in the context of Southampton.

Contemporary comment and eye-witness accounts of local events and personalities can be found in the newspapers of the time. Two Hampshire-based newspapers have been subjected to a close scrutiny during the course of this research: the Hampshire

Chronicle (established 1772) and the Salisbury Journal (established 1729 and later becoming the Salisbury and Winchester Journal). These two were selected because they contained most information specifically relating to Southampton. The Hampshire Chronicle started its career in Southampton when it was founded here by James Linden in 1772, only transferring its seat of business to Winchester following the bankruptcy of the proprietor in June 1778. Articles and advertisements have, therefore, a particularly local bias. The Salisbury Journal, on the other hand, is most useful for a study of the earlier period 1750 - 1772, since before the town's own newspaper was established notices and advertisements whether issued by individuals or the Corporation tended to be inserted in that newspaper.

Both newspapers provide some information on the building of the genteel squares and terraces; a fairly detailed commentary on the Polygon venture, for example, appears in both papers. Such new developments as Moira Place are also mentioned. Further, editorials liked to pass comment upon the number of visitors flocking to the town, including lists of the most respectable, and the rate at which the lodging houses were filling. Such contemporary information is helpful when it comes to assessing the course of the building projects, and the demand for the houses generally.

However, the most helpful section in all the local newspapers is that dealing with advertisements for land and house sales. Details of houses to be let are also included. As regards land availability information can be culled from this source mostly of the freehold land offered for sale by lots in an auction. Advertisements contain details of the size of the plot (sometimes approximate), its situation according to street or parish, and notification of the existence of building plans. Such an advertisement appeared for the Brunswick Place development, for example, when eighteen plots were offered for sale on ninety-nine year leases in "an elevated spot about a quarter of a mile from the town, at the upper end of the common field called Maudlins"

and all subject to plan, elevations and conditions to be made known at the time of the auction.¹

Innumerable entries for ready-built, newly-built, or recently modernised dwelling houses for sale or rent, freehold and leasehold, appear regularly. Newspaper advertisements are an especially fruitful source for descriptions of accommodation, and have consequently been used extensively to gather information on the style of housing (Chapter Six). Details of the number of rooms, occasionally their size, their uses and particular design features can all be gained from this source. Where houses were let, rents are at times included.

Directories and guide books can be used to supplement this information. Numerous guides were issued during the course of the nineteenth century and a few in the eighteenth century, mainly by the publishers Baker and Skelton. The earliest available guide is one published by Linden in 1768. All surviving guide books have been closely studied. The earliest in the town's collections of directories is Cunningham's Directory of Southampton for 1803 although Cunningham also issued a Hampshire Pocket Companion in 1790. Pigot's Commercial Directory of 1823-4 includes a section on Southampton, as does the later Robson's Directory of 1839. However, it was not until 1843 that the first directory to include a list of streets appeared.

Guides are of use chiefly in assessing the extent of building activity in the town and the need for certain types of housing - most nineteenth century guides include comments on the scarcity of housing for the labouring classes, and their consequent distress. In addition, Baker contains valuable information on the numbers of houses in the town in 1774, 1810, 1814, 1821 and 1827 and so the new growth areas can be recognised. Contemporary comment on

1. Hampshire Chronicle, 8 June 1795.

the overall change in the face of the town can be gleaned, too, from the guide books. (Chapter Two).

Additional guides include P. Brannon's The Picture of Southampton and Stranger's Handbook to Every Object in the Town and Neighbourhood... (1850), which consists largely of steel engravings of views of Southampton. P. Brannon also compiled various editions of his Stranger's Guide and Pleasure Visitor's Companion to Southampton and the Surrounding Country. H.C. Englefield wrote another very significant and widely quoted guide book in A Walk through Southampton (1801). This is largely a description of the surviving antiquities of the walled town area. Lastly, John Duthy's Sketches of Hampshire (1838) also describes perambulations around Southampton, and Granville's The Spas of England (1841) devotes a chapter to Southampton in Volume Three of his study.

Illustrations, and later photographs, are helpful when it comes to analysing the style of the houses. Several volumes of prints kept as part of the Cope Collection, and in the Local History Library, have been scanned, and photographs in the City Record Office. Alongside these illustrations, maps can be of assistance in locating the new streets and courts. A number of town maps have been reproduced in a portfolio, Southampton Maps from Elizabethan Times (1964).¹ In particular, the 1771 Plan of Southampton and the Polygon by P. Mazell and the later 1802 Plan of Southampton from an Actual Survey by Baker provide contemporary information. The purpose of the first map was to provide a guide for visitors to the town who were attracted by the spa amenities, and to advertise the proposed Polygon. Thus the streets marked and most of the buildings (distinguished by numbers) are those which a visitor might seek out.

1. An accompanying book by E. Welch gives a concise account of each map and includes sections on other aspects of town life such as municipal government and communications.

For example, the Long Rooms, bathing houses, theatre and churches are all shown. The 1802 map was issued for the same purpose, but covers a slightly wider area. One further map is especially helpful, although out of this period. The Ordnance Survey town map of 1845-6 (scale 60 inches to the mile) is very clear and of consequent assistance when siting the additions to the building stock. Taylor's map of 1759 is the earliest to be of use for the spa period, and important when set beside these later maps.

Finally, amongst these printed sources, official publications have also been consulted. Most important for cataloguing the increase in population have been the official decennial census reports for Hampshire from 1801 onwards (Chapter Two).

b) Manuscript Sources

In this section the most common primary sources of information for building histories are examined briefly, solely in the context of Southampton in the spa period.

1. Corporation Papers

A significant group of sources relevant to the topic are those papers of the Corporation which may highlight spates of building activity or throw light upon corporate inertia in the realm of town planning.

The Corporation Journals contain minutes of the meetings of the Corporation, and close analysis of these minutes reveals the overall inactivity of this oligarchy. Little appears to have been achieved by this body during the spa period save the acceptance of various local Acts of Parliament and the often consequent handing over of authority to appointed bodies. Five volumes of minutes survive: from 1734 to 1764; from 1764 to 1783 then from 1783 to 1807, 1807 to 1827, and lastly 1827 to 1835 when municipal reorganisation took place.¹

1. CRO, SC2/1/10 - 14.

Information can be gleaned from this source on some of the new housing developments in the course of construction where such building involved the lease of land from the Corporation or alterations to Corporation structures, such as the Town Walls. Further, should any conflict or doubt arise as to the granting of a new lease or the renewal of an existing lease upon Corporation property, the arguments are recorded in these minute books. When a tenant has failed to maintain his property, for example, the Corporation might demand promises from him or remove him from the tenancy. Analysis of such disputes, therefore, suggests the control, or lack of control, and the concern the Corporation might have about the general appearance and maintenance of its housing stock. In addition, much can be learned from these minutes about the builders who frequently dealt with the Corporation - those, that is, who built most often upon land leased from the town. These builders had at times to negotiate special requirements with the Corporation - the transference of ownership of parcels of land, for instance, or the joint laying of public paths and footways, and these contracts are chronicled in the minute books. Lastly, it is possible to trace the point at which a builder seeks to dispose of his land and property by examining these minutes, for the Corporation had first to grant its permission. Licences of alienation are listed as and when they occur, frequently with the name of the buyer, or else that the vendor may have a licence to assign by way of mortgage.

Since the Corporation owned houses and laid claim to waste land in most of the six parishes of Southampton, it is possible to plot the course of construction by an examination of the Corporation Leases.¹ Typically, a lease will trace the history of the property

1. CRO, SC4/3/536 - 1464; SC4/1/10, 13, 25; SC4/1/11 - 22.

in question, stating the names and occupations of earlier lessees, with the rent paid. Leases were granted for periods of forty years, renewable every fourteen, and with a fine demanded at each renewal. These fines, plus the quit rents and capon money payable annually, are recorded in the leases. Further, the situation of the property and its dimensions are clearly stated. Thus a lease may provide information upon the occupiers and their status, and record the names and occupations of their immediate neighbours. For example, one lease will suggest that the lessee himself is a gentleman, whilst his two neighbours are a merchant and an apothecary respectively; or that a joiner is living next door to a baker.¹

By compounding the statistics of dimensions of the plots as laid down in the leases, the situation of the property, and the rents charged upon it, it is also possible to analyse the relative values placed upon land within the town according to size and site. This is clearly invaluable when it comes to judging the fashionable and therefore more expensive areas as opposed to the sites of artisan housing.

The availability of building land, and any financial encouragement given by the Corporation can be ascertained, too, from this source. For it was not uncommon for the Corporation to grant assistance in the form of greatly reduced rents upon a plot of waste land or an old house fallen into disrepair, provided the tenant undertook to rebuild or build anew. This alone was probably the greatest impetus the Corporation gave towards building. Moreover, reduced rents and/or the removal of renewal fines, were continued as further encouragement for some time after the new house was built. Thus, at the first renewal after fourteen years, the lessee would find the customary fine waived and the lower rent maintained, and since builders would mostly expect to sublet, this was to them alone a great advantage. In

1. CRO , SC4/3/536; SC4/3/539.

a negative sense, information can be gleaned from these leases about the relaxed attitudes of the members of the Corporation towards any form of control and the planning of new sites.

There is extensive information, however, upon control and planning amongst another set of papers - the local Acts of Parliament, and in particular, those of the Pavement Commissioners.¹ The Commissioners for the better paving, repairing and cleansing of the streets were appointed in 1770, to be replaced in 1844 by the Improvement Commissioners. The Commissioners appointed no committees, all business being transacted at their meetings, details of which are contained in three volumes of minute books from 1770 to 1844. A series of rate books from 1771-1836 are, regrettably, incomplete, but there are other miscellaneous papers including a register of mortgages, vouchers, bills and receipts, and the Treasurer's Account Book 1771-1814. In addition, proceedings against encroachments 1822-1832 provide some scant information.

Thorough examination of all these papers reveals details on the routine work of paving, cleansing and lighting the streets. Further, the addition of new municipal services is here chronicled, namely in the provisions of a night watch, the removal of obstructions, the prevention of encroachments, the naming of streets and the numbering of houses, and the displacement of hogs, fowl and nuisances from the thoroughfares. The minutes of the Pavement Commissioners record their activities, in particular in the realm of checks to building and early elements of town planning - two areas of control hitherto left untouched by the Corporation itself. Policy as regards encroachments is particularly interesting, all the more so since this is one key area in which the Corporation had previously failed to instigate any kind of uniformity in building at all.

1. CRO, SC1/9/7; D/PM. 18/1-11.

2. Probate Assessments

Wills and inventories form another rich source of information for a study of urban development within any town. Those for Southampton are filed under the diocese of Winchester, and they survive in large numbers for the spa period.¹ Wills could be proved in either the Archdeaconry Court or the Bishops Court, and in addition there are a few rare Peculiar Wills.² However, generally speaking, these Peculiar Wills came from scattered and outlying parishes, and so only a handful relate to ~~testators~~ from Southampton itself. The inventories are attached to several of these wills and catalogue the possessions enjoyed by the testator at the time of his or her death.

Most wills were dictated or drawn up by the testator who described his condition as "being in poor health", and who thus believed he had not long to live. Clearly, in many cases, such a belief in the approach of death was premature, and they actually survived their illness. Nevertheless, a majority of the wills for Southamptoners in the spa period begin with an opening phrase of a religious nature, commending their soul to God and requesting a Christian burial, and the payment of all debts and funeral expenses, sometimes with more specific instructions. The disposal of the estate generally follows, and obviously for a building history the major use of these wills is in this section. In some cases, the wills list all the property owned by the testator, often including details as to the site of the property. This is most common where the estate comprised several properties which were to be shared between descendants or other parties. At other times, however, the testator left the entire property to a trust estate, in which case detailed information is not so forthcoming. This generally applied to the parent of minors, who appointed trustees until all relevant children came of age. In

1. HRO, Wills and Inventories A, B, U, Admons.

2. The Prerogative Court of Canterbury wills preserved amongst the records of the Public Record Office, are also numerous.

these wills, unfortunately, it is not usually possible to ascertain either the amount of the estate or the details as to site and nature of the property.

However, all wills do provide invaluable insight into who the people were who had some estate to bequeath and, further, about what type of person it was who had a few hundred pounds to invest in property or elsewhere. For in the vast majority of cases the testator states his or her occupation or status quite clearly. Many people of property also list other investments they may have made, whether in government stocks, private mortgages or personal loans. And many testators leave instructions for the sale of the whole or part of their landed estate in order that the money may be converted into bonds or stocks.

Lastly, many wills end with a signed statement from one of the executors that the deceased left a personal estate not exceeding a stated amount, usually with a formula such as: "...the sole executor named in this will was sworn well and faithfully to administer And that the personal estate and effects of the deceased do not amount to - as he believes". Very often, only a matter of weeks elapsed between the signing of the will by the testator and its proving in the Court. It is possible from such evidence as this to make assessments of the typical amounts of money a man or woman of a certain status might expect to leave his or her heirs, and also just how much money there was in the town at the time that could conceivably be employed in property investment.

Naturally, not everyone made a will, and these wills can therefore represent only a sample of the people with property. In cases of intestacy an administration was granted either in the form of a grant of probate to a named individual (most usually a widow or son) or else as an inventory.

Probate records may therefore be treated in a number of ways and yield information on the ownership of property, the siting of the

more expensive type of house, and the person who owned more than one property at his or her death. Further, essential knowledge on investment procedures can also be gained, and of the desirability of the ownership of property as a form of financial investment. The security of housing in various quarters can thus be established.

3. Title Deeds

Despite the undisputed significance of all the above mentioned sources of information, perhaps the most important to this thesis are those bundles of title deeds kept in the City Record Office.¹

Deeds are catalogued according to address, although caution must here be exercised since the numbering of houses and even the naming of streets altered in individual places over a period of time. However, it is possible to trace the history of the newly-built areas in some detail through use of these deeds, after an initial time-consuming and exhaustive search through the catalogue of addresses. All deeds of houses that were built anew during the spa period can be here located, and the various deeds subjected to close scrutiny.

Included in the bundles of deeds are generally various deeds of transfer, mortgage agreements and copies of wills where applicable, although these papers are not in any way always complete. Lengthy legal jargon makes analysis at times somewhat tedious, yet perseverance is extremely rewarding. A typical deed will state the first date at which the plot of land changed hands and give the names of the signatories and their occupations. The size of plot plus the names and occupations of all neighbours who either owned or occupied land immediately adjoining on all boundaries will then be attached. This inclusion in all deeds of such detail is clearly

1. CRO, SC4/4/1-; SC4/2/1-.

exceedingly useful in locating building plots, assessing dimensions and plotting boundaries. Further, since names and occupations are carefully stated, much information can be gleaned on the status, in terms of the owners' occupations, of respective areas.

Next follows a comprehensive account of the agreement drawn up between the parties, namely as to whether the land has been transferred in full for a stated sum, or whether use has been made of the custom of the conveyance of property for a fixed period of lives. If the land or property is being leased rather than sold this will be clarified, and all conditions attached plainly laid down. Thus one landowner may convey a plot of land with the express purpose of having that land developed, and his terms will be stipulated on the document. This becomes increasingly important in the matter of heirs and assigns, and again the title deed will affirm that the vendor is disposing of his property in that he "doth grant bargain and sell unto the said --- his Heirs and Assigns forever", or else, of course, for the fixed period.

If the property is being leased, the original owner may reserve the right of entry or reclamation in the event of the lessee's failure to comply with specified conditions, and all this will be detailed in the relative document. Often, property was conveyed upon a lease for a year, at the rental of "one peppercorn, if lawfully demanded", with the full extent and purpose of transferring the property into the possession of the purchaser so that he may be enabled to make a "Grant and release of the Inheritance thereof" and thereby make use of the land.

Leases, releases and conveyances are consequently of extreme importance in analysing the manner in which property and land changed hands. But in addition to this wealth of information the bundles of deeds may contain detailed documents on the financial undertakings involved in the transference of property. In particular, the mortgaging of the estate will be catalogued. A mortgage agreement also includes in its preamble precise information

as to the history of ownership and subsequent transfer of the property in question, in order to ascertain the lawful right of title to that property. An indenture will then bear witness to the fact that the owner of the land has sold upon mortgage. Prices raised and terms laid down will be plainly stated, and naturally this is invaluable for the urban historian attempting to understand the nature of the building of a town.

In addition to these documents some bundles will contain bonds of indemnity in which the mortgagee enters into a bond to indemnify the borrower against claims of dower, that is, the dower rights of the mortgagee's widow. Again, such a document will in most instances reaffirm the nature of the original agreement, and specify what sums of money have changed hands.

Without doubt, this single source yields an immense wealth of detail that could not be gathered from elsewhere. Within these bundles of related documents the history of the land or property is specifically annotated, and because prices are continually quoted, it is possible to trace patterns of profit and loss according to street, area or single houses. And, in addition to the actual methods of conveyance, knowledge can here be found as to the relationships between landholders and builders, and builders and financiers.

Supplementary vital information can of course be found from this source about the builders themselves. For an extensive search will yield much-needed data upon the profitability of the builders' undertakings, the siting of their houses and the manner of selection of key areas, and the actual pattern of the major builders' careers. Further, the type of house, that is messuage, tenement or mansion house, clearly stipulated in these documents, provides an insight into the fashionable versus artisan nature of property development in the Georgian period. Such extensive detailed specifications are unparalleled amongst all documents relating to building histories and title deeds are without doubt the single prime source for such a purpose.

4. Miscellaneous Deposits

The records of local firms of solicitors are particularly fruitful for an examination of land development. The Southampton Record Office is fortunate indeed in the possession of one set of bankruptcy records relating to a local builder, that of John Griffiths of Millbrook.¹ This rare archive is contained in eight bundles of assorted records which highlight the case against Griffiths as laid down by innumerable creditors, and also includes some of the books kept by the bankrupt. Their primary use for this thesis has been in the cataloguing of the people to whom Griffiths owed money, the occupations of these creditors, and the nature of their employment by this particular builder. This source has in addition yielded assessments of the relative costs of building in terms of the price of both labour and materials, and the manner in which both could be procured. Since Griffiths was declared bankrupt in 1810, these papers suggest, of course, some of the pitfalls in the business, and underline the relative advantages and disadvantages in building for either of the crucial markets - the wealthy spa resident or the not so fortunate town worker. Business aspects can be ascertained by an examination of the reasons behind Griffiths' collapse, and thus the papers have been used extensively in this thesis in the section relating to methods of building finance and the custom of building upon credit² (Chapter Four).

In addition to Corporate ownership of land, information upon prior use of land and its transfer for building development

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1. CRO, D/PM. 14/4/1 - 8
 2. CRO, D/PM/52; D/PM/53.

purposes has been sought amongst various ecclesiastical records. The Church owned large tracts of land in Southampton, and in particular the set of accounts for St Mary's glebe land has revealed details of activities in this quarter.¹ These records consist of leases of portions of St Mary's glebe property in East Street, Chapel Street and Cook Street. Since these are the key streets in the working-class areas of development, this archive has been of great use to this thesis in relation to the building of the smaller type of house (Chapters Two, Three and Six). Size of plots and costs involved for St Mary's parish can be ascertained. All Church leases were granted for a period of forty years upon payment of a lump sum and a ground rent. A few date from the end of the eighteenth century, but most are from the period 1820-1850 and so are useful as regards the later spa period. Leases were granted by the Rector of St Mary's, the Reverend Newton Ogle until 1797, and the Reverend Francis North (later the Earl of Guildford) from 1797 to 1850. Most of the deeds carry the confirmation either of the Bishop or the Dean and Chapter. Regrettably, houses were occasionally built according to a pre-determined plan in St Mary's, yet none of these plans and elevations survive. However boundary maps to show site and extent are occasionally included.

Finally, demographic material for use in this thesis to establish the demand for houses has been sought mostly amongst the Incorporation Rate Books for the period 1775 onwards.² (Chapter Two). These rate books survive for each of the six parishes, and also provide key information on land in the parish of All Saints. This is the most regular series of taxation documents for the town, being a quarterly return listing those

1. CRO, D/NA/1-23, 47-53.

2. CRO, SC/AG.7/1-17.

who paid the rate, and stating their assessed contribution. Estimates of the total number of houses, according to parish, can be made from this source, and thus a gap filled in for the late eighteenth century, prior to the availability of national census returns to provide these figures.

In addition to these local sources of information, some material on eighteenth century Southampton is available amongst the records housed at the Public Record Office. However, for the purposes of this thesis, it was not judged necessary to do more than sample these records to determine their likely use. The Bankruptcy Order Books, for example, being the entry books of the orders of the Lord Chancellor made in bankruptcy, are arranged in a non-~~topographical~~ index, and thus all 186 volumes would have had to be searched to find mention of Southampton bankruptcies. Given the valuable range of bankruptcy material already held in the City Record Office in Southampton, this was not considered an effective use of time. Certainly, random sampling of these bankruptcy volumes revealed no additional information. Similarly, sampled Chancery records did not prove a fruitful source, since the introduction of conveyance by lease and release ~~reduced the effect of~~ the Registration of Deeds Act. Information has been sought, therefore, primarily amongst those local records cited above. A list of all the manuscript sources used in the research is given in full in the bibliography.

CHAPTER TWO

THE DEMAND FOR HOUSES AND THE COURSE OF BUILDING

1. The Demand

a) The Population of Southampton

In Southampton the years between 1750 and 1830 were without doubt years of considerable demographic expansion. This expansion was all the more impressive when compared to the years before the advent of the spa, for the population increased overall from an estimated 2,900 in 1676 to 18,670 in 1831, which represents a staggering increase of 544%. Until the spa period, the population figure of just under 3,000 actually represents an almost static low level; the number of people in Southampton had remained fairly constant since medieval days and until after the influx of the 1750's. Thus the spa period marked a decisive turning point in terms of demographic growth, dramatically overturning a previous stagnation in population levels, and heralding an increase that was to be maintained, then overshadowed, by the growth of Victorian Southampton.¹

Information on population for the eighteenth century is far

1. There was a rising total population in the country at the time, but numbers moving beside the sea or taking summer residence there were certainly increasing fast. For information on the growth of Brighton see C.W. Chalklin, op. cit., pp. 51-3. Chalklin found that Brighton's population had by 1821 more than trebled since 1801, and doubled since 1811. Other sea resorts had also shown rapid rates of increase, especially after fears of shipwrecks, pirates and foreign attack became dispelled.

from comprehensive, since there are no totally reliable sources. For the later spa period, in the nineteenth century, a valuable range of material is contained within the national censuses beginning in 1801 and thereafter held at ten year intervals. But for the earlier years, figures have to be found amongst assorted ecclesiastical census returns, not ably those held in Hampshire in 1676 (to provide a key early estimate on which to base any assumptions of population growth), 1725, and 1788.¹

The Compton Census of 1676 provides a return on the number of conformists, papists and dissenters, following a national survey instigated by Archbishop Sheldon. The census was incomplete, but the figure of 2,900 for Southampton is also borne out by an analysis of the rate books for Southampton, which yields a similar number of 2,939 in 1696.²

The returns for the years 1725 and 1788 were ordered under the direction of the Bishops of Winchester, and were thus not part of a national count, but were the result of the fairly common practice by which a newly appointed Bishop would seek information on the number of souls in his diocese.³

In addition to these ecclesiastical estimates, Southampton was

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1. See M.J. Freeman, A Study of road transport during the industrial revolution: southern Hampshire 1750-1850, Southampton Ph.D. thesis, 1977, pp. 58-60, and J.R. Taylor, Population, disease and family structure in early-modern Hampshire, with special reference to the towns, Southampton Ph.D. thesis, 1981, pp. 20-2.
 2. E. Welch, Southampton Maps from Elizabethan Times, 1964, pp. 26-7, and T.B. James, Southampton Sources 1086-1900, pp. 42-44.
 3. M.J. Freeman, *op. cit.*, pp. 60, 66-7.

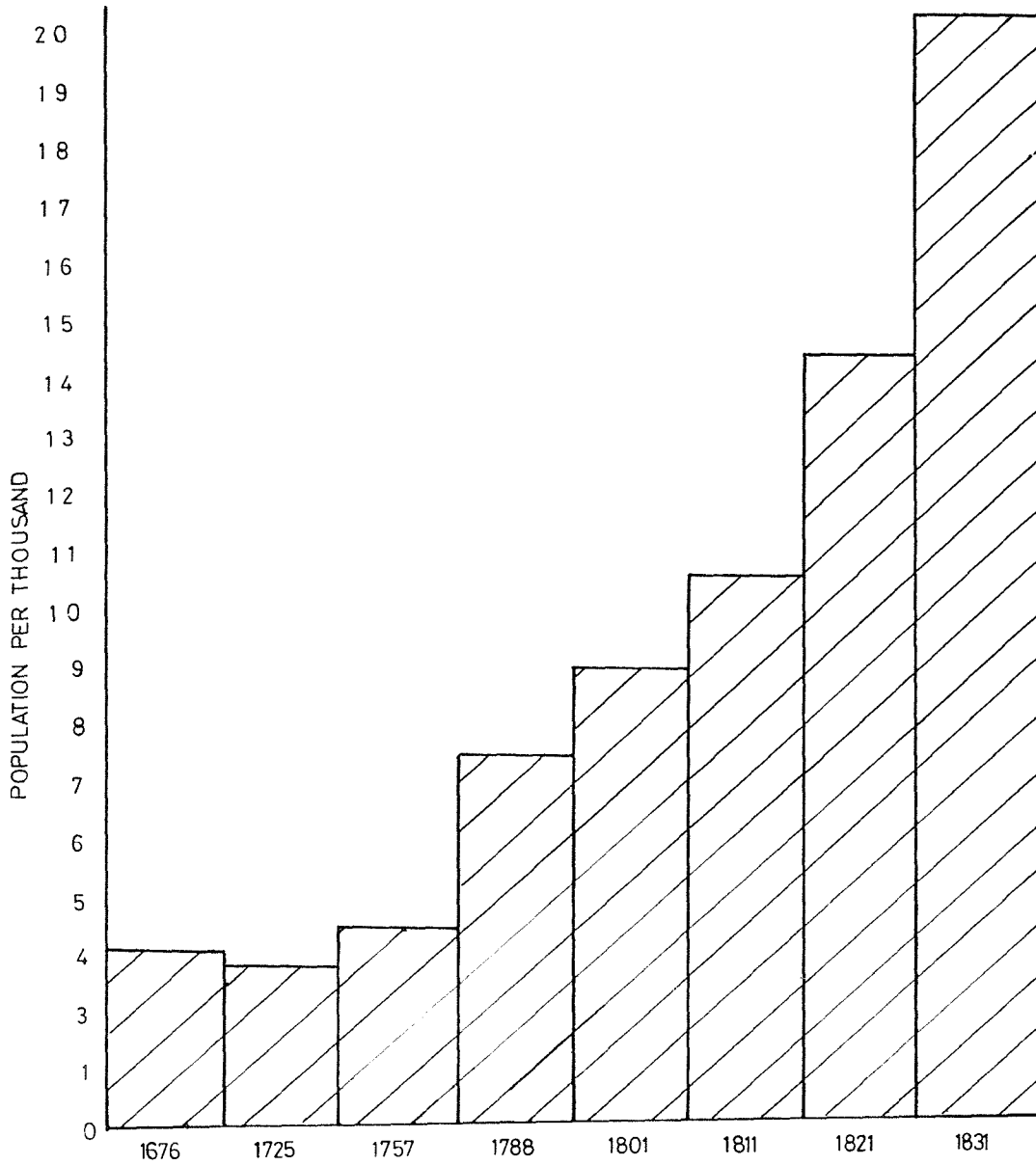
also the subject of a local census taken in 1757.¹ Whilst doubts persist over the reliability of all these census figures, there is at the same time no reason to believe they are totally inaccurate. Thus these four returns, plus the four national census returns for the years 1801 to 1831, provide the essential information upon which estimates of population growth can be made.²

The chronology of population growth in Southampton during this period is illustrated in Figure 2.1. The Compton Census of 1676 provided a return of 2,900 people in the town, but by 1725 that number had actually dropped to 2,750. The local count made in 1757, just as the spa was beginning to benefit Southampton, records an increase to 3,300 inhabitants. This represents an increase of 550 people over thirty years. But by 1788 the population had almost doubled, to 6,200, representing an average increase of 93 persons per year. Despite some slight decline in this pace of increase during the French Revolutionary Wars, this population expansion was maintained from then on: the first national census in 1801 counted 7,629 inhabitants, and this total had risen to 9,258 in 1811.³ By 1821 there was a total population of 12,913 and by the end of the spa period, of 18,670 in 1831. Overall, the spa period witnessed an increase of some 15,000 people in the town.

Further, from the curve in the graph in Figure 2.2, it is clear that between the years 1725 and 1775 there was a sudden change

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1. Southampton Herald, 18 June 1825.
 2. Population Returns: Decennial Census PRO, HO, RG, 1801-1831. See Appendix for full details of these national census returns.
 3. For a discussion of the effects of the French Revolutionary Wars upon the population structure of Southampton see M.J. Freeman, *op. et loc. cit.*

GRAPH TO SHOW POPULATION LEVELS IN SOUTHAMPTON (1676 - 1831)



SOURCES: Ecclesiastical Census; Local Census; National Census

FIGURE 2.1

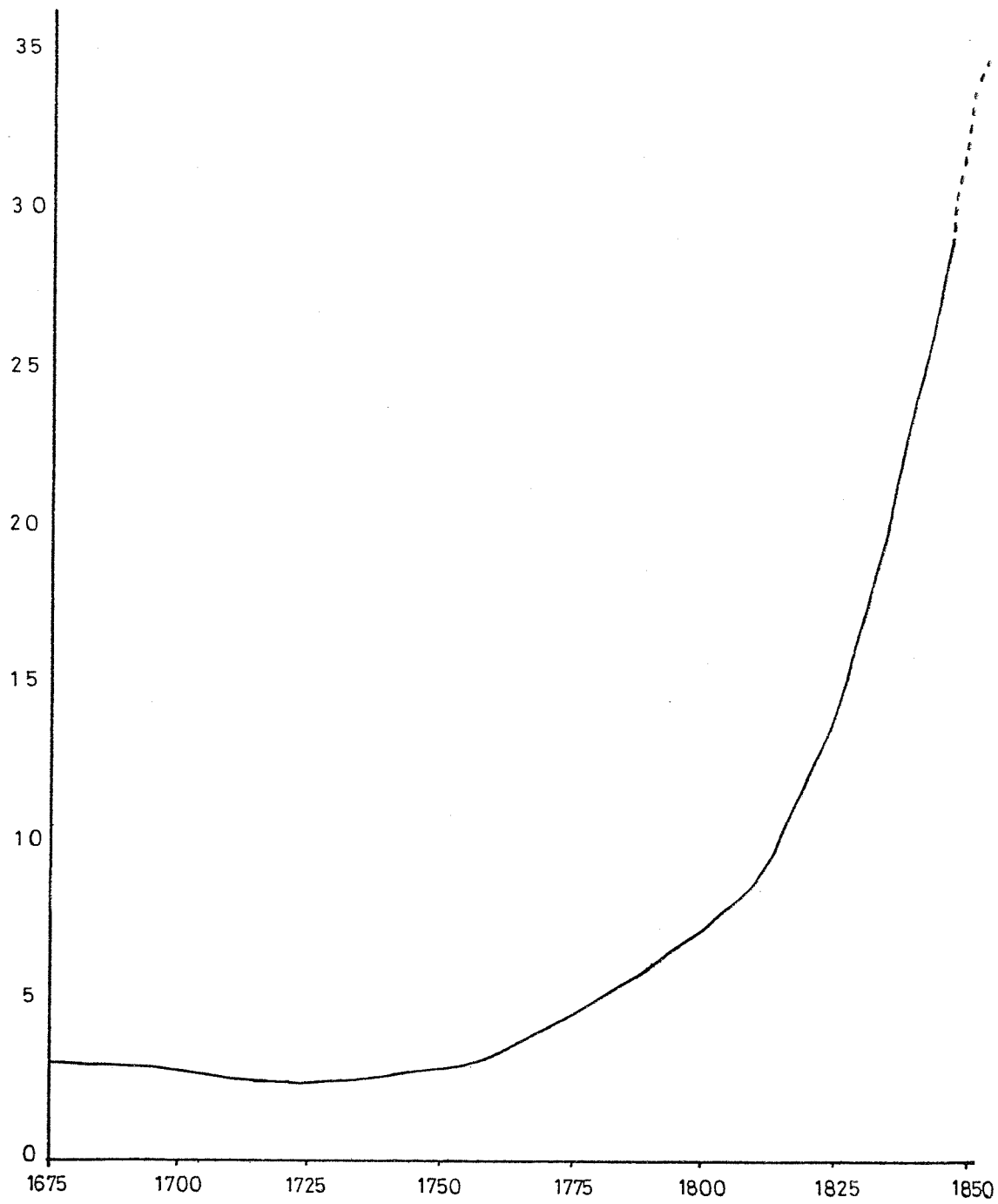
in the demographic pattern. In the absence of more precise material for the eighteenth century it is impossible to isolate that exact date, but the graph would suggest the 1750's as being of major importance. The pre-spa demographic stagnation is also well illustrated by this graph. Then, from the late eighteenth century onwards the increase is spectacular; and the rise in population was even more dramatically accelerated in the nineteenth century.¹

Such changes in the population structure did not go unnoticed at the time. "Southampton is all life and bustle", boasted the Hampshire Chronicle of 1813, "scarce an hour passes but we have gentry flocking inwe anticipate....the increase of visitors, and a crowded season".² "Southampton is much resorted to by people of Fashion..." wrote a visitor in 1777,³ "It is, indeed, all life, all gaiety," claimed another in 1812.⁴ Newspapers were full of arrivals in town each week, citing long lists of the most revered of the visitors. "The town fills daily," was one report. "The visitors flock into this town daily, and we have a promise of a very full season," was another. "A vast number of nobility and gentry continue to arrive here daily; and there is little doubt but that the season will prove a good one," continued yet another report.⁵

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1. PRO, HO 107/1669, 1670 (1851). By 1851 the population had risen to more than 35,000.
 2. Hampshire Chronicle, 16 August 1813.
 3. R. Douch,(ed.), Visitors' Descriptions: Southampton 1540-1956, 1961, p.19. The visitor was John Swete who lived at Exeter.
 4. A.G. L'Estrange(ed.), The Life of Mary Russell Mitford, 1870, i:207-8.
 5. Hampshire Chronicle, 20 July, 27 July and 17 August 1812.

GRAPH TO SHOW THE RISE IN POPULATION IN SOUTHAMPTON

1700-1850



SOURCES: Ecclesiastical Census, Local Census, National Census Returns

FIGURE 2.2

But the town was filling not only with visitors but with residents, too. It was even felt that the returns made to Parliament for the 1801 census of inhabitants were underestimated: "It is evident that this number (i.e. 7,629) returned to Parliament nine years ago, must even then have been considerably short of the real amount. Taking the average number of inhabitants in each house (agreeable to the statements of some writers on political arithmetic), to be 6 persons, the present population would be 9,030. Considering, however, the fullness of population in this town, we should be disposed to allow an average of at least 8 persons to each house; this will give a total of 12,040."¹ The population was expanding and visibly so.

b) The Housing Stock

From the 1770's there was an increase in the number of new-built houses in Southampton, corresponding to this increase in the population. In the eighteenth century nationally, the demand for additional housing was exacerbated in those towns which grew rapidly as a result of commercial development or of popularity as a resort.² Southampton was no exception.

Information on the housing stock, however, is likewise far from complete or reliable. The 1454 Terrier for Southampton listed all capital messuages and vacant plots in the town. The estimate of the total was between 420 and 430 occupied properties within the walls, with an additional number of poorer people living outside.³ But this stock was not seriously added to until

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1. Baker's Guide to Southampton, 1810, p. 56.
 2. C.W. Chalklin, op. cit., pp. 47-53.
 3. L.A. Burgess, (ed.), The Southampton Terrier of 1454, 1976, passim.

the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The seventeenth century was marked, in fact, by an absence of new building in the town. After the completion of Tudor House in the early sixteenth century, there survives no completely new structure before the spa period.¹ Moreover, until the spa period and the increase in new building, such houses as did exist in the town were not kept in good repair.² The housing stock was crumbling pre-spa, and neither being maintained nor increased.

The fact that Southampton started to expand with the spa is borne out by the evidence presented by one contemporary eye-witness in particular. In 1810, Baker's Guide to Southampton made an estimate of the housing stock, as taken in March of that year.³ That this Guide should consider the increased numbers of houses to be of reporting value is clearly significant, and Baker reinforced his point by making a comparative analysis of the housing stock with the earlier stock as assessed in 1774. Baker estimated a total of 705 houses in 1774, representing an increase of 265 houses over the previous estimate of 440. But by 1810 there were an additional 800 houses in the town, and a new total of 1,505.

Successive Baker's Guides continued to provide estimates of the housing stock, and thus estimates are available for the years 1814, 1821 and 1827 in addition.⁴

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1. J.B. Morgan and P. Peberdy (eds.), Collected Essays on Southampton, 1958, p. 70.
 2. See above p. 2.
 3. Baker's Southampton Guide, 1810, pp. 56-7.
 4. Baker's Southampton Guide, 1814, pp. 52-3,
1821, pp. 58-9,
1827, pp. 56-7.

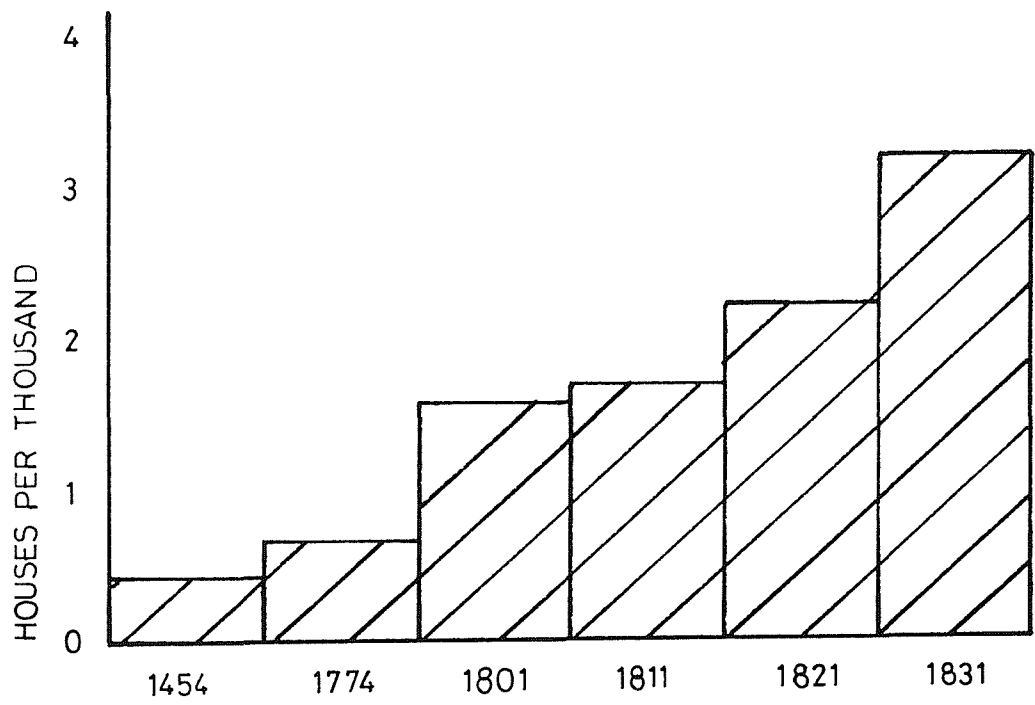
The housing stock continued to expand. The 1814 estimate returned a figure of 1,652 houses, and this rose to 1,864 in 1821. Towards the end of the spa period, in the count taken in 1827, there were said to be 2,535 houses in the town. Thus, the housing stock had increased by 1,830 houses from the beginning of the increase in the 1770's, and it had quadrupled since the pre-spa days.

Such estimates can, fortunately, be checked for the nineteenth century against the national census returns. These returns actually provide higher figures for the total number of houses in the town than Baker's personal count: 1,509 in 1801, 1,573 in 1811 (cf. 1,505 in Baker's 1810 count), 2,161 in 1821 (cf. 1,864), and 3,189 in 1831. It is fair to assume, therefore, that Baker did not wildly overestimate the number of houses built in the town in the eighteenth century. On the contrary, his figures may well represent an underestimation.

The information from these various sources has been presented as a graph in Figure 2.3. It is evident from this graph that there were two points of spectacular increase: between 1774 and 1801, and again between 1821 and 1831. The first period marks the time when the new genteel squares and terraces began to appear on the market, and the time when the number of visitors to Southampton reached an eighteenth century zenith. The later period was a somewhat different time, when the numbers of spa visitors decreased but the extensive developments of artisan housing began to be erected. The early years of the nineteenth century appear to have been the slackest time of development, but the pace increased again after 1811.

The curve in Figure 2.4 further emphasises the significance of the spa in terms of additions to the housing stock. Clearly, the numbers of houses in the town remained constant for a lengthy period, from the fifteenth to the mid-eighteenth centuries. But after c. 1775 there was a dramatic upswing, and this was the turning point. The decade of the 1770's was also the time when

GRAPH TO SHOW TOTAL NUMBER OF HOUSES IN SOUTHAMPTON (1454-1831)



SOURCES: Southampton Terrier, Baker's Guide, National Census Returns

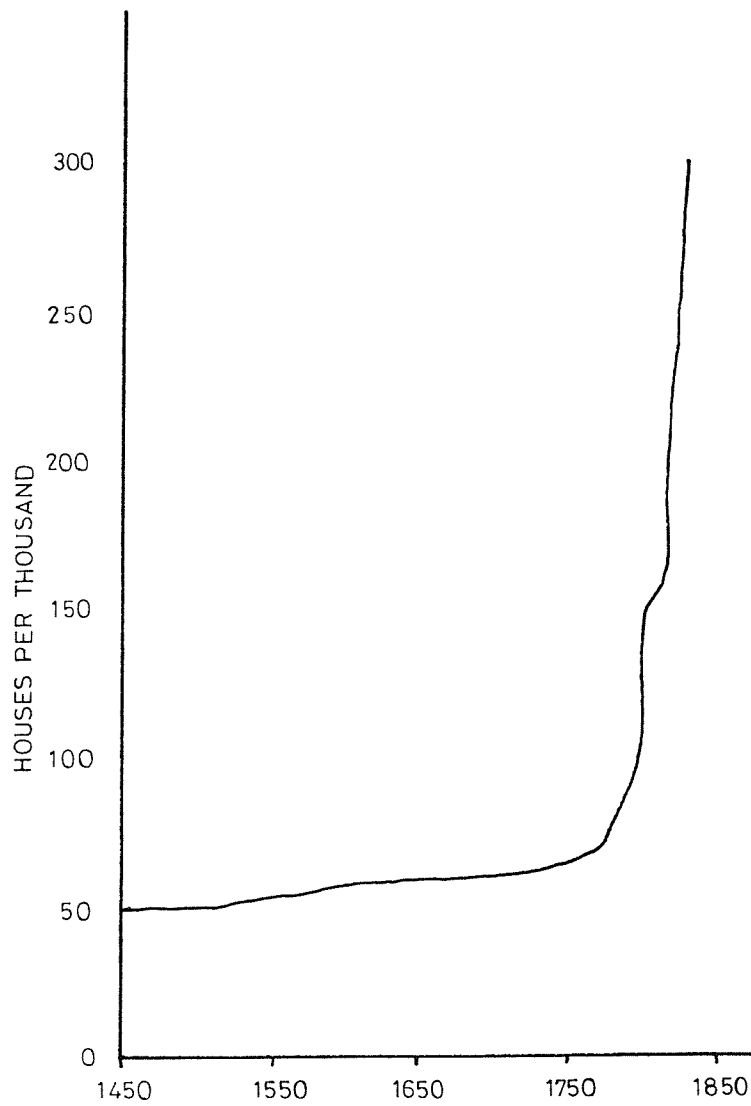
FIGURE 2-3

public building was greatly enhanced, as hopes of improved prosperity began to permeate the town. In 1771 the Corporation resolved unanimously "that the building of a new Audit House will be for the better accommodation of the Body in their corporate concerns," and further that moving the market and providing new sheds and stalls "will be more convenient" and "besides that the High Street will be improved both as to beauty and convenience."¹ A new postern on the west side of the Bargate was to be built, so too was a new gaol, whilst for the sick poor it was decided to erect "a good substantial house" of brick and tile.²

The 1770's, therefore, undoubtedly witnessed extensive additions to the housing stock. From then on, the builders could not build fast enough. "The enterprising spirit of many of its inhabitants continues to enlarge Southampton at every quarter," claimed a guide book for 1795, and yet "Every lodging room in the town is occupied," said the newspaper of 1799.³ The Hampshire Chronicle was forced to comment in 1811: "A great number of visitors are daily resorting here, many of whom are obliged, however, again to leave it, without alighting from their carriage, in consequence of the want of room to accommodate them. This inconvenience it is expected will very soon be remedied, as lodging-houses are becoming more numerous here; they cannot be furnished too soon to answer the increasing demand."⁴

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1. Corporation Journals, 26 April and 15 October 1771. The architect of the New Audit House was Crunden of Piccadilly. He was also paid to direct and superintend the building work, being allowed 5% of the money expended and 5 guineas for each journey to Southampton.
 2. Ibid., 7 September 1773, 24 September 1773, 11 March 1774.
 3. Baker's Southampton Guide, 1795, p. 47; Hampshire Chronicle, 15 July 1799.
 4. Hampshire Chronicle, 2 September 1811.

GRAPH TO SHOW RATE OF INCREASE IN THE HOUSING STOCK (1450-1850)



SOURCES: Southampton Terrier, Baker's Guide, National Census Returns

FIGURE 2.4

Equally pressing was the need for year-round housing, in particular for greater numbers of houses for the labouring population. "These people," explained a guidebook,"undergo many inconveniences, through the scarcity of houses of this description; being under the necessity either of residing in disagreeably confined houses with scarcely any outlet, and the rents often unreasonably high; or, if they can get a larger and more agreeably situated abode, being driven to the inconvenience, on account of high rents and taxes, of letting almost the whole to lodgers who are often of the same class as themselves. This being the case in Southampton shows the necessity...for building..."¹

There was a two-fold need in the town for houses: on the one hand, for the wealthy visitors who took up summer residence in Southampton, and were possibly later induced to permanently reside in the area; and on the other hand, for its static inhabitants, the artisans and labourers who obviously had difficulty in finding adequate, cheap accommodation.

c) Population and Housing according to the Parishes

The classes did not intermingle. Southampton possessed fashionable areas as well as poorer quarters. It is interesting, for this reason, to see how the new housing developed in each of the six parishes.

Prior to the decennial census of 1801, which grouped population levels according to the parishes, there is an absence of information that would chart accurately the differences in the rate of expansion in the differing parishes. Parish registers have information on burials, baptisms and marriages, but do not provide adequate information on which to base specific population estimates.

1. Baker's Southampton Guide, 1810, p. 46n.

The most comprehensive range of demographic material for this purpose survives in the Incorporation Rate Books for the period 1775 onwards. These quarterly returns list those who paid the rate, according to parish, and state their assessed contribution. They can, therefore, be used to assess the wealthiest areas of the town, and the poorest.¹ Unfortunately, however, only the householder's name appears on the register, and to provide population estimates multipliers have to be used.² On the other hand, the numbers of houses themselves can be assessed from this source.

Estimates of the numbers of houses according to parish for the years 1775 to 1801 have been made from the information contained in the Incorporation Rate Books.³ These figures form the raw material for those years of the graph in Figure 2.5. The figures for the later years are taken from the national census returns, for the period 1801 to 1831. The graph suggests that the numbers of houses in the parishes of St. Lawrence and St. John remained fairly constant, with minor variations only at times in the latter parish. From a total of 46 houses in the parish of St. Lawrence in 1775, there was in actual fact no increase at all during the years of the spa's development: in 1801 there were still only 46 houses. The increase over the whole spa period was only ten houses: in 1831 56 were recorded, although the 1821 census had actually counted 61.

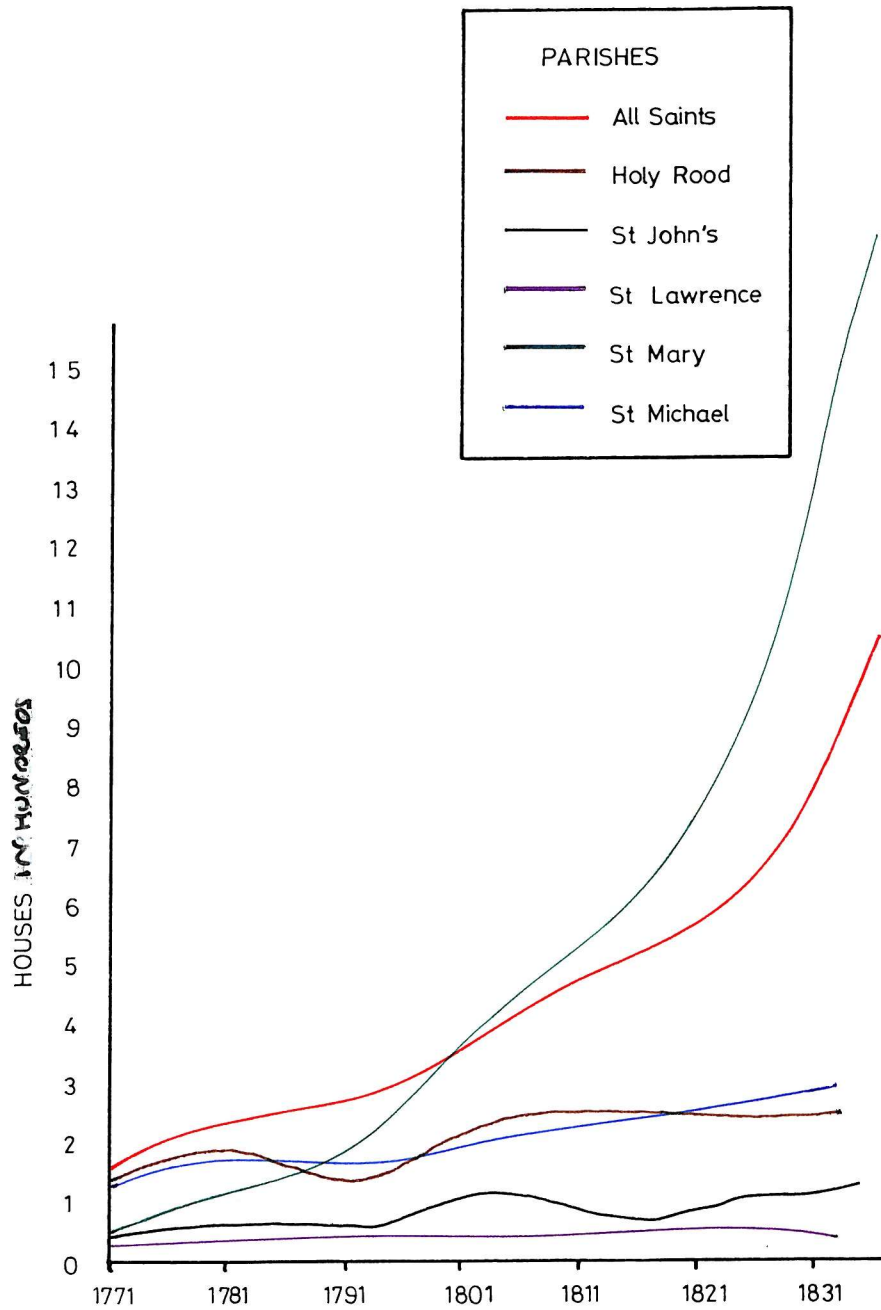
In St. John's parish there was some overall expansion. In 1775, 56 houses are listed, and by 1791, 54. But there followed an increase during the early years of the nineteenth century, with an additional 51 houses recorded in the 1801 census. This represents the peak

1. T.B. James, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

2. E. Welch, *op. et loc. cit.*

3. E. Welch, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

GRAPH TO SHOW NUMBER OF HOUSES ACCORDING TO PARISH (1775-1831)



SOURCES: Incorporation Rate Books, National Census Returns

FIGURE 2.5

number of houses in this parish, for numbers dropped to 82, 102, and finally reached 110 again in 1831. The result, as seen in the graph, is a somewhat bouncing effect.

St. Michael's parish represents another parish of relatively slight growth. Altogether, over one hundred houses were added to the stock over the entire period, from 164 in 1775 to 294 in 1831. Such growth was continuous, yet the gradient on the graph in Figure 2.5 is far from steep. In the parish of Holy Rood there was a decline in the numbers of houses in the 1790's, with 173 counted in 1791 compared with 195 in the previous assessment of 1783. However, the parish expanded in the nineteenth century to reach 296 houses by the 1831 census. In 1775 there had been 164.

Whereas for four of the six parishes, therefore, there was only a steady increase in the numbers of houses, the parishes of St Mary's and All Saints demonstrate a dramatic increase, as shown in Figure 2.5. These were the parishes favoured by the poor and the rich respectively. All Saints, until the early years of the nineteenth century, contained more houses than its rival, St Mary's. In 1775 there were 186 houses in All Saints, and only 62 in St. Mary's. But as early as 1781, St Mary's housing total had crept up to 115, and it reached 159 by 1791. Nevertheless, this was a total well below that of All Saints, with 260 and 295 houses respectively in those years. The pattern begins to change in the nineteenth century, so that by the time of the 1811 census St Mary's parish had more houses than All Saints: 547 to 513. In 1821 these figures reached 825 and 621 respectively, and in the 1831 count, 1,640 houses stood in St Mary's compared with 976 in All Saints. This overtaking of the parish of All Saints is shown by the graph in Figure 2.5, where the evidence clearly suggests the dramatic nature of the increase in size of the parish of St Mary's, compared with a less spectacular enlargement of All Saints and the somewhat languid appearance of the remaining four parishes.

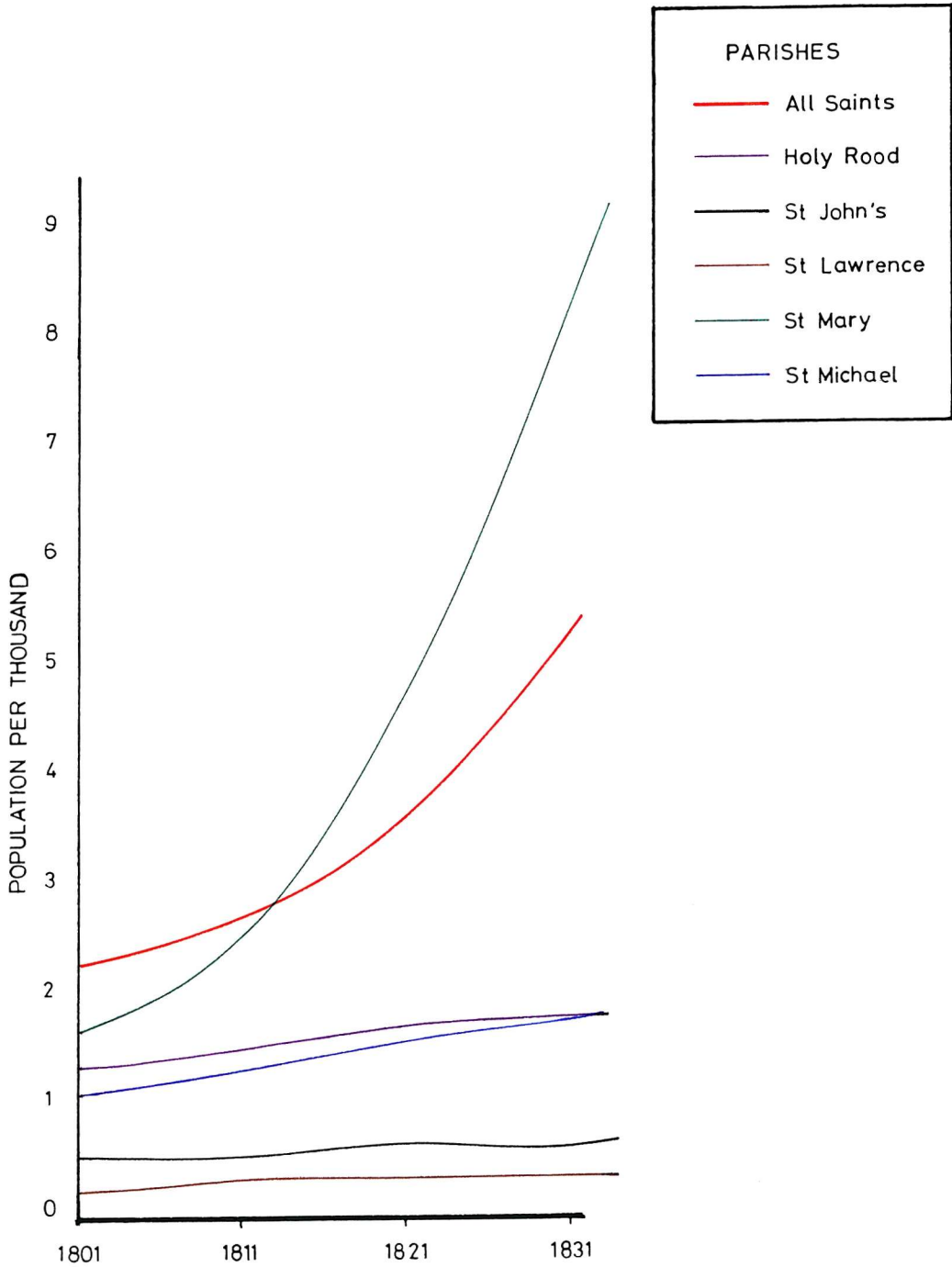
Corresponding population levels for each parish have been charted in Figure 2.6, using national census material in order to concentrate upon the period of greatest growth, the nineteenth century.¹ Not surprisingly, it demonstrates precisely the same features as before: a very steep rise in St. Mary's, less of one in All Saints, and a merely gradual increase or even stagnation in the other parishes.

In 1801 most inhabitants lived in All Saints, 2,305 of them. There were at the time 1,807 people in St. Mary's. At the far end of the scale, 363 resided in the parish of St. Lawrence. By 1811 the difference between the two largest parishes was narrowing: 2,792 in All Saints to 2,542 in St. Mary's. The smallest parishes had hardly grown at all. By 1821, however, St Mary's had outgrown All Saints. There were now 4,708 people in the former, compared with 3,685 in the latter. The divergence was to continue. The last count for the spa period reveals a total of 5,560 residents in All Saints, but 8,520 in St Mary's.

In 1831, therefore, there were 8,520 people living in 1,640 houses in St. Mary's parish, whilst in All Saints 5,560 shared 976 houses. On average, five people lived to one house in these two parishes. These were not the areas of greatest density of population, despite an undoubted influx of numbers of people. For the smaller parishes had to divide some five or six hundred people amongst little more than one hundred houses. With 110 houses in the parish of St. John in 1831 and a population of 660, six people were living on average to each house, and in St. Lawrence 406 people shared 56 houses and were living at a ratio of seven people to one house. Moreover, such density was not new. In

1. See Appendix A for the full census returns of population figures according to parish, from which this graph is drawn.

GRAPH TO SHOW POPULATION IN THE PARISHES (1801-1831)



SOURCE: National Census Returns

FIGURE 2.6

1801 there had been seven to a house in St. Lawrence as well.¹

All Saints and St. Mary's actually offered the greatest room for expansion. The remaining four parishes did not have the space in which to absorb new buildings. Additionally, there was a strong move away from the old areas of the town, concurrent with the contemporary taste for openness and airiness. The small crowded alleys and courts were considered to be unhealthy and unfashionable by the wealthy who were happy to move slightly to the north, above Bar, or surrounding the common fields. St. Mary's, on the other hand, had always housed a large proportion of the town's poor, so it was natural that their need should be developed within that particular parish. Moreover, whilst there was some ready land available in St. Mary's and it thus offered considerable scope for expansion, this area was, nevertheless, less suitable for the wealthy inhabitants since it was the furthest away from the spa's amenities.

There emerges, therefore, the probability that there were two parallel yet distinct demands for houses in Southampton in the spa period. The houses were built because they were needed. And they were needed by different classes of people, for different reasons, and thus in different areas. "Every gentleman of fortune ...is desirous and ambitious of acquiring even a cottage in this region...", claimed a 1787 Guide book.² Southampton was "The Resort of Nobility and Gentry".³ Above Bar, for these people, was seen to be "the most eligible part" of the town.⁴

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1. In 1801 in St. Lawrence's parish 45 houses had to be shared between 363 people, which is over seven people per house.
 2. Baker's Southampton Guide, 1787, p. 29.
 3. Linden's Guide to Southampton, 1768, p. 25.
 4. Hampshire Chronicle, 8 August 1774.

In contrast, the St. Mary's district "consists chiefly of habitations adapted to the poorer part of the community...", of which there was a marked scarcity.¹ Thus, whilst at times the town was filled to full capacity and it was hard to find adequate lodgings, notice was also being taken of the conditions of living for the labourers.²

It is clear that the arrival of the spa brought a concurrent demand for houses, and at the same time expansion amongst the town's labouring population provoked a similar demand for more dwellings. The two demands were, of course, different in nature, and they also differed in timing: that for the wealthy emerged with the post 1770 influx of visitors in particular, whilst the needs of the labouring classes were not realised until the later years of the spa. The following section will analyse how the dual demands were met during the course of the spa period.

2. The Course of Building

a) The early developments

From the evidence already presented on population levels and the housing stock it is clear that the building in Southampton was at a decidedly low level until the 1770's. Before the most popular years of the spa the numbers of inhabitants of the town remained centred around the 3,000 figure, and the housing stock was similarly static. Additions to the town of any significance occurred with the founding of the resort.

Southampton, with this overall lack of building pre-1770, can, on the one hand, be seen to be following a fairly standard national pattern, for periods of inactivity were manifest in the building industry in several provincial towns. But these low

1. Baker's Southampton Guide, 1806, p. 22.

2. Baker's Southampton Guide, 1810, p. 46n.

ebbs were actually displayed at varying times in those towns, and in respect of timing Southampton differs sharply from its counterparts.

Peaks in building activity nationally have been identified by a number of urban and economic historians according to the imports of those raw materials essential for construction work, deal timber in particular, and according to excise duties paid on bricks and tiles, glass and stained paper (i.e. wallpaper).¹ Bath, Birmingham and Liverpool all demonstrate periods of revival in the industry far sooner in the eighteenth century than occurs the Southampton building boom.² In Hull, the times of inactivity were associated with commercial difficulties; in Birmingham and Bath the final war years of the 1760's heralded another low level of activity.³ But, when compared to these other provincial towns, Southampton portrays its own peculiar nature in that the local building industry remained decidedly inactive throughout other contemporary booms from the 1720's through to the 1760's, and national troubles or national triumphs do not appear to have added to or detracted from the building stock in any significant way. For in the first half of the eighteenth century, whilst Bath, Birmingham and Liverpool may well have been building at an increased rate, Southampton was definitely not. The town

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1. See T.S. Ashton, Economic Fluctuations in England 1700-1800, pp. 88-105 and J. Parry Lewis, Building Cycles and Britain's Growth, pp. 11-37.
 2. T.S. Ashton, op. et loc. cit., J. Parry Lewis, op. et loc.cit. Such national peaks have been identified for these towns in 1736, 1739, 1753 and 1760 (Ashton alone for the latter). The Birmingham builders were active in the mid-1720's and the later 1730's; in both Birmingham and Liverpool the later 1740's were a boom time.
 3. C.W. Chalklin, The Provincial Towns of Georgian England: A Study of the Building Process 1740-1820, 1974, pp. 259-63. See also R.S. Neale, Bath 1680-1850 A Social History or a Valley of Pleasure Yet a Sink of Iniquity, 1981, pp. 116-7.

developed comparatively late, and the reasons behind this industrial tardiness were local. The timing of the town's development is explicable solely in terms of its sudden popularity as a spa and seaside resort.

Since the spa developed essentially following one or two timely royal visits in the 1750's, one might expect building activity to pick up after that date. Certainly, there is evidence to suggest that there were a number of people staying in the town, "(Southampton) is well peopled," wrote one visitor in 1756, for "In this reign of SALTWATER, great numbers of people of distinction prefer SOUTHAMPTON for bathing..."¹ "This place is still full of Bathers!" wrote another visitor in 1764.² A concurrent move in both re-building and new building is suggested in the earliest Guide to Southampton, printed in 1768, and this reinforces the theory of building in line with the requirements of the spa: "The Resort of Nobility and Gentry here, during the summer months, for the Advantage of Sea-Bathing, has been the occasion of much Improvement in the town...The Inhabitants vie with each other in fitting up their Houses in the neatest and genteelest Manner to accommodate the Company."³ Clearly, improvements were made in the early spa period in an obvious attempt to attract visitors.

Of course, such attention paid to the existing housing stock was but the first step on the road to greater urban development. The Salisbury Journal, although printed in Salisbury, was nevertheless the only local newspaper to serve the Southampton district for this initial period and occasional mention is there made of the building plans currently in hand in the town. As early as March 1752, for example, there appears an advertisement for the

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1. Jonas Hanway, A Journal of Eight Days Journey from Portsmouth to Kingston upon Thames, through Southampton, Wiltshire etc., 1756, p. 17.
 2. D.C. Tovey(ed.), The Letters of Thomas Gray, 1912 iii:42.
 3. Linden's Guide to Southampton, 1768, pp. 25-6.

Star Inn in the High Street inviting visitors to enjoy the benefits of its having been rebuilt the previous spring.¹ The High Street, being the most popular venue in which the visitors sought lodgings, was the subject of considerable rebuilding and modernisation plans, and although this improvement policy was to continue in some measure throughout the spa period it was actually begun during the early days when people first desired genteel and well-situated let accommodation. "Lodgings very dear," complained a visitor in 1764, and presumably a modernised house brought in greater revenue and soon repaid its rebuilding.²

Additions to the housing stock were sporadic at first. "A Handsome Dwelling House, modern built," appears for sale in the Salisbury newspaper in May 1761, but there are no further advertisements for the sale of new houses until 1767.³ Then, two houses in the High Street are put on the market.⁴

It was in the years of the later 1760's that the spirit of building anew actually revived. Before this time, the medieval town had hardly begun to spread its bounds, for with the main emphasis on restoration rather than new additions, the extent of Southampton was scarcely altered. But fifteen years or so into the spa, builders found justification for speculation. It was then, and only then, that the more grandiose projects began to be mooted.

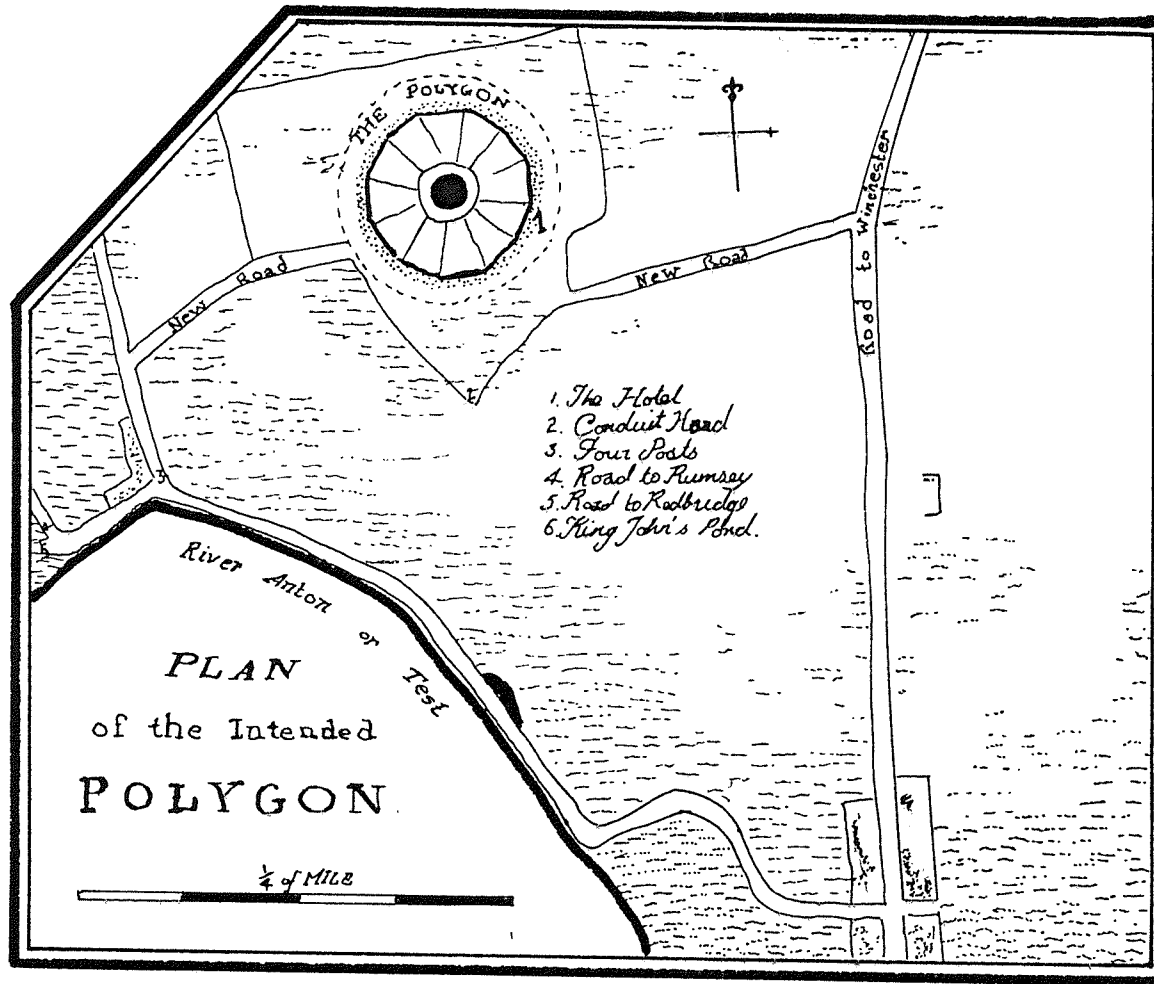
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1. Salisbury Journal, 16 March 1752.
 2. D.C. Tovey(ed.), op. et loc. cit.
 3. Salisbury Journal, 25 May 1761. This house was "pleasantly situated near Castle-Hill" and was to be auctioned.
 4. Ibid., 4 May and 20 July 1767. The first was "A strong new built House...fit for a genteel family of a middle size..."; the second was "A substantial new Brick Dwelling House... with a Walled Garden which reaches to the Back Part of the Town Wall, where a Coach-house and Stable might be built without any Annoyance to the House, which will make it complete for a genteel Family."

The first, and by far the most ambitious, of these new ventures was that of the Polygon. Designed by Jacob Leroux, the architect of Great Russell Street in London, this substantial complex was to contain twelve gentlemen's villas, all forming an octagon in shape and as laid out in Figure 2.7. The whole site extended for twenty-two acres and was to be bordered by a gravel road of two thousand feet circumference. Each villa was to enjoy a good sized garden of one acre and an allotment of land lying in front, on which it was hoped the occupiers would graze cattle.¹ Fronting ~~out~~wards, the houses would face the countryside and river whilst their back gardens would converge upon a central lake, which would be both functional as a water source as well as scenic. The rustic theme was carried further, for every house was to blend its facade with the countryside and have "as complete a prospect as if detached a mile from each other".² Indeed, the Polygon was sited in the countryside, built upon an elevation to the north and commanding views across Southampton Water, the New Forest, the town itself, and several gentlemen's seats. The emphasis for this development was to be placed upon the country-house aspect, incorporating extensive views, and proximity to the town.

The aim was clearly to compete with other rival resorts' architectural wonders. It was hoped the Polygon would "form a noble monument of building to the country, and (be) perfectly agreeable to the principles of architecture."³ "The Polygon," wrote a later visitor, "... 'tis said, would have been one of the first places in the kingdom, perhaps in the world, regarded in

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1. See Appendix for a print of the Polygon illustrating the desired rustic appearance of the houses.
 2. Salisbury Journal, 25 July 1968.
 3. Op. et loc. cit.

PLAN OF THE INTENDED POLYGON



SOURCE: Mazell Map 1771

FIGURE 2.7

the view of modern architecture."¹ Carriages were invited to perambulate the circumference road, for a toll, another indication of the complex's country-house characteristic, for local guides frequently extolled the pleasure of taking drives around the local notable country seats. It was also subsequently decided to build a tavern, public rooms and hotels and "every office relative to such a design" adjoining the housing complex. Finally, the developers intended providing a new octagon chapel with a public library underneath "and other buildings to render the situation of the Polygon equally convenient and pleasant."²

Evidently, this was a scheme on the grandest of scales. Financial backing was to come from a local property speculator, Isaac Mallortie, and General John Carnac, a retired officer of the East India Company who lived at Cams Hall near Fareham.³ These two actually occupied the first two completed houses on the site, the third being put up for sale in July 1770.⁴

However, despite great expectations and a good deal of publicity,

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1. R. Douch (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 20. This extract is from E.J. Climenson (ed.), Passages from the Diaries of Mrs Lybbe Powys of Hardwick House, Oxon, A.D. 1956 to 1808, 1899, pp. 268 and 273-4. Mrs Powys visited Southampton in the summer of 1792.
 2. Salisbury Journal, 25 December 1769. This further building was also to be under the direction of Jacob Leroux. The tavern was to be let on a long lease to "an eminent tavern-keeper from London", subsequently named as Madame Cornelys.
 3. See Appendix B for details of Mallortie's property speculations.
 4. It was hoped the purchaser of the third house would undertake to buy before its completion, the interior decor then being fitted to his own specifications. Carnac and Mallortie would live either side of this purchaser.

many doubts were voiced at the time as to the possibilities of success of such an ambitious venture. Only the first three houses were ever completed, and questions were asked whether the whole design would ever be finished, or the opening date of the tavern satisfied. "I find it is made a question whether it will ever be so (executed)" wrote one lady about the Polygon. "The gardens seem much too small for houses at a distance from the town...the gentleman who went with us gave it as his opinion, that it could not answer. Had a scheme of this sort been undertaken in the town (said he) it might have succeeded."¹ The Polygon was a hybrid, and it suffered accordingly.

One belated, yet enterprising, season of glory was all in fact that the Polygon was to enjoy, for the financial failure of the two backers, Mallortie and Carnac, heralded the end of the great project. Opened at the end of the season in 1773, the Polygon was up for sale by the September of that year, yet no one else ever ventured to complete the complex. Even the hotel failed, and was later divided into two more houses, making a grand total of five.²

The failure of the Polygon was most probably due to a combination

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1. Lady's Magazine, July 1772, iii:241, "A Sentimental Journey by a Lady".
 2. The tavern was taken down. Madame Cornelys had taken a thirty year lease on the hotel, and stayed for only two. She returned to London, unable to sell her lease. See also R. Douch (ed.), op. cit., p. 20, the extract from Mrs Lybbe Powys: "At the extremity a capital building was erected, with two detached wings and colonnades. The centre was an elegant tavern, with assembly card rooms etc. etc., and at each wing hotels to accommodate the nobility and gentry. The tavern is taken down, but the wings converted into genteel houses". (1792).

of misfortune and poor siting.¹ Its significance, however, lies primarily in that it was felt to be the answer to a growing need for better high-class accommodation within the town, specifically designed with the visiting public in mind. By the late 1760's, speculative investors were beginning to be aware of the potential apparent in the spa. The plans behind the Polygon demonstrate this awareness of a need for expensive housing and, most importantly, exclusive architectural design. The guidebooks heralded these plans as Southampton's answer to Bath's Royal Crescent and Tunbridge's Pantiles, such was the desire for an individual masterpiece. The spa alone produced both the desire and the design, for the idea of an all-inclusive complex was an integral feature of the venture. But the Polygon owed its original conception to the early perception of its financiers, and had actually failed before the great years of the spa. Thus, for the vast majority of visitors to the resort, the Polygon became viewed not as a noble monument to architecture, but as a pleasant venue for a picnic.

1. See A. Temple Patterson, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-5. Carnac was unable to transfer his fortune from India, and this lack of available funds brought down his partner, Mallortie, who was not in a position to carry through the project on his own. The situation of the Polygon also contributed to its downfall, in that it was sited some way out of the town and travelling to assemblies often exposed the gentry to the insults of and even attacks of the resentful poor. See for example, Hampshire Chronicle, 27 September 1773 and 5 September 1774.

b) The heyday of the spa

The demise of the Polygon, however, did not check a growth begun in the town during the 1770's. Between that time and the end of the century, overall the greatest years of the spa, an estimated 800 houses were built in Southampton. Whilst nothing quite like the Polygon was ever again attempted, and it would also appear that no one ever tried to revive the lost complex, building did not languish. On the contrary, as the evidence in the graph in Figure 2.3 showed above, there was a dramatic upsurge in the numbers of houses in the town from the 1770's onwards. In particular, the High Street added another 40 or so houses to its stock during this period, another 30 were built in French Street and the Butcher Row, and the old areas around St. Michael's Square now contained an additional 30 houses as well.

By the 1790's the town was beginning to look very different. A comparative analysis of maps drawn of Southampton over the spa period reveals quite dramatically the changes that took place within the town. The earliest map in relation to the spa was that surveyed by P. Mazell in 1771, (Figure 2.8) drawn as an introduction to the town for the spa visitor. The streets named are those popular locations that a visitor might wish to know. However, this map also indicates built-up areas by stippling, locating these areas chiefly within the walls with some more intensive development above-Bar. Lower East Street is the only area to the east of the town that is shown as being developed in any degree. The streets named are, for the most part, those streets that had formerly been the chief centres for housing, and the only new development on the map is Gloucester Square, situated off the High Street. The Polygon is as "Intended", and is here featured as an inset on the map.

The map of 1791, on the other hand, demonstrates with remarkable

of
SOUTHAMPTON

and of the

POLYGON.

RIVER ITCHIN

Robin Ferry

The Marsh



SCALE S.
Yards.

Two Parkings or 4 of a Mile.

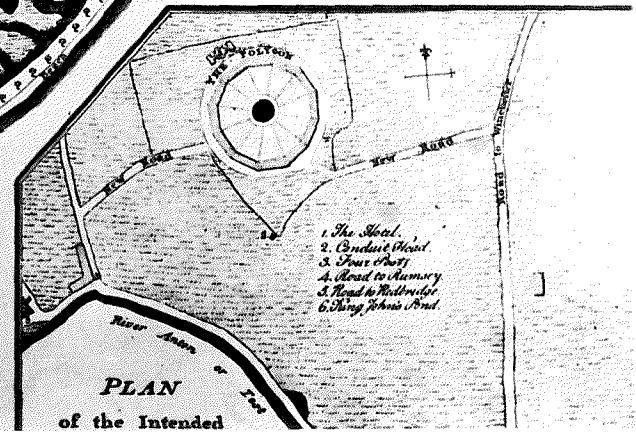


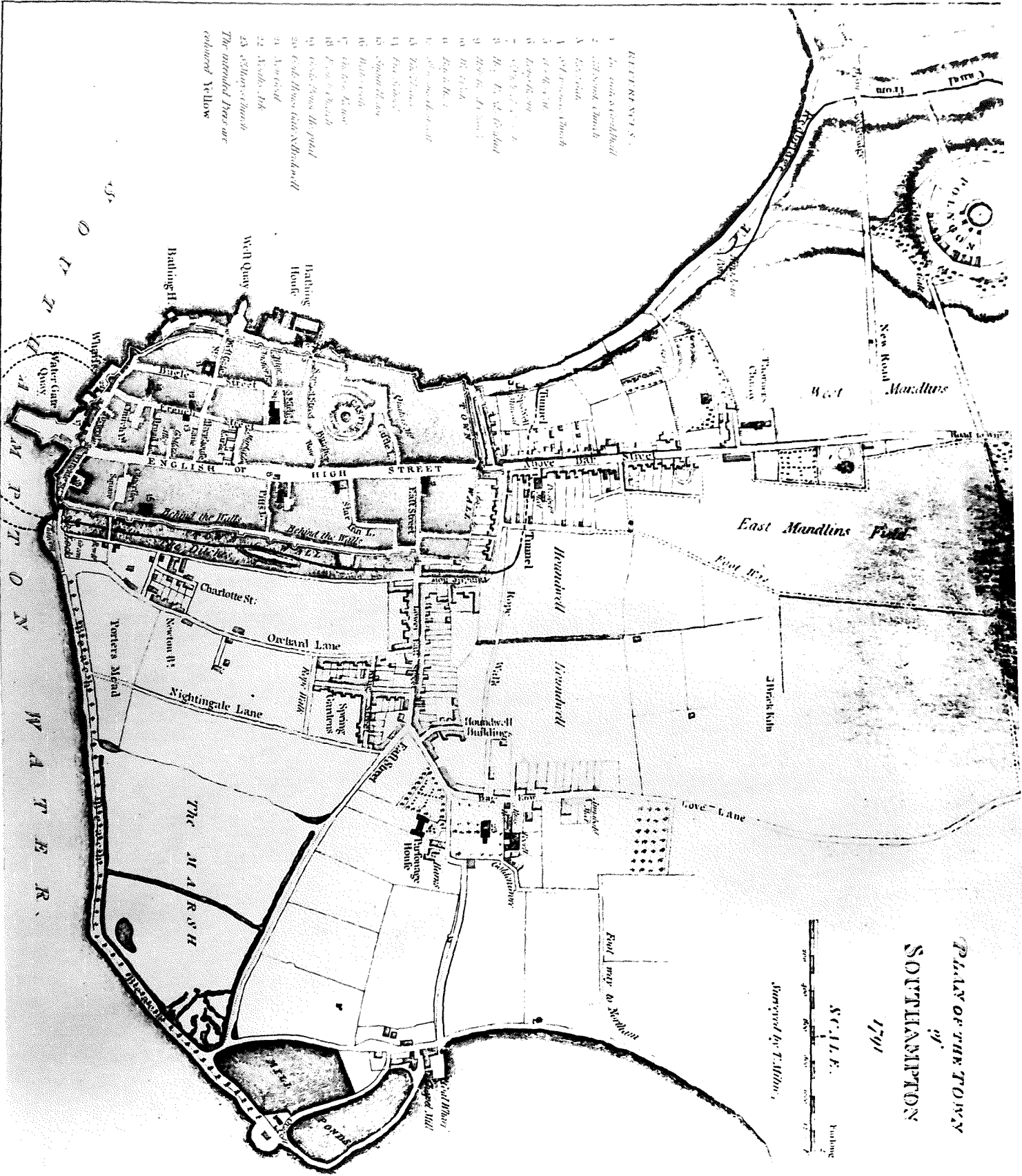
FIGURE 2 B

clarity the growth areas of the town. (Figure 2.10). Houses now extend both to the north and to the east, with, in particular, many additional houses along the main thoroughfare above-Bar as far as the junction with the New Road out to the Polygon. These houses are distinctive on the map as being the substantial better class type of house in terms of the size of the plot they occupy. They stand in marked contrast to those new houses to the east of the map in the completely new development between Lower East Street and Orchard Lane, named as Spring Gardens. Here are many more houses built upon smaller plots. There are a few additional smaller-style houses to the south-east in Charlotte Street, known as Newtown Buildings, and some further houses in Bag Row and Love Lane, in the parish of St. Mary's.

Some ten years later another map was produced, published by T. Baker who was also the producer of the Guide books (Figure 2.9). This 1802 map had a similar purpose in providing information for spa visitors, and clearly marks lodging houses and inns, banks and amenities. Further, it names several of the newly-developed housing areas and is thus invaluable in a study of the building of the town. It is apparent from this map that such building had continued very much along the lines already outlined in the 1791 map, namely with large houses to the north, and smaller buildings in fairly extensive estates to the south-east.

The new larger-style houses were constructed after the fashion of the day, in squares and terraces. Brunswick Place, built along the East Marlands and bordering southwards of the country estate of Bellevue, had been started by this time. The intention for this development was to erect eighteen houses according to a plan and elevation designed by the architect John Plaw. "The buildings," eulogised a Guide book, "when complete, will be a very desirable, healthy and pleasant situation, and a great acquisition to the visitors of Southampton."¹ All these northerly developments

1. Skelton's Southampton Guide, 1802, p. 41.



PLAN OF THE TOWN
of
SOUTHAMPTON
1791

SCALE.
Invented by T. Milner.

- NOTE. N. S. S.
1. In our cathedral
 2. St. Mary's Church
 3. St. Michael's
 4. St. Andrew's Church
 5. St. John's
 6. St. Peter's
 7. St. George's
 8. St. James's
 9. St. Nicholas
 10. St. Martin
 11. St. Paul
 12. St. Andrew's
 13. St. James's
 14. St. John's
 15. St. Peter's
 16. St. George's
 17. St. James's
 18. St. Nicholas
 19. St. Martin
 20. St. Paul
 21. St. Andrew's
 22. St. James's
 23. St. John's
- The enclosed Plan is
coloured Yellow

Figure 2.1

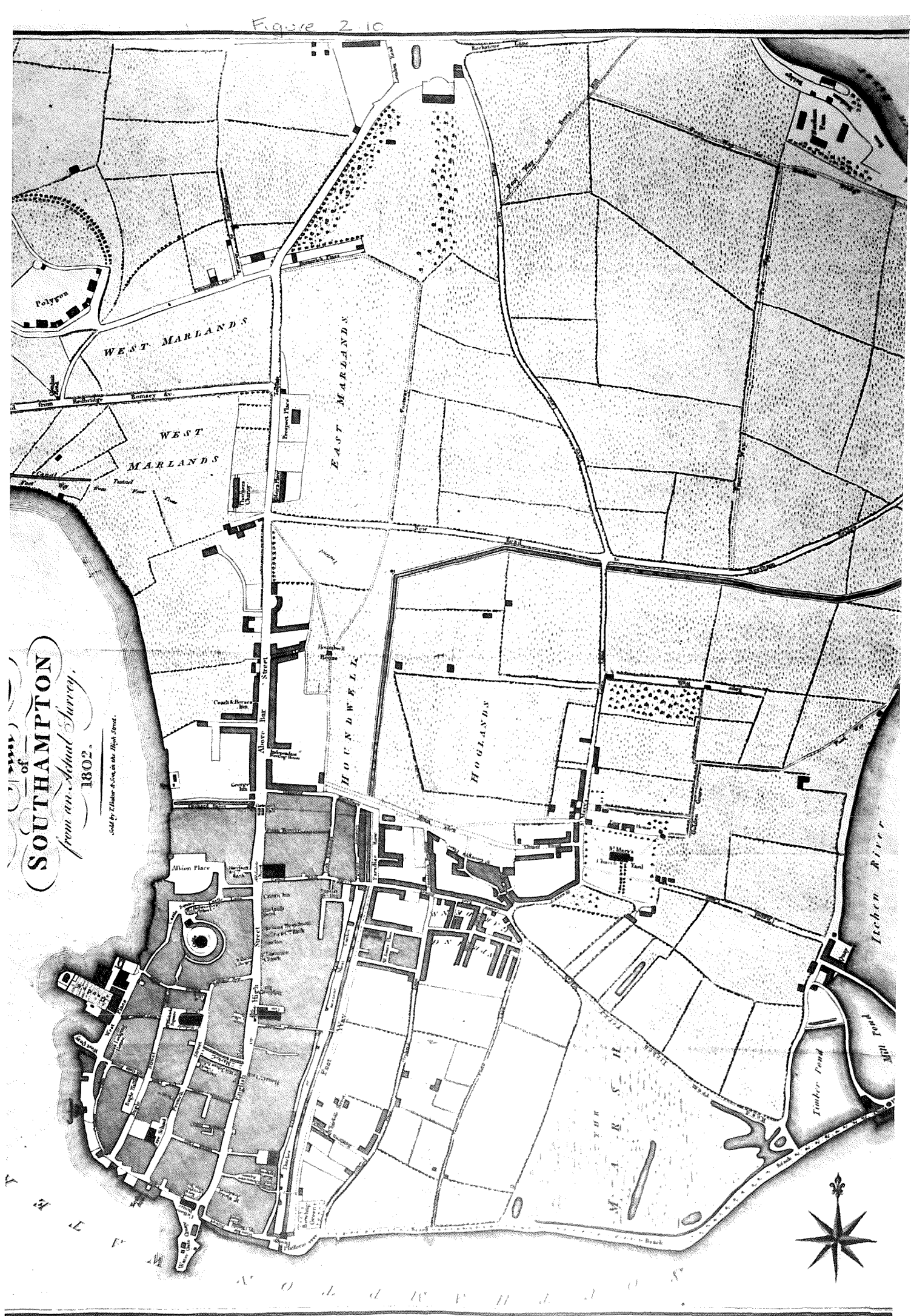
possessed excellent views of the sea, countryside and the town itself, and were in consequence much lauded; they were "pleasant, beyond description."¹

On this 1802 map the development of the Polygon had been checked. However, the map illustrates well the key problem of siting for this particular complex, for even with the obvious growth of the town it is still well to the north-west of even its closest neighbours, the beginnings of the development at Cumberland Place. Further, these three developments, the Polygon, Cumberland Place and Brunswick Place, were clearly only in their infancy in 1802, and were not so substantial as even those terraces built along the south of the Marlands Fields.

Prospect Place and Moira Place were two further areas of development, situated a little to the north of Above Bar Street, and moving much closer to the central hub of the spa. Opposite the latter stood the almshouses donated by Thorner's Charity, described as "decent, or rather it may be said, an elegant structure as to the elevation, and (which) do credit to the architect, Mr. Blackburne." The first house was erected in 1789, with the intention of building sufficient houses to accommodate eighteen widows.² According to Baker's count in 1810, a total of eleven new houses had been constructed in these new northerly developments, including those few houses sited at the Polygon.³ However, these new areas were not to suffer the fate of the Polygon, for within only four years another thirty-nine houses had been built.

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1. Baker's Southampton Guide, 1806, p. 22.
 2. Cunningham's Southampton Guide, 1790, pp. 31-2.
 3. Baker's Southampton Guide, 1810, pp. 56-7.

Figure 2.10



Many more houses were built in Above Bar Street itself and in Orchard Street, approximately forty in the greatest years of the spa, or until the 1810 assessment. As early as 1795, Baker claimed "Many elegant mansions have lately been erected at the upper end of the town", for "The enterprising spirit of many of its inhabitants continues to enlarge Southampton at every quarter..."¹. These houses are clearly featured on both the 1791 and 1802 maps, although the former marks their garden plots as well. By 1814, there ~~was~~ a total of 128 houses in Above Bar Street and the adjoining Orchard Street, compared with an earlier estimate of 72 in 1775. Certainly, it is evident from the maps that by their size and situation they were intended for the genteel market, and this is borne out again by the Baker's Guides: Above Bar Street was "broad and straight; and contains some handsome houses..."²

Albion Place was another such development, first laid out in 1795, between the High Street and Castle Lane.³ The intention was to construct two terraces of houses in the Grecian and Venetian styles, as designed again by John Plaw. Only a few houses, however, were ever finished, since "...the circumstances of the times have prevented the proprietors of the land from building..."⁴. Albion Place was, in actual fact, to follow the same fate as the Polygon, and a lack of funds and speculative builders prevented its final completion.

Castle Lane presented a further significant site for property expansion, and several houses were built there.⁵ However,

1. Baker's Southampton Guide, 1795, p. 47.

2. Baker's Southampton Guide, 1810, pp. 39-40.

3. CRO, SC/4/120.

4. Baker's Southampton Guide, 1810, pp. 39-40.

5. CRO, D/MH/2/1/1-2; D/MH/2/4-50; D/PH Box 15 and Box 64.

between 1804 and 1810, the Marquis of Lansdowne purchased the castle site with many of these newly-constructed properties, demolishing them in order to rebuild the Castle. But between 1774 and 1810, Baker estimated that 27 houses were erected in total in the neighbouring areas of Albion Place and Castle Lane.

On the eastern side of the town, several new houses were built in Hanover Buildings, York Buildings and the Houndwell area. Baker estimated 58 properties in 1810, with an additional 52 between 1810 and 1814. East Street, according to this estimate, and the courts leading off it, also housed an additional stock of 17 houses by 1810, forming a "long and irregular narrow street...containing many low old houses and a few new ones".¹ Mostly, the new buildings were to be found in Lower East Street.

Situated off the High Street, Gloucester Square contained "a few neat houses", whilst Pitts Lane had been transformed into Bridge Street, complete with several new properties.² Altogether, these two areas contained 57 houses in 1810, 23 of which had been newly built since 1774.³

Most of the above mentioned houses had been built in the key parish of All Saints in order to accommodate the sudden influx of wealthy people into the town. But in terms of numbers, many more houses were actually built for the labouring classes, particularly after the turn of the century but whilst the spa was still in its heyday. To the north-east of Houndwell, on a piece of land that had been used for making bricks, a number of "convenient, small houses" were built. These had gardens behind

1. Baker's Southampton Guide, 1810, pp. 47-8 and footnotes.

2. CRO, SC4/3/1158-1171.

3. Baker's Southampton Guide, 1774, op. et loc. cit.;
1810, op. et loc. cit.

them and "being let at low rents, make very agreeable residences for the labouring part of the community".¹ Lansdowne Place had also been established, in a passage leading from the seashore to the bottom of Simnel Street. This was likewise "inhabited mostly by the labouring classes".² Below Orchard Lane ("that part of it which is nearest to East Street contains a considerable number of houses") there were many more new small houses, known as Spring Gardens.³ All these new areas for the labouring classes were "an extensive suburb, built within a few years".⁴ All Saints Place ("many houses, of which, about 20 years ago, none were built") Canal Place, Orchard Lane, Spring Gardens, Kingsland Place - all these were built to the south-east of Southampton, designed for the labourers. St Mary's parish, too, was said to be filling with tolerably comfortable buildings".⁵

By the time the great days of the spa were over, Southampton had added considerably to its housing stock, chiefly to the north of the town, and to the south-east. The situation determined the character of these houses. From 705 houses in 1774 there had come to be 1,505 in 1810 and 1,652 in 1814, but for the most part these new houses were concentrated in new courts, squares, terraces or rookeries. All Saints Place grew from nothing to a development of 123 houses in 1814; Kingsland Place had 121 where previously there had been but land; and Spring Gardens now had 138 habitations for the poor where in 1774 there had been none. To the north the Squares and Places had sprung up,

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1. Baker's Guide, 1810, p. 46 and footnotes.
 2. Ibid., p. 45.
 3. Ibid., p. 53.
 4. Baker's Guide, 1821, p. 40.
 5. Baker's Guide, 1810, p. 29.

strong in quality rather than quantity. But it was with these major developments that the builders had most trouble. Like the Polygon, neither Brunswick Place nor Albion Place were ever even close to being finished. Certainly, as the spa began to decline in the second decade of the nineteenth century, it looked doubtful whether such building would ever be completed, or new areas of quality and gentility added to the town. The real growth area was in St. Mary's and towards the south-east of the town.

c) The late spa period

Information on additions to the housing stock over the entire period of growth, 1774 to 1827, has been tabulated in Table 1. The information is culled from the Baker's Guides to Southampton, and must be viewed as estimates taken by a contemporary eye-witness.

It is clear from this table that by the late spa period, that is for the 1821 and 1827 compilations, an entire range of new houses has been added to the existing stock. For the 2,483 houses in the town in 1827 consisted to a great extent of those houses built in the hitherto undeveloped areas. Essentially, these were the working class areas. The Mount Street and Bell Street development, with associated areas, was not started until the late spa: in 1821, 196 houses stood where before had been empty space, and by 1827 the development was on its way to doubling in size, with a further 108 houses on the list.¹ The Love Lane district in St. Mary's had 50 new houses, and Godfrey's Town, formerly known as Crab Niton, had more. Spring Gardens, known locally as the official Rookery, held 138 houses, and was thus a concentrated dense development. Kingsland Place had almost trebled in size since it was started only thirteen years before: 121

1. CRO, D/NA/1-23; D/NA/47-53.

TABLE I

Areas	1774	1810	1814	1821	1827
High Street and courts connected with it	205	247	247	237	238
French Street and Butcher Row	93	131	129	113	149
Broad Lane, Porter's Lane, Brewhouse Lane	35	43	43	49	55
Bugle Street, Westgate Street, West Place, Cuckoo Lane	46	63	65	70	69
St. Michael's Square, Simnel Street, Blue Anchor Lane, Pepper Alley	56	87	87	87	87
Castle Lane, Albion Place	23	50	45	52	73
Bridge Street, (Pitt's Lane), Bridge Place, Gloucester Square, Winkle Street	34	57	59	85	89
East Street and Courts	95	112	112	173	179
Above Bar Street, Orchard Street	72	111	128	142	176
Hanover Buildings, York Buildings, St. George's Place, South Place, Houndwell	11	69	121	154	174
Behind the Walls, Orchard Lane, the Ditches, Briton Street, Orchard Place	17	111	128	141	210
Houndwell Lane, Polygon, Moira Place, Brunswick Place, Thorner's Charity, Prospect Place	18	29	68	85	122
Spring Gardens	-	132	138	-	-
All Saints Place	-	108	123	-	-
Mount Street, Cross Street, Bell Street, King Street, Queen Street etc.	-	-	-	196	304
Crosshouse, Chapel, Love Lane	-	-	-	20	50
Kingsland Place, Washington Place, Paradise Buildings	-	-	121	241	315
Bedford Place, Laura Place etc.	-	-	-	41	86
Godfrey's Town, Northam, Rockstone Lane	-	-	-	-	42
Bernard Street, Union Street, College Street	-	-	-	-	65
Totals	705	1,505	1,652	1,864	2,483

Sources: Baker's Southampton Guides, 1774-1827

houses existed on a previous site of waste land in 1814, but there were 315 houses there in 1827.

Baker's evidence is borne out by contemporary newspaper comment. Kingsland Place was described as "almost a little town, inhabited by many disreputable elements".¹ Further, the Southampton Herald observed, "By far the greater proportion of the increase of the population in the last thirty years consists of labourers and mechanics...with large families, who (rent) a small house at ten or twelve pounds a year..."²

By 1827, too, the building of St. Mary's Street was in progress. Even at the time, the numbers of houses being daily added to the growing list of available properties was considered to be inestimable: "we see the spirit of improvement and extension so strongly manifested in this town, that any thing like an enumeration of new streets and buildings is impracticable", claimed Palin's Southampton Guide in 1830.³ It was observed that sheer numbers of houses must have quintupled since 1824. Without doubt, this late spa period witnessed, above all, the beginnings of the great developments in working class housing that were to be pursued by the Victorian builders.

But for the genteel too, the revival in the spa during the late 1820's brought a concurrent wave of new houses. Whilst the great years of the 1790's were not to be repeated, new terraces were nevertheless under contemplation. Adjoining the incomplete Brunswick Place there were now "numerous...new edifices, of similar structure". These were said to "afford suitable residences to visitants of the town" on account of their healthy situation.⁴

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1. Hampshire Advertiser, 2 July 1831.
 2. Southampton Herald, 2 August 1824.
 3. Palin's Southampton Guide, 1830, pp. 45 and 78.
 4. Palin's Southampton Guide, 1830, p. 104.

The Polygon still ranked amongst the best residences of the town.

Some of the most spectacular houses of this period were to be found in Carlton Crescent and nearby Rockstone Lane. The houses there were "large and convenient, and suitable for families of distinction" although the guidebook felt "they might have been more tastefully grouped". These were built in the late 1820's. Recently formed, too, was Portland Street, above Bar, "The houses in which are spacious and commodious", whilst at the end of the street "a splendid Terrace" was in the course of construction "commanding exquisite views of the New Forest and Southampton Bay", namely Portland Terrace.¹

Bedford Place and Laura Place date from this late period as well; 41 houses were built where no houses had previously existed in 1821, and the figure had increased by 1827 to 86 houses, more than doubling over six years.

Conclusion

Throughout the spa period, therefore, and particularly in its latter sixty years, the building stock was supplemented by additions chiefly in new areas. Whilst undoubtedly some houses were built upon the few remaining empty spaces within the old town bounds, those four most centralised parishes did not possess much room to breathe, and builders were forced to look outside the old areas. Moreover, the siting of the new developments significantly dictated the character of the new estates. New genteel squares demanded a differing situation from the rookeries.

The developments never flowed evenly. There was a decided spasmodic character to the spate of new building, with extremely little new building, if any, before the beginning of the spa in 1750. In the first instance, most building was actually re-building or modernising, in particular in the old and favourite

1. Ibid., pp. 82-3.

areas of the High Street, French Street, Bugle Street and various courts off those areas.

By the late 1760's, however, optimism in the spa was strong enough to promote a scheme of ambition and grandeur, the Polygon. And, despite the venture's premature rapid failure in the early 1770's, there was nevertheless a persistent demand for substantial houses in the town. But these houses demanded a site nearer the centre. Thus, developments sprung up to the north of the town, but as close as space would permit: along Above Bar Street in particular. A handful of places could be financially beneficial in this area of greater proximity to the spa amenities. Still, there were difficulties, and some squares were doomed never to be finished.

In the early years of the nineteenth century, whilst the watering-place aspect of the town's fortunes was still strong, a second chronic need emerged. More and more houses were needed for the town's growing population of labourers. St. Mary's parish offered space, cheap land, and a reasonable proximity to places of work, and whilst the builders were evidently unable to keep pace with this particular demand, houses by the hundred were erected in a short space of time. Whole new areas were opened up that had previously been used as waste land or common land. The town was visibly expanding.

In the last years of the 1810-20 decade, the spa waned. Only with difficulty was a lease issued on the land that held the spa font, the Cherry Gardens. By 1817 the spa had a deserted appearance, and it looked as though there would never again be the need for "substantial" and "commodious" houses. But the spa town's fortunes turned again, albeit briefly. In the middle of the 1820's, there was a renewed interest in the resort.¹

1. This revival of interest in the spa was in part due to retired people coming to live in the town, but the decade of the 1820's was also a transitional period when alongside this renewed interest in the resort, the beginnings of the modern port influenced expansion.

So great was the interest, in fact, that it was felt the assembly rooms, the Long Rooms, were both too small and too out of repair for the patrons. And it was during this period of revival that a scattering of new building projects ~~was~~ begun. These were the last town houses to be built with a spa custom in mind.

CHAPTER THREE

THE AVAILABILITY OF LAND AND CHECKS ON BUILDING

The aim of this chapter is to provide a detailed analysis of the urban development of hitherto neglected or insufficiently used sections of land within the six parishes. Thus, the first section is concerned with the location of land available and suitable for building upon - the pre-spa areas of waste land. This is followed by an explanation of the methods of conveyance of these plots, and the type of building leases most frequently employed. A final section investigates the achievements of the Pavement Commissioners, in particular their contribution towards town planning and checks on building.

Building was especially encouraged in late eighteenth-century Southampton by the facility with which builders were able to acquire land at low rents, build, and then sell or assign their interest in the property. There was plenty of land available; moreover, it was easy to obtain and, particularly in fast-growing areas like St. Mary's, the terms were generous to builders, as improvers of that land. But building regulations at first were minimal, and plans were left to the builders' own self-interested initiatives. However, the development of the spa interested enough public opinion to stir the Corporation into action. The Pavement Commissioners were appointed and undertook, in these circumstances, a surprising variety of responsibilities. The town became a better place in consequence, although the immediate costs were high.

1. The location of land

In Southampton, as elsewhere in the Georgian period, builders do not appear to have faced restraining obstacles when it came to locating and acquiring land suitable for development,

whether within or without the ancient boundaries.¹ Land for building purposes was made available from a variety of different sources, and in a number of places.

At times, a large tract of land was released for redevelopment by the demolition of a capital mansion house or a terrace of tenements. In 1798, for example, a large piece of freehold land in East Street, opposite York Buildings, was auctioned for sale in nineteen lots. The ground had formerly held "several Dwelling-houses, Stables and other Erections".² Another mansion, Bugle Hall, was put on the market in 1785. The house itself was divided into two dwellings, consisting of "apartments of large dimensions". But the premises extended for two hundred feet and thus "Several handsome houses may be erected". The vendors were prepared to sell the property as one or in parcels or on building leases, and were also prepared to provide financial assistance if required: "The greater part of the purchase money may remain on the security of the premises, or the whole, should additional buildings be erected".³ In

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1. C.W. Chalklin, op. cit., p. 66. Chalklin suggests that, so far as is known, builders in the major provincial towns were never hindered by the lack of plots on which to build, and that suitable land was made available throughout the period in nearly every town, both within and beyond the existing built-up limits. See also Dyos and Wolff (eds.), op. cit., i:334: "In no town does there appear to have been a shortage of building-land, freehold or leasehold, once one left the central area".
 2. Hampshire Chronicle, 17 December 1798.
 3. Ibid., 28 February 1785; The property also included a coachhouse, stables, yards and gardens. It could be easily converted back into "one elegant dwelling-house", or was "admirably calculated for an hotel or lodging house, or for the carrying on of any merchandize, trade, or manufacture in which room may be required". Should the purchaser build, on the other hand, "several handsome houses may be erected on a part of the garden, and a good piece of garden ground remain for one of the present houses, the other having a garden belonging to it".

1789 St. John's Hospital was made available, with adjoining land. This was said to be particularly desirable for "any person inclined to build".¹ Prior to 1752, too, St. Michael's Prison was demolished, and a messuage built upon the site.² Another new development, at Albion Place, was built upon the garden and grounds of a mansion house and two adjoining messuages in the High Street. This land was purchased in 1795 and immediately divided into twenty-nine building allotments.³

The Corporation might also release land for new building in much the same way. In East Street, one speculator, Isaac Mallortie, built three new messuages "with the Privity and Approbation of the Corporation" upon land where formerly five alms houses had stood. These alms houses had "grown old and fallen into decay". Mallortie had consequently offered to rebuild them at no expense to the town upon corporation land to the north of St. Mary's churchyard. And in return, a lease was granted to Mallortie of the former East Street site,

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1. Hampshire Chronicle, 22 June 1789. These premises were "capable of considerable improvements by any person inclined to build". The situation was said to be healthy.
 2. CRO, SC4/3/561. This property was held under a Corporation lease granted to Amelia Vernon.
 3. Skelton's Southampton Guide, 1802, pp. 37-8; Baker's Southampton Guide, 1806, p. 22. See below Chapter Five for a full investigation of this particular development, details of which also appear in Appendix C. Chancellor Hoadley had lived in this mansion, and it had been sold by auction according to the will of his widow. The old mansion had two entrances, one from the High Street and one from Castle Lane "both of which are so happy a combination, as to render this place a perfect Rus in Urbe". The situation was indeed said to be "beautiful and commodious, combining the pleasures of retirement from the busy part of the town, with the conveniences of near neighbourhood to it".

a prime situation.¹

Large houses might be demolished to make way for new terraces of houses, but so too might stable blocks. In 1779 a piece of ground to the south-east of Castle Hill, on which stood three stables and a workshop, was released for sale. The land was purchased by a prominent gentleman of the town, and divided into slips. Several houses were then built by numerous craftsmen in place of the old stables.² The houses built in Castle Lane in the 1790's also stood on the site of former stables, as did some of the properties in East Street.³ The houses that later formed Lansdowne Place were built upon a parcel of land where stables had once stood; in their place, ten messuages with a central courtyard were built.⁴

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1. Corporation Journals, 28 October 1768, 21 July 1769; CRO, SC4/3/693. The alms houses were allotted to the poor of the parishes of Holy Rood, All Saints and St. Lawrence. Mallortie was granted a lease of the East Street land for forty years at a rent of forty shillings a year, out of which the Corporation undertook to divide twenty-five shillings annually amongst the poor. The plot was 59 feet by 57 feet.
 2. CRO, D/MH 2/10/1-2; D/MH 2/11/1-2; D/MH2/12/1-2. The land speculator was William Daman. He purchased a substantial site of 391 feet by an unspecified amount for £250 in 1779. The land at the time held three stables built by a carpenter, a workshop and other buildings. Two messuages were subsequently built by William Colson, for example, on one plot measuring 30 feet by 24 feet 6 inches. These two houses sold together for £118 in 1803. Other houses were built on similarly sized plots.
 3. CRO, D/PM Box 55, for example. In 1778 Benoni Bursey bought some land with a coachhouse and stables for £230. He built a new, substantial coachhouse, and let it. The premises were sold in 1796, a mortgage taken out on the land, and four brick houses built.
 4. CRO, SC4/3/1116.

Stores, warehouses and other such buildings were at times dismantled so that houses could be erected in their place. In March 1809, for example, Charles Chapman, a mariner, sold to a blacksmith, William Urry "a parcel of land on which a storehouse now stands" for ten shillings. The land was subsequently developed.¹ The site of a banquetting house was used to build three houses at the turn of the century;² a smith's shop and buildings were taken down to make room for a newly-erected messuage,³ and the site of the Marquis of Lansdowne's Castle was also divided into building plots, and sold off.⁴

In the Georgian period, generally, gardens were frequently bought and used for development purposes.⁵ Garden plots often had a sound advantage over other areas of waste land in that they were in many cases situated in the central and fashionable areas. East Street, for instance, was a newly popular area that had formerly been used in part as garden ground. Four acres there came on the market in 1791 when a garden on the south side of the street was divided into lots some 16 feet by 72, and auctioned.⁶ Earlier in 1787, a

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1. CRO, SC4/4/8.
 2. CRO, D/MH 2/1-2; D/MH 2/37. This particular site was 44 feet by 20 feet. These new houses were subsequently pulled down by the Marquis.
 3. CRO, SC4/3/640. James Man was the builder.
 4. CRO, SC4/4/551 1-2. This site was 2 roods and 20 perches. Some remains of the Castle still stood for a time.
 5. C.W. Chalklin, op. cit., p. 66: "Inside the town, innumerable gardens and yards were used for additional housing...".
 6. CRO, SC4/4/29. Four lots, for instance, were purchased together for £126.

number of houses had been erected on garden ground in St Michael's parish held under a Corporation lease.¹ A garden plot in All Saints Extra was leased by the Corporation in 1761, and a messuage built upon it.² The tenements that formed Mount Street and Cross Street were built upon garden ground also in All Saints,³ whilst in St. Mary's parish a substantial garden plot was transformed into the Cook Street and Chapel Street development of labourers' houses.⁴ Indeed, most of the new houses built upon land in St. Mary's were built upon what was formerly garden ground.⁵ In the fashionable High Street, new houses were either built on sub-divided gardens, or else older houses were pulled down to make way for the new.⁶

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1. Corporation Journals, 4 May 1787.
 2. CRO, SC4/3/618a. The Lease was granted to James Blake, hillier, for one guinea. Annual rent was 4/4d (plus capons or 2/-) and a further annual rent of £1 during the first three years and until the sum of £3 (the remainder of a debt due to the Corporation on a £10 mortgage granted in 1753) was fully paid.
 3. CRO, D/SB/1/9; D/SB/1/6. The latter garden had formerly been in the occupation of John Oakley, then of Joseph Serle and his widow, Hannah. Leases were granted by Robert Sadleir Moody of Middlesex and William Sainsbury of Bath to a Southampton tapster, William Frost, in 1797. A mortgage was obtained and later the land was sold. In 1801 Thomas Smith, a gentleman builder, bought part of the garden ground from two craftsmen, Joseph Sims and John Lockyer.
 4. CRO, D/NA. In 1793 3 score poles of garden ground plus 11 poles of land, cottage and garden were let for 20 guineas and at £5 per annum, with two fat geese. In 1807, 6 score poles with two messuages, the cottage and garden were let for £32 10s. and at £5 p.a. and the two fat geese.
 5. See Appendix for an analysis of land availability in the parish of St. Mary.
 6. CRO, DZ/135/19 a-b, for example. Both Arthur Atherley and David Palairret, gentlemen, purchased a tenement each in the High Street, pulled them down, and rebuilt on the old site.

Fields, too, frequently became the sites for new houses, especially since they offered scope for large scale development in popular areas. The West and East Marlands and Houndwell fields all provided key sites for the fashionable and substantial type of house, as built in Moira Place and Prospect Place, for example. The Hoglands fields, on the other hand, afforded space for the extensive tenement estates, such as Spring Gardens.¹

In addition to all these plots, a substantial proportion of the land released for building in the spa period came from "waste" areas. These were the plots of void ground, owned chiefly by the Corporation. Two typical examples of valuable void ground are the Town Ditches and the Rope Walk areas.² Both areas changed their character dramatically after the granting of Corporation leases to enterprising builders, with part of the Town Ditches becoming the Hanover and York Buildings development, and the Old Rope Walk, Orchard Street. The Town Ditches were, in the first instance, leased to the speculator, Walter Taylor, in 1771. However, two plots were reserved for two other gentlemen, Michael Barret and Isaac Mallortie: Barret's plot measured 100 feet by 129½ feet, and Mallortie's 130½ feet by 46 feet. By April 1774, Taylor had already erected several buildings upon his land, when he asked the Corporation to grant him six distinct leases upon these premises. Two years later he purchased the now bankrupt Mallortie's interest in the site, in order to continue with further building.

Part of the Old Rope Walk had been held by Robert Jefferies Esq., but when he surrendered his lease in 1771, it was taken over

1. Baker's Plan of Southampton, 1802.

2. See Appendix for details of the transactions on these two areas.

by a carpenter, John Silley.¹ Other parts of the Rope Walk were leased to other tenants, but Silley was responsible for a good deal of new building in the newly-named Orchard Street, ingratiating himself with the Corporation for "the many improvements" he made in the area.²

Throughout the town other unused spaces were also available for builders. A void piece of ground adjoining the town wall and known as the Spanish Burying Place, for instance, was leased in 1776;³ in 1773 Messrs. Bridger and Abraham were granted a lease of an empty plot measuring 200 feet by 110;⁴ and a piece of waste ground near the West Quay was leased out in 1785.⁵

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1. Corporation Journals, 22 April 1768; 6 December 1771. In 1768 Captain Rushworth surrendered his lease of the site in order to have three new leases issued; one to himself, one to Jefferies, and one to Richard Vernon Sadleir. Rushworth retained a messuage and garden, Sadleir had a garden plot, and Jefferies leased the Rope Walk. John Silley was the latter's assignee.
 2. Corporation Journals, 4 April and 27 June 1777. The Corporation wished to make a road through Silley's land in Orchard Street and proposed that in return for a free and uninterrupted right of way through the whole of Orchard Street they were prepared to relax certain fines and grant him a new lease on a piece of land near Arundel Tower.
 3. Corporation Journals, 5 December 1766. John Brissault, sugar refiner, took the lease, undertaking to build dwelling houses on the land. He later became bankrupt.
 4. *Ibid.*, 11 June 1773. This was opposite Windmill Lane.
 5. *Ibid.*, 29 November 1785. Thomas Bernard took the lease.

Void land let out on Corporation leases over the decade 1760-70 has been here tabulated in the Appendix. Whilst there appears to be no shortage of plots, they are available in a variety of places, and are often of substantial proportions, even extending some hundred feet or more. Waste ground opposite the road leading from East Street, for example, extending towards the sea as far as the tenant should think fit, and measuring 300 feet in breadth, was leased in 1761. A piece of ground against Godshouse Moat measured 112 feet at its extremity and was leased in 1766. And a parcel of marshy ground near the Cross House was leased in 1767, measuring 120 feet by 40 feet. Smaller plots could also be obtained. One such plot between a coachhouse and a house within the town walls measured a mere 30 feet by 9 feet 6 inches, whilst another similarly sized plot in St. John's parish was leased in 1768.

Queen's College, Oxford, also owned several portions of land in Southampton, yet most of their sites were developed in the post-spa period. However, five small tenements in Above Bar Street, described in 1766 as "a most miserable affair....let out to several poor people who have different apartments in it, and indeed nothing else can be made of it", were leased to "two gentlemen who intend to build two handsome houses", with a unified frontage to the street.¹ In 1782 William Daman applied for permission to subdivide the orchard he held from the college, and later in 1809 Baker's Close was sold to the builder Daniel Brooks who intended building nine large houses on the plot, but only ever built one.² In 1823 the land between Marsh Lane

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1. Queen's College leases: 102, 104, 106, 108 Above Bar Street: Letter from Daniel Perkins.
 2. Queen's College leases 4G.133: Letter from William Daman to T. Walker, Town Clerk, Oxford, 22 June 1782; Gods House Rentals 20-22.

and Nightingale Lane was also sold by auction in twelve lots, but this plot was not developed in the spa period.¹

2. Conveyance of building plots and building leases

Builders and interested parties could apply direct to the Corporation with a request that they release a plot of waste or void ground for building purposes. In some cases, the Corporation actually specified in the lease that the tenant was bound to erect a building, whether house, wharf, workshop or stable, and keep it in good repair. Thus Walter Taylor was granted a lease of the burnt down Tin Cellar and Linen Hall in 1768 upon the condition that he "erect a substantial building and (to) keep it in repair during the term and lease it so at the end of it".² The tenant of the Spanish Burying Ground undertook to "build thereon a dwelling house or houses of the yearly value of £5 or upwards" and to maintain the same.³

Since such new building could only enhance the value of its properties, the Corporation kept fines and rents on new leases low. Typically rents on undeveloped land were 2/6d or 3/4d, plus capon money of 2/-, per annum. Very large plots might be charged with double the rent. ie 6/8d. But rarely were any higher amounts demanded.⁴ Moreover, low rents might well be

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1. Ibid., 4G 158 Auction held at Star Hotel 31 July 1823. See Appendix for further details of Queens College property.
 2. Corporation Journals, 19 February 1768. The rent on this was £2.
 3. Ibid., 5 December 1766. Brissault's rent was 26/8d, to be reduced to 6/8d once he had built the house or houses, and providing he continued to maintain them.
 4. For some comparisons with house lease prices, a house in St. Michael's parish was leased at 5 gns. p.a.. in 1755, whilst one in Holy Rood parish in 1760 cost 13 guineas.

maintained for some years after the new building was finished, in recognition of the fact that the tenant had invested his own money in the premises. When John Monckton came to renew his lease upon a messuage lately built by himself on a piece of waste ground in the parishes of Holy Rood and St. John, the Corporation charged only a two guinea fine and fixed the rent still at 3/4d.¹ Another newly-built house in the High Street was leased in 1758 at a still low rent of £1 12s a year "in consideration that Robert Ballard had built the house at his own cost".² Two builders of houses in Orchard Street were able to maintain their low rents of 3/6d each after the first renewal of leases to their property, since they too had lately built houses and shops there.³

Fines might also be relaxed, or kept deliberately low. A house in St. Michael's parish cost the tenant a fine of only two and a half guineas in 1758 "on Account of its being his first renewal after rebuilding".⁴ Another lease on a house in All Saints was renewed in 1772 for a ten guinea fine and the old quit rent of £1 "it being his first renewal after his undertaking to rebuild".⁵ And as will be seen by the examples in *Appendix II*, it was customary for no fines to be demanded in the first granting of a lease upon waste land.

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1. CRO, SC4/3/612 12 December 1760.
 2. CRO, SC4/3/603 3 September 1758.
 3. CRO, SC4/3/718 and 719 20 December 1771. The amount of the fine was estimated by a percentage of the quit rent.
 4. Corporation Journals, 24 November 1758.
 5. *Ibid.*, 27 March 1772.

Corporation leases were granted for periods of forty years, renewable every fourteen. It was at these renewals that a fine was demanded, and the rents re-assessed if necessary. Lessees, however, were permitted to sell their leases at unspecified amounts and whenever they pleased, provided they apply to the Corporation for a licence to alienate or assign, and paid the licence fee. Usually, the new tenant was named. Walter Taylor was granted a licence to alienate his house in Houndwell Lane, for example, to George Goldwire Hookey in 1774, and a licence to alienate by way of mortgage upon a messuage without Beidles Gate was granted in 1776.¹ Builders frequently obtained one single lease upon a plot, and after the erection of the houses, they asked to be allowed to surrender their lease and for several new, separate ones to be issued. Thus John Silley requested that new leases be granted of his premises in Orchard Street to John Bridger, Thomas Jeans and Mr Andrews of "divers parcels of the premises" comprised in the original lease to Jefferies, and a new lease of the residue of the property to be retained by himself.² Walter Taylor requested six distinct leases of his property in the Town Ditches, "on account of the several buildings thereon erected", although he wanted three of these leases to be held by himself, two by his mother, and one by John Brice.³

Land made available by St. Mary's Glebe followed the same pattern. Leases upon land in East Street, Orchard Lane, Chapel Street and Cook Street in particular were granted upon payment of a lump sum and a ground rent, again for periods of forty years. Tenants were generally bound to "pay or discharge all and all manner of Parliamentary, Parochial or other Taxes, Rates, Assessments, Dues, Duties and Demands whatsoever",

1. Ibid., 25 November 1774 and 18 September 1766.

2. Ibid., 4 April 1777 and See Appendix I.

3. Ibid., 2 April 1774 and See Appendix I.

and also to covenant to keep the property in repair.¹ A lease of an allotment in the new Chapel Street, for example, cost £15 in 1823, the land being 14 feet by 58. Rent was three shillings, payable half-yearly.² Leases could also be surrendered, and re-assigned. In 1803 a lease originally granted in 1794 of land in East Street was surrendered and the property divided into six new leases since six new messuages had since been built.³ Leases granted by the Rectors of St. Mary's in this fast-growing area have been tabulated in the Appendix^{II}, to demonstrate the facility with which builders were able to acquire land at low rents, build, and then sell or assign their interests in the property. For example, in 1808 a plot of land 80 feet by 58 feet 6 inches in Chapel Street was leased to Edward Jacobs at a rent of one guinea per annum. The piece of land afterwards became vested in a builder, Richard Laishley, who divided the land into seven distinct plots. On 29 September 1813 he sold and assigned one parcel of this land to Job Oxford, who mortgaged it back to him the following year to secure the sum of £100. In 1813 Laishley also sold two further allotments, for the residue of his forty year lease, to a George Parsons, and at some point he sold another plot to Job Oxford. Martha Frake bought yet another plot. As a result in 1822 the Rector assigned complete new leases to these purchasers or their assigns, now of land with tenements built upon it.⁴

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1. CRO, D/NA 1-3, for example. Tenants were to repair and maintain all buildings "now or after built" with hedges. The Rector or his workmen were free to view, search and see the state and condition of the repairs, and any defaults or decay had to be remedied within three months after warning in writing, or else the lease would cease. Rents also included "one couple of good fat geese" on the feast of St. Michael. Rent was not to be overdue by more than twenty days, upon penalty of repossession.
 2. CRO, D/NA 20. Lease to Job Oxford, plasterer.
 3. CRO, D/NA 48. Lease to John Sanders, brewer. He paid £36 for this land.
 4. CRO, D/NA 17. Surrender from Oxford and others to the Rector, Francis North.

Leaseholds, then, or Freeholds, could be offered for sale. At times a prospective builder might himself acquire a portion of land but subdivide it and sell plots. If the land was freehold, he might sell smaller freeholds, or dispose of the land upon his own leases, or if the land was leasehold in the first place, he would have that lease assigned, selling his own rights. A cabinet maker named Joshua Skinner, for instance, purchased leases to land in St. Mary's in 1793, but soon afterwards assigned portions of this land to other builders, George Cole, John Bates and James Beavis, all carpenters.¹ Another builder, Henry Roe, and his partner, Richard Laishley, bought the site of Southampton Castle and then sold off building plots to at least eighteen people.² Building plots were also offered for sale in the new Albion Place development, where purchasers had the choice of either one thousand year leases or the option to purchase the freehold. This land had in the first instance been purchased as both freehold property and leaseholds belonging to the Corporation.³

Generally, it was left to individual speculators to acquire substantial prime plots and then subdivide them in their chosen manner. But the new development at Bridge Street, formerly known as Pitts Lane, was different. This land was owned by the Corporation. In February 1808 a public auction was held for the purchase of forty year leases to nineteen separate plots.⁴ Each plot was fourteen feet wide, but they varied in length between thirty and forty feet. A plan was produced at the auction, setting out how the new street was to look, in much the same way as the freehold owners of such developments as Albion Place liked to do. The purchasers, the size of their plot, the price paid and the annual rent demanded have been annotated in Table 2. It will be seen from this that an average price of £40 was paid for the single-sized plot of approximately

1. CRO, D/NA 7, 8, 9.

2. CRO, SC4/4/555/9-10.

3. CRO, SC4/4/120.

4. CRO, SC4/3/1158-1173.

TABLE 2

Details of sale of leases in Bridge Street redevelopment 1808

Lots	Purchasers	Price	Size	Rent	Capons
1	Thomas Figes	£ 50	38' x 14'	£ 2	4/-
2	Henry Roe	£ 40	37'3" x 14'	£ 2	4/-
3	William Curry	£ 40	36'9" x 14'	£ 2	4/-
4	William Curry	£ 40	36'1" x 14'	£ 2	4/-
5)					
6)	Joseph Savage	£ 84	35'7" x 28'	£ 4	8/-
7	Charles Cornish	£ -	34'10"x 14'	£ 2	4/-
8	William Lintott	£ 40	34'3" x 14'	£ 2	4/-
9)					
10)	John Merryweather				
11)	and seven partners	£133	33'6" x 42'	£ 6	12/-
12	Valentine Hanbury	£ 51	33'3" x 14'	£ 2	4/-
13	Adam Clark	£ 44	33'1" x 14'	£ 2	4/-
14	Henry Roe	£ 43	32'6" x 14'	£ 2	4/-
15)					
16)	Richard Vernon	£ 11	32'4" x 28'	£ 4	8/-
17)					
18)	John Smith	£ 99	32' x 28'	£ 2	4/-
19	William Lintott	£270	62' x 16'	£ 6	4/-

Source : CRO, SC4/3/1158-1173 Corporation leases.

14 feet by thirty-five or six. Rents for these were £2 plus 4/- capon money. For larger plots the premium and the rents and capon money were all increased in proportion to the amount of land purchased.

Purchasing land upon a lease meant that the land and all buildings erected on the site were surrendered to the ground landlord at the end of the term. The Corporation rarely exercised this right, except in the case of neglect of the property or failure to pay the rent. In 1757, for example, the Corporation decided to bring an Ejectment against Joseph Man since by his lease granted in 1754 he had covenanted to take down and rebuild the forepart of his house within twelve months, and had failed to do so. The lease was declared forfeited. Man requested a licence to alienate, but the Corporation decided to keep his lease sealed until rent arrears and the cost of the ejectment had been met.¹

Private landlords, on the other hand, might also employ the same type of building lease, but at the end of the fixed term the ground landlord would be in a position to let any buildings erected on his land by the building tenant. Builders consequently had to undertake in most instances to build according to pre-determined plan and elevation, and to keep all buildings, including outhouses and fences, in good repair. The ground landlord was thus guaranteed sound property at the expiration of the lease. A building lease of this sort thus benefited both the landlord and the builder, since the landholder did not surrender his and his heirs' ultimate claim upon the land, but did not have to provide the capital for building. The builder, on the other hand, could acquire land for a comparatively small initial outlay. The major proportion of the capital outlay would thus go on erecting the buildings, for which he would receive the rents during his term.

1. Corporation Journals, 3 June 1757 and 26 August 1757.

The nature of this term varied. Land might be leased for a period of years, usually long-term such as the thousand year building leases granted by the Albion Place developer. A house on a one-acre plot of land in Above Bar was also sold for one thousand years, so too was No. 90, the High Street, although the leaseholder in this case later contracted for the purchase of the freehold.¹ But shorter terms could also be employed. For instance, premises in French Street and Church Passage were leased in 1792 for periods of ninety-nine years, whilst an orchard plot in East Street was leased for forty years.² In 1802 a parcel of land in Brunswick Place was sold for a term of ninety-nine years. Where leaseholds were concerned, the ground landlord generally sold the lease for an agreed sum (perhaps bid at an auction) and also charged a yearly rent. Thus the Brunswick Place plot, which measured 33 feet by 20 feet, was let at a yearly ground rent of £6 5s.³

Another type of building lease was also used. This involved the use of lives as the basis of the length of the lease. A lease might be granted for the duration of the lives of three related persons, generally the builder and his heirs. The building family then built and enjoyed the income from the premises, but at the expiration of the last life the land reverted back to the original landholder. Abel Laver, for example, a bricklayer, was sold a lifeheld lease upon a substantial plot of land for £150 and at an annual ground rent of £10. The lease

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1. CRO, SC4/4/90 and SC4/4/58. Another long lease was that for a garden, now the castle, which was let on a term of nine hundred and ninety-nine years to a bricklayer in 1803.
 2. CRO, SC4/4/688 and SC4/4/483.
 3. CRO, D/PM/53 20 September 1802.

expired following the death of himself and his two sons.¹

However, the simplest form of site conveyance was to sell the freehold outright. Appendix II details the advertisements in the Hampshire Chronicle over the period 1773 to 1810, the heyday years of the spa, relating to building plots either for sale or to be let. Where several plots were being disposed of, auctions were frequently held. In 1774 three freehold plots fronting East Street were put up for auction, together with ten freehold plots fronting the road leading to Houndwell. Five lots near Hanover Buildings were auctioned in the following year, and several further lots in 1785. The land for the Spring Gardens development of labourers' houses was also sold by auction in 1786, and several lots in Bugle Street in 1792.

With an auction sale it was customary for the auctioneer to request a deposit of fifteen per cent immediately after the sale, together with half of the auction duty. The buyer would be asked to sign an agreement for the payment of the remainder of his purchase money within a period of six weeks or so from the date of the sale. After this specified date the purchaser would be entitled to all rents and profits on his respective plots, all outgoings being cleared by the vendor by that date.² In 1830 William James bought Lot 1 in such an auction, this being a freehold plot of land in Bell Street.

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1. For a full investigation of Abel Laver's building activities see below Chapter Five.
 2. CRO, SC4/4/29/4 property in Bell Street. The vendors also undertook to prepare and deliver at their own expense to each purchaser or his solicitor an Abstract of Title. No objections to the title other than those stated to the vendors by the purchasers within seven days after the delivery of the Abstract would be allowed.

He bid £128, paying a deposit of £8 14s. The auction duty (his half) on this amount came to £3 14s 8d.

A fair-sized plot of land generally cost around this £100 mark, but no more. Three pieces of land in St Mary's were sold in 1799, for example, for £350 for the freehold "with all estate rights, title, interest, property, claim and demand". Each plot contained about 45 feet in length and 15 feet in breadth. Four plots on the south side of East Street, however, were sold at an auction in 1791 for a total of £126. And these were substantial plots, each one containing 16 feet in width and 72 feet in depth.¹ Appendix IV provides information on the cost of those plots of land sold in Albion Place.

Where several plots were sold in this manner it was the responsibility of the existing landowner to survey and level the ground and mark it out into building plots. Roads and other amenities had to be provided. In Bridge Street, for example, part of one plot had to be reserved for a water conduit.² The landholder would also have the responsibility of submitting plans of the intended development of houses, thus determining whether the site was intended for the well-to-do market, or the labouring inhabitants. If it was the former, designers had to pay proper attention to the width of the intended street, perhaps dividing the land into squares or crescents, and provide recreation areas. The genteel development at Albion Place, for instance, included in its plans a public terrace and a pleasure seat, all kept locked and therefore reserved for the sole use of the residents (each furnished with a key).³

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1. CRO, SC4/4/29.
 2. CRO, SC4/3/1165. This was Plot 18 sold together with the adjoining Plot 17 to John Smith, a barber. He paid £99 for the two leases.
 3. Skelton's Guide, 1802, pp. 37-8.

Open spaces were desirable; airiness was believed to be healthy since it offered "ventilation". For this reason, too, such areas generally held covenants that restricted nuisances. From the landowner's financial point of view the chief attraction in setting out such a terrace was the high price demanded, whether upon sale of the freehold or a combination of a relatively high downpayment and a continued source of income from elevated ground rents.

If, however, the land was intended for the artisans and labourers, less attention was paid to space. The landowner would generally be motivated by a desire to sell the land in the smallest possible plots, and with the maximum number practical. Whilst the price of each plot consequently fell in proportion not only to its size but also to its amenities, situation and overall appearance, the landowner might still recoup better profits. Less land had to be left unproductive for streets and open space, and less income expended on making the roads and waterways. The landowner's profit came once the use of the land had been determined either way, and following its conversion into an actual building site. Both land promoters behind the genteel Albion Place and Brunswick Place developments failed to sell all the building plots, yet money had been expended on plans and designs.¹ Yet there was seen to be a general scarcity of small houses, despite a decided growth in that area.²

But, whatever the intended usage of the land, the site would have at some point to be conveyed in one manner or another, either sold outright by an auction sale, or disposed of on

1. Baker's Guide, 1810, p. 29: "...the circumstances of the times have prevented the proprietors of the land (in Albion Place) from building; so that only a few houses are as yet finished. For similar reasons, Brunswick Place, on the north of the town, is still incomplete." John Plaw was the architect employed for the Brunswick Place design.

2. Ibid., p. 46.

building leases for a term of years or lives. It was the land promoters' responsibility to procure the land from individuals or the corporate or church bodies.

3. Checks on building: the Pavement Commissioners

a) The state of the town

Southampton, until the implementation of a positive policy for paving and cleansing the town, had had a somewhat decayed appearance.¹ Parts of the Town Wall and the Watergate Quay were out of repair, the wall without the Bargate "is fallen down", and the "pittings under the Bargate and Eastgate and over the Bridge there and at the Key" needed to be repaired.² Further, provision for street cleansing and the removal of refuse was sporadic and ineffectual. Town scavengers were appointed "to keep the streets clean and to send proper servants and carriages for so doing two days in every week on Fryday and

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1. Corporation Journals, 30 September 1769. At a meeting of the Common Council on 30 September 1769 the question was put : "Whether some Bill for the better Paving of the Town may be framed for the general benefit of the Inhabitants thereof". It passed in the affirmative. A committee of six was immediately appointed with a brief to meet an equal number of the promoters of the scheme, to confer with them, and to make a report at some future unspecified Common Council. This committee consisted of Aldermen Ballard and Robinson, and Messrs., Samuel Miller Junior, John Monckton, Arthur Hammond and Clement Hilgrove. It was noted that Mr. Freeman left the room before the question was put.
 2. *Ibid.*, 14 December 1750; 13 November 1751; 15 May 1752.

Saturday". They were further instructed to carry away the soil and dung every Saturday and Monday "and not to lay any part thereof on the key except in the case of necessity and then only with the leave of the wharfinger". Should any dung or soil be found upon the Quay on any Sunday, it became lawful for the Corporation "to take the same and apply it to their own use".¹ Complaints, however, were frequently being made about the presence of dung heaps in the town, notably at St. John's pond, the corner of Gods House Mead, and in various other roads.² There were several dung heaps lying near the Bowling Green, another in Orchard Lane, and mess being emptied at West Quay.³

The town was only paved in part, and many of these pavements were in a bad state. Cards were inserted in the newspapers drawing attention to these pitfalls: "...there is a hole at least two feet square at the south-east corner of the Old Shambles, which whenever there is the least rain, (and

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1. Corporation Journals, 10 April 1753 and 14 November 1755. In 1753 Messrs. Warwick and Minshaw rented the town soil from the Corporation for a period initially of three years, undertaking to collect the soil in the required manner and paying a yearly rent of ten guineas plus a couple of capons, payable half yearly. Mr. Ballard was the wharfinger. See also *Ibid.*, 9 December 1763. The soil was then let to Messrs. Fox and Sheppard at an increased rental of 13 guineas per annum, this sum being then allowed to the Mayor towards the expense of his office.
 2. Quarter Sessions, 12 January 1753 and 25 January 1754.
 3. Corporation Journals, 24 December 1754. The Quay was also much encumbered by millstones and blocks of marble. The Corporation ordered, after they had laid there "a long time", that the wharfinger "does not permit any person to saw any marble or any other stones on the said Key for the future".

frequently at other times) is replete with water at least six inches deep. This is a great annoyance to all persons of either sex who have occasion to pass that way after sunset...".¹ Responsibility for the town pavements rested with the Corporation, and paving of a sort was provided in the most public places: the Corporation agreed to donate ten guineas towards the cost of extending the pavement outside Holy Rood church; they paid for the inside of the butchers' stalls to be paved with purbeck pitters; and later they agreed to pave the market place itself. In 1764 the Mayor was also ordered to pitch the passages under and through the various town gates.²

Corporation tenants, on the other hand, were made personally responsible for paving "with Broad Stones or Pitchers" in

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1. Hampshire Chronicle, 6 September 1773. The Card was inserted by "A number of strange gentlemen, who are annual visitors at Southampton". It continues: "...I have seen a lady splashed (by stepping in it) half-way up her legs, (who was neatly dressed to pay a visit) to the no small diversion of the gentlemen of the steel, and many other beaus of the neighbourhood."
 2. Corporation Journals, 5 September 1755; 13 February 1756; 21 October 1757 and 30 March 1764. Holy Rood church contained the Proclamation House, and there had previously been a paved court or walk in front of the church, enclosed with pallsades. The parish wanted to extend this pavement as far as the new stone columns they were setting up. In the market place, it was agreed to raise the passage before the butchers' stalls and pave in accordance with the paving already carried out there.

front of their respective doors.¹

Clearly, the Corporation was not prepared to take any initiative when it came to completely paving the public streets, despite the numerous protests from visitors.² Further, this same attitude applied towards keeping other public structures in repair. In 1755 it was proposed that the gentlemen of the town should raise money by subscription in order to repair the sea banks and "to save the Expences of renewing a Commission of Sewers made out for that purpose...".³ Even the town gates themselves were a nuisance, so that in September 1764 those gates that caused problems were ordered to be taken down, whilst the others were to be secured to prevent their being blown shut by the wind.⁴

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1. Corporation Journals, 22 March 1760. A notice was served on a tenant, James Rowcliffe, to pave in front of his own and Mrs. Jane Martin's doors "without the Posts with Broad Stones or Pitchers of the Breadth of 2 feet at the least. And also to pave in a like manner with Broad Stones or Pitchers before the door late in the occupation of Mr Hall to join his own and the paving before Mr. de Vic's door at each End". This was to be done within one month of the delivery of the notice. If he failed to comply, the Corporation would pave at their own expense "And will not afterwards suffer him or his assigns to renew the lease of the said houses without paying such expence with lawful interest for the same over and above the usual fine". It was further announced that similar notice was to be given to all Corporation tenants.
 2. Commons Journal, 5, 6 and 15 February 1770: Southampton petition and counter-petition. It was claimed that only one side of the road was usable, and back streets were unpaved, uneven and full of holes.
 3. Corporation Journals, 10 January 1755. This Commission of Sewers had been passed in 1682.
 4. *Ibid.*, 28 September 1764.

But, in addition to this general unwillingness to keep the pavements and public structures in repair and to adequately clean the streets, the Corporation procrastinated as well in an altogether different respect. The town was growing rapidly, yet these new houses were erected without observing building regulations of any kind. The Corporation failed in effect not only to take account of the sudden growth and spread of the town, whole areas of which remained totally unpaved, but they also neglected to maintain a proper check on this new building. Only occasionally can reference be found to policies made by the Corporation that might control this mushroom-like building. For example, rare provisos were attached to Corporation leases that restricted haphazard new building on waste ground, or controlled projecting houses that interfered with the roadways.¹ But such controls were rare; most building remained unchecked. No thought indeed was paid to the dangers of projections into the streets, whether it be open cellar flaps, bow windows, or flights of steps. Builders erected their houses however they chose, often with no regard for the restrictions they might cause to pedestrians, light or air. The Corporation gave no directives as to houses forming a line with one another, and thus it was the builders themselves who imposed their own building-lines upon the town.

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1. Corporation Journals, 6 February 1767; 19 February 1768 and 31 March 1768. One tenant, Edmund Ludlow, was granted a lease on the condition that, should he build, "he is to leave a space of two and twenty feet betwixt the trees now standing in the Beach and such Building and the space of forty feet betwixt the same Building at the East End and the Cross House". Another lease granted to Messrs. Bridger and Abraham included the order that the tenant was to "build on the said grounds so as that such Building does not intercept the Prospect of the Sea over the Town Wall from Bull Street and in case the upper floor of such Building shall by the present projection be thought incommodious to the Highway they are to remove and contract the Building in that respect".

Southampton was not markedly different in this respect from any other growing town of this period. A general lack of building regulations prevailed, coupled with an overall failure to keep streets and public places cleaned.¹ Moreover, all towns and parishes appear to have faced these modern problems with inept local government institutions, and thus the need was presented in both London and the provinces for the creation of new machinery to cope with these new situations. But where Southampton is concerned, the timing of its particular bid for an improvement scheme coincides again with the development of the spa, for it was the visitors' complaints, plus the desire of those who benefited from the spa by attracting visitors, that triggered off the demand for tighter control and improvement.

b) The Pavement Commissioners

Despite the early passage of an Act of 1662, which established a new Local Authority for the Cities of Westminster and London, and despite, too, the growing practice of appointing Harbour Commissioners with varied powers in sea towns, the establishment of extra-corporate bodies for the specific improvement

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1. See S. and B. Webb, English Local Government: Statutory Authorities for Special Purposes, 1922, pp. 236-9. The Webbs found that "Each man put up his house where and as he chose, without regard for building-line, width of street or access of light and air. Every householder encroached on the thoroughfare by overhanging windows, swinging signs, doors opening outwards, cellar-flaps habitually open, mounting blocks and flights of steps...The narrow ways left to foot and wheeled traffic were unpaved, uneven, and full of holes in which the water and garbage accumulated. Down the middle of the street ran a series of dirty puddles, which in times of rain became a stream of decomposing filth...except in the better parts of London and the wealthier residential cities, there were neither ashpits nor privies, nor any similar conveniences - with results that are indescribable".

of towns did not get under way until after 1748.¹ But between that date and the middle of the nineteenth century, new bodies of Improvement or Pavement Commissioners were created by local Acts in every part of the country. These Commissioners possessed their own distinct powers and levied their own rates, all for the benefit of specifically tidying up their respective towns. Further, amongst those towns which secured Acts between 1760 and 1820, these Commissioners characteristically took the form of a body of named men who served for life, and who filled vacancies amongst their number themselves.²

Southampton mooted a pavement scheme amongst this post-1760 batch, following an earlier example set by its neighbour, Portsmouth. Gaining Common Council approval in November 1769, the protagonists secured passage of the Act in 1770 and were able to hold their first meeting on

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1. S. and B. Webb, *op. cit.*, pp. 239-242. In 1736 the inhabitants of New Sarum (ie Salisbury) obtained powers for paving, lighting and watching the city, but these were granted not to the Municipal Corporation but to a body of "Trustees" consisting of the Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen and twelve other elected persons. However, the real trend for Commissioners was set by Liverpool in 1748. Especially after the peace of 1763, the policy of obtaining local Acts was most vigorously pursued elsewhere.
 2. *Ibid.*, p. 244 and footnotes. Birmingham, Cheltenham, Manchester, Southampton and Winchester were all examples of this type of Commission.

7 May of that year.¹

The Southampton Commissioners held a brief to pave, repair and cleanse the streets and public passages in the parishes of St, Michael, St. John, Holy Rood, St. Lawrence, All Saints, within the Bar and without, East Street and Bag Row, and also to prevent nuisances and annoyances in these areas. Further, they held instructions for "widening and rendering the same new commodious and for the lighting and watching the said districts...". Eighteen specific Commissioners had been named in the Act, and at that first meeting they were joined by nine members of the Common Council.²

1. Corporation Journals, 10 November 1769, 23 and 24 February 1770. Common Council ordered that the proposals should be printed and distributed amongst householders. A preamble was added to the leaflet which included a request that any protest should be lodged in writing with the Town Clerk, and added: "Concerning the Footway it may be very proper to observe that as the Inhabitants in general seem to wish it now laid and in a better form It is hardly to be supposed that any objection will be made to new laying the Carriage Way at the same time when it is demonstrable that the Expence of it will be so much short of what the public have been made to believe and so inconsiderable in proportion to that of the Footway". Protest was made, however, most virulently from a prominent local historian, Dr. Speed. He argued chiefly that the Act would be an encroachment, "upon the Right and Privilege of the Magistracy of this Town" and would also "bring a burthensome tax, besides other inconveniences". For the full text of his complaint see J. Speed, The History and Antiquity of Southampton, the introduction by E.R. Aubrey, 1909, pp. xxv-xxvii. Nevertheless, on 21 December 1769 it was decided to put the Common Seal to the petition to Parliament. The following February, the original scope of the proposed Act was broadened to include powers to watch and light the town in addition to paving, repairing, widening and cleansing the streets, and also to include some areas of the town hitherto excluded.
2. Pavement Commissioners Act 10 Geo. III c.clxix. CRO, SC/AP 1/1; D/PM 18/1.

Within a matter of days, advertisements had been sent out for a scavenger, and a beadle had been appointed. The latter's first task was to survey the town and report any nuisances or obstructions in the streets "together with the names of the persons before whose houses the same shall be found" - essentially bulk windows on the ground floor, projecting window shutters, protruding porch nails, sign posts, gutters, spouts, "Butchers Gallowses", dung pans, chopping blocks, cellar windows "and all other Projections, Nuisances and Annoyances, and particularly he is ordered to show the names of all Persons having spouts projecting from their houses on Monday next".¹

Given the undoubted limits of their ambitions, the Pavement Commissioners nevertheless set to work in a relatively fast and efficient manner, drawing at times upon other's expertise.² Several of the Commissioners themselves decided

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1. CRO, SC/AP 1/1 11 May 1770. The Beadle was William Stratton.
 2. Southampton, like the other provincial towns that obtained statutory powers for improvement, did not set out to undertake any specific work of sanitation, and thus the scope of the Commissioners was decidedly limited. Indeed, the motives behind the Local Act had been to provide a better road surface for carriages and pedestrians alike, also to secure greater protection for the people and their property, but ideas of public cleanliness and sanitation were distinctly lacking. For a discussion of these widespread attitudes and ambitions, and the effects they had upon the Georgian provincial towns, see S. and B. Webb, *op. cit.*, pp. 298-315. The Webbs claimed: "The one and only thought of those who paved the town was, in fact, in 1830 as in 1762 and 1662, the safe, speedy and pleasant transit of vehicles and pedestrians...It was to secure this end that obstructions had been prohibited, kennels had been filled in, side gutters had been constructed, footways had been flagged, and carriageways had been levelled, drained and provided with a hard surface...It never occurred to the most reforming body of Improvement Commissioners in a crowded town that their task was incomplete so long as any square yard of surface lying between human habitations remained unprovided with an artificial covering, impervious to wet, and easily cleaned of filth".

to survey the town "to report such observations as they shall make and think necessary".¹ However, it was subsequently agreed that contact with Portsmouth would be most advantageous, and in particular, use could be made of Mr. Richard Poate, shipwright of that town, in assisting with the survey of Southampton.² A Collector of Rates had also to be appointed with all *speed*, and no time was lost in selecting Peter Watts junior, a carpenter, for this task.³ In addition, painters were asked to submit their proposals for numbering the houses and painting the street names.⁴ However, no one

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1. CRO, SC/AP 1/1 11 May 1770.
 2. CRO, SC/AP 1/1 11, 14 and 24 May, 23 June and 15 August 1770. Copies were to be made from Portsmouth's Book of Entries, in particular marking the several cases and contacts which might be of especial assistance to the Southampton Commissioners. Charles Gore was requested to use his influence with Richard Poate to ask him to survey the town, employing an assistant of his own choosing. Gore was subsequently asked to offer Poate employment. In June, Poate was appointed Surveyor "with privilege on account of his years to give his personal attendance only on such days as shall be most suitable". Poate surveyed the level of the streets, but apparently not all inhabitants appreciated his work. "Diverse persons having already treated him with scurrilous language", the Beadle was ordered to attend Poate on his rounds and threaten prosecution of any offensive persons.
 3. Ibid., 14 and 24 May 1770. Watts was chosen by Ballot. His salary was twenty guineas, and a security of £200 was expected from him "for faithful Discharge of (his) Duty".
 4. Ibid., 24 May and 1 June 1770. Robert Silley and John Lambert, both carpenters, and William Beare were appointed. These three agreed to number the houses, letter and paint the boards at the street corners for four pence per dozen for the figures and nine pence per dozen for the letters. Silley and Lambert were to undertake the houses, courts and alleys in Above Bar Street, High Street and Upper East Street, and Beare the other streets, lanes and public passages. Later, on 9 September 1772, Robert Sealey was paid at the rate of one shilling a day for painting and lettering the street signs.

was at first prepared to undertake the scavenger's job.¹

As regards the paving, it was early decided that contracts should be made with paviours who would work on the whole town at once and charge at the same rates "as it will be more worth the workmen's while and the work be completed much sooner".² Another advertisement was inserted both locally, in the Salisbury Journal, and further afield, in some London papers, asking for contractors to tender for paving the various streets and for maintaining these streets in good repair for seven years after their completion.³ Two Portsmouth men, John Monday and James Bailey, put forward an acceptable tender for this work, in competition only with two others whose estimate for pebbling was at "an extravagant rate".⁴ Arrangements were

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1. CRO, SC/AP 1/1 1 June, 21 August and 15 October 1770. In August William Bissington was appointed, undertaking to provide two carts, three horses, a man and himself at ten shillings and sixpence a day, working two days each week, but more if necessary. In October of that year he offered to rent the soil of the town at £5 per year, employing his own sweepers.
 2. CRO SC/AP 1/1 14 May 1770.
 3. Ibid., 24 May 1770. The contractor was to cover the carriageways with good gravel, four inches deep, once every two years if required. Old materials were to be taken up and removed to an appointed place, not more than one mile from the town. All works would be measured and paid for within two months of completion.
 4. Ibid., 25 June 1770. The other two contractors were Dealty and Lovett, but they confined themselves "to pebble paving only". See Appendix for details of the contract signed by Monday and Bailey.

then made for the stones to be delivered at the Platform slipway, and work was immediately put in progress, the first stone being laid on 30 October 1770.¹

By November 1771, Above Bar Street, the High Street and Upper East Street had all been paved, and Monday was ordered to begin paving the Butcher Row, part of French Street and St Michael's Square, all the fashionable areas of the town. Pitts Lane was finished that same month, and shortly afterwards Castle Lane, Castle Square and the passage down to Beidle's Gate were completed.² The work was entirely finished by 1775, when Monday launched upon the repairing contract.³

The full bill for new paving the town came to £4,775 17s 10³/₄d, and one year's repairing contract was £101 17s 3³/₄d.⁴ This bill was met by levying a rate on the householders of the town over a period of six years at the respective rates of four shillings, four shillings, two shillings, one shilling, nine

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1. CRO, SC/AP 1/1 5 November 1770. This first stone was laid at the corner of Charles Gore's house by Edward Noble, the Mayor, between 11am and 12 noon on that day. The workmen were given a guinea for drink, as was customary on such occasions. Thus work was now in progress in Above Bar.
 2. CRO SC/AP 1/1 6 and 27 November 1771. Above Bar Street was finished in March of that year, Upper East Street in August, the High Street in October and Pitts Lane on 21 November.
 3. Ibid., 30 March 1774, 29 March 1775. Some decisions were later made to pave new areas, as for example on 26 August 1778 when it was upheld that the passage leading from West Gate to the south end of Bugle Street should be paved, for a sum not exceeding £12 16s 1d and making use of old materials.
 4. Ibid., 29 November 1775 and 3 April 1776. See Appendix G for details of these bills.

pence and eight pence in the pound, and thereafter at smaller amounts for the repair work.¹

In addition, of course, to providing pavements, the Pavement Commissioners had undertaken the cleansing of Southampton's streets.² Despite the initial difficulties in finding a willing scavenger, the streets were regularly swept. At first the soil was taken straight to the quayside and shipped on board a vessel, but a change in scavengers altered this policy.³ Complaints were received of the dust caused by the sweeping and the scavenger was consequently commanded to employ a man to water the streets before they were swept.⁴ Overall, the result was a marked improvement

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1. CRO, SC/AP 1/1 27 April and 6 November 1771, 20 May 1772, 27 January 1773, 26 October 1774, 2 August 1775, 4 August 1779 and 15 September 1784. Repair rates were often only four pence in the pound. People who failed to pay these rates were prosecuted. (See for example *Ibid.*, 10 July and 16 October 1771). In 1775 the Commissioners became dissatisfied with Peter Watts' behaviour and he was advised to 'attend to his Business as Collector better than he has of late', or resign. In July 1776 he resigned, since "it was not consistent with his Business to continue", and his father was elected to the post.
 2. Prior to the founding of the Commissioners, every householder in Southampton paid "scavage money". This was collected by two persons chosen at the Court Leet, who were also responsible for supervising the work of the town scavengers. Thus in Southampton, unlike most Georgian provincial towns, the principle of public scavengers who carried away the refuse already existed. But control of these sweepers was transferred to the Pavement Commissioners. For a discussion of the policies in existence before 1770 see J.S. Davies, History of Southampton, 1883, p. 124.
 3. CRO, SC/AP 1/1 1 and 15 October 1770. Mr. Mitford proposed to take a quantity of the town soil at two shillings a cart load, provided it was first placed on the quay, whence it was shipped at Mitford's expense: "but the soil is to be so placed as to be shot immediately into the vessel without any further expense of cartage...". However, William Bissington offered to rent the town soil for one year at £5 p.a., agreeing to collect the soil "from every part of the town twice a week or oftener if the Commissioners shall require it". During the Georgian period the market value of town refuse fell, causing more problems.
 4. *Ibid.*, 15 June 1774.

in the efficiency of street sweeping and a renewed vigour in the prevention of the dumping of refuse.¹

The Commissioners ordered that all "Night Men" employed to empty necessary houses should do so well away from the town, and not place their deposits within forty yards of any highway, wharf, quay or other building.² The mess, too, created by the actual paving had to be quickly cleared - Monday, the paviour, was ordered to pay a number of men and women to rake all the dirt from one end of the High Street to the other, and place it in heaps to be carried away when dry.³

However, in addition to new paving and regular cleansing of the streets, there can be little doubt that one of the most significant achievements of the Pavement Commissioners was their rigorous pursuance of a policy to investigate all complaints of encroachments and nuisances. Complaints were made both by the inhabitants and the officers of the Commissioners themselves, and notices to remove nuisances were readily and willingly given. Thus, John Monckton could stress his great annoyance at a hogstye, Mrs. Earlsfield

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1. CRO, SC/AP 1/1 17 June and 1 July 1778. Various scavengers came and went. One actually absconded, leaving one Commissioner with the task of employing persons himself to sweep the streets since they had been left dirty. Another had to be discharged for neglect of duty.
 2. Ibid., 5 November 1770. This order was to be published by the Common Crier.
 3. Ibid., 21 August and 23 October 1771. The heaps of dirt were to be left at a place appointed in the Marsh, formerly used by the scavenger.

that "she is greatly annoyed by a necessary house built against her garden wall", and various people could complain of a dung pen projecting into Castle Lane.¹ In such cases, the Commissioners acted promptly, ordering the removal of the nuisance. Moreover proper attention was also paid to vehicular problems - carriages left standing in the highway were impounded, it was forbidden to fasten horses to doors "whereby passengers were obstructed in their way", and wheelbarrows were not to be pushed along the pavements upon pain of prosecution.²

But, alongside this systematic removal of nuisances, the Pavement Commissioners adopted a stringent policy as regards the building of houses. As early as May 1771, they issued a printed order that no steps were to project into the streets beyond the houses, nor be sited upon the new pavement. Only in exceptional cases "where the houses are so circumstanced

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1. CRO SC/AP 1/1 10 September and 8 October 1770, 23 October 1771. The hogstye was in Pitts Lane.
 2. Ibid., 20 November 177-, 9 September 1772 and 7 December 1774. Complaints had been made that carriages "and other things" were frequently left standing in the highway longer than was necessary. At first, the Collector and Beidle were ordered to seize and convey them to the storehouse of Mr. Alderman Ludlow which (by his permission) is appointed a place to impound the same till redeemed by the respective owners". Later, the tree Above Bar opposite Windmill Lane was to be used "for securing with a chain such carts and carriages as may obstruct the pavement" until penalties were paid. Carts were not to use the pavements, although when one man drove his horse and lime-loaded cart upon the footway he was excused the penalty on account of his poverty and upon promising not to do so again.

as not to admit of making steps within them", and then only under strict supervision should such steps be permitted.¹ Thus the owner of a new house in Above Bar had liberty to "alter his steps to his street door as desired by him following Monday's directions", but another gentleman was ordered to alter the plinths of upright posts projecting into the street by three inches beyond the former plinths, and set them within their ancient bounds.²

Bow windows were commonly seen as encroachments.

Daniel Silley, a master workman employed in erecting a bow window, was ordered to discontinue his work. He, however, carried on, and as a result was threatened with prosecution because he had "wilfully and contentiously" done so.³ Builders and householders were instructed to apply for permission first for such protruding windows, but permission was only granted when the new windows formed in line with existing ones. For instance, one bow window was allowed for a shop "taking care that it shall not project in front beyond the present one", and the Collector was ordered to take its dimensions and attend the fitting of the new window so as to ensure against any encroachments.⁴

The Pavement Commissioners intervened both in the building of new houses and the alteration of existing ones.⁵ Care

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1. CRO SC/AP 1/1 13 May 1771.
 2. Ibid., 29 May and 3 June 1771.
 3. Ibid., 29 July 1773. Peter Watts, the Collector, was ordered to put the case before the Mayor.
 4. Ibid., 18 August 1773.
 5. See Appendix for extracts of intervention.

was taken in particular to ensure that the fashionable bulk or bow windows of the day should not project into the street and thus hinder the pedestrian thoroughfare. Further, the line of building was considered to be all-important. Builders and house-owners were often encouraged to build projecting windows where their immediate neighbours had already done so, in the interests of this continuous line. In August 1774, for example, Mr. May was granted liberty to carry out a bulk window, according to a plan which he presented to the Commissioners, "in line with the house now in the possession of Mr. Noble and of the house in possession of Mr. May". Mr. Lomer petitioned the Commissioners when they decreed he did not have their permission to "bring out" his shop window at a new house he was in the process of building in the High Street. The verdict, however, made on January 13 1779, was that it was the unanimous opinion of the Commissioners present that "complying with the petition will be rather an ornament than otherwise to the street", and leave was thereby granted for the two bow windows. However, when an applicant desired to build a bow window on his ground floor earlier in 1774, it was decided to refuse his request because of the "endless applications that might be made in consequence of it throughout the town".¹

These were the major contributions that the Pavement Commissioners made to the checks on building. Care was taken overall to ensure that the footpaths were kept clear, that steps, railings and windows did not interfere with free passage, and that nuisances no longer prevailed. However, whilst this work was performed with a view to safeguarding the pedestrian and vehicular interests, this

1. CRO, SC/AP 1/1 6 April 1774.

attempt to control the line of building and, moreover, to introduce some aspects of uniformity in building, were significant contributions. Henceforth, builders and house-owners had, at least, to gain approval for their plans when new-building or wishing to extend against the main highway. Further, the overall tidying and cleansing of the streets, and, later, the policing of the town, all had an effect on the general appearance of Southampton.

The Pavement Commissioners thus attempted the tidying and cleansing of the streets of Southampton with decided vigour when compared overall with the inactive Corporation. Moreover, they represented the start of an important new development in municipal policies, for with the at times grudging acceptance that appointed bodies should be set up to administer corporate concerns, came the recognition of the need to promote greater awareness within the community for the town's concerns. They were, as P.J. Corfield, has pointed out, "the force of pressure for change".¹

1. P.J. Corfield, op. cit., p. 158.

CHAPTER FOUR

Finance in Building

This chapter examines the sources of finance available to builders and the methods by which builders obtained financial backing for their ventures. The first section thus analyses the investors themselves, and the desirability of investing in speculative property development compared with other investment possibilities. The second section investigates the importance of both credit and mortgage finance for builders.

There were significant numbers of men and women in Southampton in the spa period who possessed capital funds enough to seek investment outlets in both national and local projects. Many were prepared to finance actual building operations, securing their money upon a mortgage of the premises. Mortgage loans thus became an important source for builders who wished to develop land in either large-scale undertakings or smaller one-off ventures. Further, by mortgaging out the newly-built house, builders were thereby enabled to raise the finance necessary for further development ventures, and in this manner additions to the housing stock were consolidated. However, mortgage loans were by no means the sole source of finance for house-building, and many builders relied in addition upon credit, especially to finance an initial speculative project. Whilst there was an undisputed supply of funds for builders within the town itself, little money came from the newly established local institutions - the banks or friendly societies. On the contrary, it was individuals who provided the funds, either through extending credit upon goods and services, or through making mortgage loans available.

Whilst it is recognised there is a problem of classification with craftsmen, the term here is taken to mean those persons who have presumably received a training in some trade.

1. Sources of Building Finance

a) The Investors

Those people who financed building enterprise were, of course, as essential as the builders themselves. It has been conclusively argued that in the latter half of the eighteenth century there was adequate capital in the country as a whole to meet the growing needs of investment and development.¹ Not without reason has the period been dubbed "the age of commercial capitalism", for with no profits tax and no capital gains tax there was a new animation in the economy.² Savings had accumulated and were continuing to do so, and there had been

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1. T.S. Ashton, Economic Fluctuations in England 1700-1800, 1959, passim; J. Parry Lewis, Building Cycles and Britain's Growth, 1965, passim; A.D. Gayer, W.W. Rostow, A. Schwartz, The Growth and Fluctuations of the British Economy 1790-1850, 1953, passim; Ashton concluded that cessation of war invariably led to a boom in building, fuelled by a steady flow of cheap money. He identified certain peaks in building activity, and since information about the construction business is meagre, he relied heavily on data showing the imports of deal and fir timber. Parry Lewis, whilst pointing out the inadequacy of such data, nevertheless identified similar peaks in the building industry, basing his analysis upon figures for the output and import of essential building materials. Gayer, Rostow and Schwartz also investigated building activity and suggested, for example, that the 1820's marked a time of renewed post-war activity, with the bank expanding credit and offering good terms for mortgages.
 2. Roy Porter, English Society in the Eighteenth Century, 1982, P. 204. Porter argues that the economic infrastructure met the needs of business well. The stability of the Bank of England gave confidence to public investment, and the Bank became so secure it was able to draw large funds from abroad, in particular from Holland. The paper-money economy grew, and in the provinces, merchants, goldsmiths and attorneys inevitably became bill-brokers and discounters. Credit transactions enabled business to expand by trading upon expectations. Thus, because capital was plentiful, interest rates remained low: "Whatever the project - land improvement, turn-pikes, canals, building or colonial trade - there was cheap money to finance it".

a fall in the rate of interest. Opportunities were rife for ambitious individuals with some capital to try their fortunes - and many prospered.¹

Chalklin discovered that whilst large capital funds did exist in the eighteenth century, "much of the wealth of the country consisted of countless small estates with a mixture of personal and real assets worth between a few hundred and two or three thousand pounds".² Those who held this money, he concluded, were the more substantial craftsmen, the tradesmen, leisured men and some widows and spinsters. In Southampton the pattern was the same. An analysis of personal estates left by Southampton men and women during the years 1750 to 1830 can be used to corroborate this.

Of two hundred and seventy-two wills proved for Southampton during this period in the Archdeaconry Court, one hundred and eighteen people died leaving money and goods valued at over

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1. M.D. George, London Life in the Eighteenth Century, 1925, pp. 89 - 91; R.S. Neale, op. cit., pp. 116 - 7, 169. George found that in the capital all classes tried to reap a profit there from the inevitable demand for houses that came with a rapid increase in the population in the late eighteenth century. Neale discovered that in Bath after 1720 building began to take on a specific local vitality, and that the two Woods (father and son) were able to create their "extensive architectural centrepiece" through finding "the supply of collateral for raising finance from hundreds of investors, both large and small".
 2. C.W. Chalklin, op. cit., pp. 157 - 8.

£100 - a percentage of forty-three. Moreover, of these, no less than sixty-five had personal property worth more than £300, a by no means insubstantial sum. This information (i.e. those testators who died leaving estates worth £300 or more) is collated in Table 3. Actual figures of estates are but rarely recorded, the most usual phraseology being: "the goods, chattels and credits of do not amount to" as sworn by one of the executors; hence the totals in the far right-hand column of this Table are personal estates under the stated amount.

The estates vary; the £25,000 left by John Sanders was no doubt extremely uncommon, but altogether there were thirty-six people whose personal estates were valued at approximately £1,000 or more: eleven in the twenty year period 1780-1800 and eighteen between 1800 and 1820. All these figures are higher than those found by A.J.F. Dully for the ~~Me~~ Medway towns for a slightly earlier period.¹

A number of the wills proved in the Court contain no actual evidence of the amount of the personal estates. This was especially common for the earlier wills, and may in part explain why there are no recorded instances of personal property valued at over £300 being left before 1782. But it will also be noted that more people left greater amounts as the period progressed. However, it cannot be assumed that where no total is presented then no money was left. For instance, John Brine, a bricklayer, died in 1766 leaving a messuage in Hanover Buildings, four tenements in Gods House Court, and a messuage in French Street. His wife received, in addition to some of the property for her life time, all

1. C.W. Chalklin, op. cit., p. 158 and footnotes. Dully found that between 1687 and 1740 out of 478 people, 178 had estates worth more than £100, and 67 more than £300.

TABLE 3

Personal Estates left in Southampton 1750-1830valued at over £300.

Date	Name	Occupation	Estate (under)
1782	Joseph Taylor	Builder	£2,100
1787	Joan Elcock	Widow	400
	John Palmer	Victualler	1,000
1788	John Cushen	Tinplate Worker & Brazier	500
	John Keal	Mercer & Draper	1,000 (over)
	Nicholas Tipper Smith	Gentleman	600
	James Vaughan	Draper	1,000
1789	John Day junior	Organist	1,300
1790	Elizabeth Pigeon	Spinster	700
1791	James Mobbs	Hatter, Hosier & Haberdasher	600
	Daniel Silley	Carpenter	1,800
1793	James Knight	Bricklayer	600
	Ann Vye	Spinster	1,000
1794	Robert Deale	Gentleman	4,500
	Samuel Foyn	Gentleman	420
	Peter Irwin	Nurseryman	500
1795	Richard Osman	Gentleman	1,100
1796	Henry Wallis	Bricklayer	500
1797	William Andrew Nance	-	1,000
1799	Pettus Harman	Painter & Glazier	600
	Joseph Judares	Mariner	600
	Elizabeth Lintott	Spinster	1,000
1801	Thomas Chidell	Innholder	2,000
1802	Benjamin Johns	Gentleman	5,000
	Hannah Taylor	Widow	400

Date	Name	Occupation	Estate (under)
1804	Thomas Beare	Painter	£ 1,000
	William Thring	Gentleman	600
1805	John Sanders	Common Brewer	25,000
1806	Benoni Bursey	Gentleman	1,500
	Thomas Burford Hookey	Druggist	800
1807	John Ibbetson	Innholder	1,000
	Mary Long	Widow	2,000
	Charles Martill	Bricklayer	1,500
1808	John Hammond	Music Master	1,500
	Richard Simms	Bricklayer	600
1809	Mary Marett	Widow	7,500
1811	Edward Jaccbs	Innholder	600
	Thomas Miles	Linen Draper	3,500
1814	Myra Weaver	Spinster	450
1815	Susannah Jens	Widow	450
	James Taylor	Plumber	1,500
1816	Edward Lucas	Perfumer	1,500
	William Sheldon	Whitesmith	450
1817	Charles Martill	Bricklayer	400
	Sarah Simms	Widow	1,200
1818	Stephen Gradidge	Butcher	1,000
1819	John Dorsett	-	1,500
1820	John Cushen	Gentleman	1,500
	John King	Plumber & Glazier	2,000
1821	William Colbourne	Leather Dealer	2,000
	William Harris	Plumber, Glazier & Painter	400
	James Martin	Baker	600

Date	Name	Occupation	Estate (under)
1822	Joseph Cutler	Gardener	£ 600
1823	Mary Butt	Widow	800
1824	Richard Brooker Taylor	Stonemason	2,000
1825	William Brice Steele	Wine Merchant	450
1826	William Cheater	Butcher	450
1827	Sarah Colson	Wife of John	1,500
	James Crouch	Brewer	800
	Edward Pyott Westlake	-	2,000
1828	Mary Ann Lucas	Spinster	900
1829	James Linden	Gentleman	6,000
	Jeffrey Johnson Truss	Sergeant-at-mace	1,000
1830	Mary Butcher	Widow	2,000
	Thomas Webb	Confectioner	450

Source: HRO Archdeacons wills, 1750-1830.

the household goods, furniture and "anything not mentioned which I shall be entitled unto at the Time of my Decease". His real estate was not inconsiderable, but regrettably his personal estate is unknown.

The will of Edward Fox, yeoman, is another such example. By his will proved in 1777, Fox provided his wife and children with various plots of meadowland, orchard land or otherwise in Southampton and outlying districts, in addition to two messuages. He also made legacies of from £200 to £400 to three of his children and one of his executors, totalling £1,200. John Purse Budden, in his will proved in 1782, declared "I am at present part owner of three several ships". Budden, a merchant, was also involved in banking ("I have monies at Interest in my Hands belonging to several Persons"), and he decreed that if the sale of his interest in these ships was insufficient to meet the demands of these claimants, then his executors were empowered to sell "as many of my leasehold houses and lands as may be sufficient to discharge the above sums". On the other hand, some of these "unknowns" do not appear to have so much to bequeath: John Andrews, apothecary, left one shilling to each of his sons "I having in my life bestowed upon them all I could according as I was able", and to his wife, his leasehold house, goods, plate and chattels.

Those with substantial sums to leave were most likely to be craftsmen (18) and tradesmen (16). Of these, nine craftsmen left amounts of near £1,000 or over, as did seven tradesmen. Others were commonly leisured men (gentlemen), widows and spinsters (9, 7 and 6 respectively). These, then, were the types of people who had money to spare in the spa period in Southampton, and who may well have looked for investment opportunities. They were men such as William Harris, a plumber, glazier and painter who in his will of 1821 commanded his brother and his friend to call in all his monies and convert all his other estates into money and invest the whole as they should judge proper for the use and benefit of his wife. His

personal estate was valued at something under £400. An Innholder, Edward Jacobs, who left nearly £600 in 1811, is another example, since he, too, desired his estate to be converted into money and then placed out. Mary Marett, a widow, left a most substantial sum of approaching £7,500, and was clearly not unwilling to invest money; her instructions included that her grandson was to receive "All money due to me in stocks, mortgage or bond or debts". Ann Vye was a spinster and when her will was proved in 1793 on an estate of nearly £1,000 she desired that her executors were to sell everything immediately (mainly several messuages, rented out) and invest the money in either Government security or landed security.

It is clear that there were a number of people in the town, men and women, craftsmen, tradesmen and those of leisure, who had significant amounts of money to invest in local projects. These same people ^{almost without exception} possessed fair real estates by the time of their death.

b) Property as Investment

A further analysis of the wills reveals that of those two hundred and seventy-two people who had goods and property thought to be worth assessing, seventy-six left more than one house when they died. The Appendix^{III} provides information on those people who specified in their wills exactly what property they owned - the type of property, whether it was let or in their own occupation, and sometimes its location. Others may mention their property in their wills, but without detail. For example, Isaac Anderson, a carrier, talks of "My messuages, houses, lands, tenements and hereditaments whether freehold or leasehold...", and John Dorsett left his wife "all and singular my lands, messuages, tenements...". Where the wills are more specific, they have been annotated. Altogether, twenty-eight per cent of those who made wills left more than one house: a leasehold or a freehold house reserved for their own occupation, and in addition, one

or more properties which they let out. Frequently, rents from these houses are left for the future upkeep of wives and children. John Janverin, a mariner, thus bequeathed all his freehold lands, tenements and hereditaments situated in the parishes of St. Michael and All Saints to his wife, with all their "Rents, Issues and Profits". Not all the property owned by Southamptoners was in the town. Some held land, farms or messuages in places such as Romsey, The New Forest or the Isle of Wight. Some lands were copyholds.

Joseph Taylor, a builder, formerly a carpenter, is typical of the person who invested his money in rented-out properties. His personal estate when he died in 1782 amounted to £2,100 - a respectable sum. But his will also provides valuable detail on his property dealings. To his son, Richard, he left a messuage or tenement known as "Harveys Court" situated on the north side of Simnel Street, then in the occupation of six different people (James Smith, William Plenty, Epharim Cambel, Hannah Mullors, John Mitchell and William Hill). Richard also received all his father's messuages on the east side of the High Street, let to six other tenants. A tenement on the west side of the High Street in two distinct occupations was conferred on another son, along with a messuage in Portswood. A third son had already been provided for by a separate marriage settlement. Daniel, a fourth son, was left property in trust, out of which he was to receive five shillings a week from the rents "if he continues in his indolent and wicked course of life". The remainder of the rents from this other messuage, on the north side of Simnel Street and with six tenants, was to keep the property in good repair and pay all other expenses, any residue being split between the grandchildren. If Daniel decided to "behave to the good liking of my executors after my wife's death" he was to be put into full possession of the above property. On the west side of Above Bar Street Joseph Taylor owned another messuage, and this one he bequeathed to his fifth son, Nathaniel. And a daughter was granted "all those tenements, silk shops and gardens on the north

side of Simmel Street" in trust. All the children received their properties only on the condition that they paid into a trust estate; Richard and Joseph were to pay £800 each, James £100, Daniel, only if he assumed full possession of his property, £100, Nathaniel £300, and Sarah another £300. This money was to be divided equally between three further daughters, after the deduction of £600 held on a mortgage bond.

Robert Coles was a slater whose estate in 1815 amounted to £3,500. Coles had his own yard with a store and a quay adjoining the River Itchen in St. Mary's parish. This he bequeathed to three sons, presumably to carry on the business, together with all his stock in trade both of a slater and a lathmaker. A fourth son was left a dwelling house, No. 118 the High Street, and a messuage, premises and small piece of land at Cross House. Four messuages, numbers 1 - 4 Cross Street in All Saints Place, went to one daughter, whilst another received another messuage at Cross House. Coles' own dwelling house, also at Cross House, was to become the property of James, one of the three sons involved in the business. The other two also received houses: one was already living in a messuage in Cross House, and this he was allowed to keep, and the other was to have a messuage lately built on part of the slate wharf. All six children were also granted a share in a piece of land sometime since purchased of Southampton Corporation at Cross House then used as a bathing place, together with bathing machines.

The will of Thomas Kervill, builder, is a little more specific as to his building operations. Kervill died in 1798 leaving a freehold parcel of land in St. Mary's parish which he had purchased in 1797. He bequeathed this land "with all Erections and Buildings thereon set up and built" to his two sons as tenants in common. Kervill also owned other unspecified properties - leasehold and copyhold estates in Southampton and elsewhere.

Charles Martill was a bricklayer by trade, and when his will was proved in 1807 he left a personal estate of £1,500 plus various properties in the town. He himself lived in a leasehold messuage in Pepper Alley, and this subsequently passed to his son Charles, also a bricklayer. Four freehold messuages in All Saints Place were conferred in the first instance on another son, and two freehold houses and five tenements behind them in Simnel Street were left to a daughter. This daughter was also to receive all the rents due to her father from all his estates for twelve months after his death. A grandson was to keep the rent of a house with five tenements behind in the Butcher Row in order to apprentice him. The residue of Martill's estate included various loans made by him on mortgage.

Clearly, several people in Southampton possessed, in addition to their own self-inhabited house, one or more other properties that were let out. Frequently, too, investors owned houses that were occupied by members of their own family. Robert Beare, a painter, for example, owned in addition to his own dwelling house, a messuage which he had recently purchased and in which his daughter dwelt. Others held properties in a specific location, the same area or in the same street: a widow, Jane Redford, let out several freehold messuages in East Street; Robert Head, a gentleman, also let three freehold messuages adjoining each other in All Saints parish. Charles Martill Junior owned several messuages which were either let or in his own occupation in or near St. Michael's Square, whilst George West possessed houses at Hamble, two houses in St. Michael's, and two in the Butcher Row.

This percentage of small estates held in Southampton and bequeathed in various wills bears witness to the fact that property was considered to be a worthwhile investment. Such investment possibilities clearly appealed to the business instincts of such people as Stephen Gradidge, butcher, who by the time of his death in 1818 had invested money in four freehold newly-built messuages in All Saints, plus three

leasehold messuages in Orchard Street; or the customs house locker, James Harding, who owned two parcels of land near Orchard Lane and a new house in Portswood. Further these investments were judged relatively lucrative by the investors; for when Richard Simms, bricklayer, left his wife all his real and personal estate, valued at under £600 in 1808, he declared: "My meaning is that she shall not sell any of my land or Houses in her lifetime, so as to impoverish herself or lessen her annual income, and which I hope as the case now is will be a tolerable maintenance for her..."¹

c) Other Investment Possibilities

Investors were prone to examining all sources of investment for their funds, be it Government stocks, mortgages or simple loans. Since the later eighteenth century was indubitably a time when innumerable schemes for "improvement" - both regional and personal - were mooted, it is not surprising to find that in Southampton there were various schemes which offered opportunities for local investment. The turnpiking of the major road arteries, the bridging of the River Itchen, and a canal to Salisbury were all begun or continued, opening up a lively shares market. In addition, new leisure-based buildings, a theatre, for example, were financed in this early period by public subscription. This, too, was the time when the Polygon complex was proposed.

Government securities provided another outlet for surplus funds.² Table 4 is a breakdown of all those wills of

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1. HRO, Archdeacons Wills, Richard Simms, proved in 1808.
 2. T.S. Ashton, op. cit., p. 98. Ashton cites Sir John Sinclair who wrote of this period "the value of the stocks was increasing every day; and mortgages were obtained for immense sums on private security, at three and a half per cent".

TABLE 4

Money invested in Government Stocks

Date	Name	Occupation	Amount Invested	Total known estate under
1752	Elizabeth Compton	Spinster	£ 3000	-
1769	Benoni Bursey	Innholder	300	-
1777	Edward Fox	Yeoman	700	-
1780	William Rolph	Yeoman	300	-
1785	Mary Taylor	Widow	100	£ 70
1788	John Keal	Mercer & Draper	2000	1000 (over)
1796	Mary Sanders	Wife of William	65	100
1798	Hester Brown	Widow	300	-
1803	William Stubbington	Cooper	500	300
1806	James Linden	Schoolmaster	100	100
1809	Mary Marett	Widow	800+	7500
1814	Jane Collis	Widow	100	20
1815	Mary Bursey	Widow	400	3000
1820	John Cushen	Gentleman	250	1500
1826	Thomas Masters	Gentleman	75	200
1827	James Crouch	Brewer	800	800

Source: HRO, Archdeacons, Bishops and Peculiar Wills 1750-1830.



Southampton-based people who specified their money was to be invested in these Government stocks, when the amount to be invested is known. In addition to the sixteen people named in the Table, another twenty-one desired to have their money (or part of it) thus secured, but the amount they invested is unknown. A total of thirty-seven Southamptons therefore chose public stocks as a safe form of investment for their heirs. The amounts invested vary again, ranging from £65 to £3,000. Generally speaking, investors would not choose stocks as the sole form of investment, but set aside some money for investment in the public funds and/or some for landed or other interests. The will of William Campion, an ironmonger who died in 1775, is an example. Campion instructed a Trust Estate to be set up comprising his real estate and his personal estate which was all to be sold, the money being placed out at interest in the public funds or on private securities. Mary Marett wanted her grandson to maintain all her properties in good repair and place the interest from the rents in the Imperial 3%. And William Colbourne's instructions were that his trustees were to apply his money for the maintenance and education of his children, and be at liberty to sell in lots his messuages and tenements by auction or private contract, but they were not obliged to sell until his wife's decease or the youngest child attained its majority. If the property was sold early, then the money was to be invested in "Government security or other." John Cushen, a gentleman, left by his will of 1720 unspecified freehold and leasehold lands and tenements in Southampton, a copyhold estate at Bursledon with some outstanding mortgages and notes of hand, but also shares in the Northam Bridge and Roads, a bond for £100 in the Southampton and Salisbury Canal, and three shares in the said canal. He instructed his trustees to buy £250 stock in the 5% Navy Bank of England, to provide an annuity of £12 per annum for his servant.

It is clear that despite the counter attractions of various

schemes, property investment was frequently considered a sound one. Often, trustees were only instructed to sell if they thought fit, or when the money was to be divided amongst children. And it was not uncommon for children to receive interests in separate properties, where they were sufficient in number. The yeoman, Edward Fox, for instance, decreed that after his wife's death the house in which he then resided would go to one son and his heirs, as would an orchard. Another son was to inherit the orchard adjoining his brother's, a daughter was to hold a leasehold estate in Romsey, and other properties were to be sold and divided amongst all the children.

2. Methods of Building Finance

a) Credit

A valuable archive concerned with finance in building in the early nineteenth century survives in Southampton in the bankruptcy papers of a slater and builder, John Griffiths of Hill. Griffiths was declared bankrupt in February 1810 after having been in business first as a slater and slate merchant, then also as a surveyor and builder, for a period of approximately seven years. His failure was finally brought about when he advanced money to build a house, Hamilton Place in All Saints parish. He claimed he was also bearing the additional burden of family expense (a blind father in London), and that since he worked in Southampton, London, Portsmouth, Lymington, Salisbury and Winchester, he was spending a great deal on travelling. His debts totalled £3,458 19s 2½d. He owed money to forty-nine different people, the amounts outstanding ranging from £2 or so to more substantial debts of a few hundred pounds: his largest single debt was for £692 11s 10d. Three of his creditors were bankers: one in Portsmouth, one in Ringwood, and one on the Isle of Wight. Altogether he owed them a total of £912 11s 10d - and this was a balance of accounts, the money still owing at the time of the judgement of bankruptcy. Bankers certainly

played a role in Griffiths' business, but so also did his other creditors. Whilst a few had little to do with his business ventures, more with his lifestyle (tailors, hatters and teachers for his children, for example), others were owed money for carriage duties, or for wharfage or freight. But by far the greatest number of his creditors were artisans, the workmen Griffiths had employed for their specialist labour. His debts to these people illustrate the extent of credit such a builder was able to manipulate.

The ability to obtain credit from labourers, other specialised craftsmen, and the suppliers of building materials was an essential feature of building ventures in the period. The extent of this credit network can be demonstrated by an examination of the Griffiths bankruptcy papers. The information contained in Table 5 highlights the number of creditors and their range of occupations. Upon deeper analysis it becomes clear that, despite the presence on the list of a few creditors engaged in the more "leisured" industries, the vast majority are building workers or suppliers: carpenters and plasterers, to brickmakers and ironmongers.

The men who brought the case to the Court of Bankruptcy in 1810 were John Dale Hookey, a stonemason, William Beare, a plumber, painter and glazier, and Joseph Hill, a plasterer, all residing in Southampton. Dale Hookey was owed £100, the other two £150 each. John Dale Hookey swore he was owed money upon a Bill of Exchange and for work and labour done for Griffiths. William Beare had also worked for him, and in addition, he had supplied his own materials. Joseph Hill claimed he was owed money as a balance of accounts for work, labour and materials. The three estimated that between them they had sold Griffiths goods to the value of £200.

This pattern is repeated for numerous other creditors. John Young, a carpenter, demanded £140 3s as a balance of accounts for work labour and materials, James Taylor, a plumber, had

TABLE 5.

List of Debts proved under a Commission of Bankrupt against John Griffith,
slater and builder, in 1810.

Creditors Names & Occupations	Sums proved			Dividend at		
	£	s	d	5/7d in the £		
Antram, John - Butcher	17	3	1½	4	15	9
Beare, William - Plumber, painter and glazier	341	15	9	95	0	3
Boor, Richard - Writing Master	11	16	0	3	5	10
Bulmore, John - Mariner	16	0	0	4	9	4
Colson, William - Broker	13	1	9	3	13	0
Christiana, Henry Louis - Music Master	3	8	0		18	11
Crouch, William - Brewer	5	2	2	1	8	6
Curry, William - Esq.	500	0	0	127	6	0
Davis, William - Sawyer	2	3	10		12	2
Evamy, Richard - Sadler	4	9	6	1	5	0
Gomme, James - Upholsterer (Bucks)	126	10	00	35	6	3
Green, John - Hatter	2	17	0		15	11
Harvey, William - Hairdresser	3	18	0	1	1	9
Henley, John - Carpenter	2	16	9		15	10
Hill, Joseph - Plasterer	200	0	0	55	16	8
Hoar, John - Carter of Redbridge	13	1	0	3	12	10
Hookey, John Dale - Stonemason	276	0	0	77	1	0
Humby, William - Hackneyman	5	7	6	1	10	0
Jacob, John - Mariner I.O.W.	33	0	0	9	4	3
Jolliffe, John - Draper	18	4	8	5	1	9
King, John - Plumber & Glazier	50	1	10	13	19	8
Kirkpatrick, James - Banker I.O.W.	20	0	0	5	11	8
Knight, John - Tallow Chandler	7	17	0	2	3	9
Laishley, Richard - Brickburner	14	2	11	3	18	11

Creditors Names & Occupations	Sums proved			Dividend at		
	£	s	d	5/7d in the £		
Laver, Abel - Bricklayer	77	11	6			
Lansdowne, Thomas, elder - Whitesmith	10	17	0	3	0	6
Laver, Abel - Bricklayer	50	0	0	35	12	3
Lintott and Sons - Merchants	4	10	0	1	5	1
Lucas, Henry - Merchant	143	17	3	40	3	2
Minchin, Thomas Andrew - Banker, Portsmouth	692	11	10	193	6	11
Pitt, Moses - Carrier	21	0	0	5	17	3
Rice, John - Brazier	13	14	2	3	16	6
Shaw, Thomas - Wine Merchant	8	9	0	2	7	2
Sheldon, William - Whitesmith	10	2	9	2	19	7
Heane, John - Spirit Merchant I.O.W.	7	0	6	1	19	2
Steele, William Brice - Wine Merchant	10	6	0	2	17	6
Sturt, James - Blacksmith	11	1	4	3	1	9
Taylor, James - Plumber	19	4	0	5	7	2
Taylor, Thomas - Breeches Maker	2	13	6	15	0	
Toomer, Edward - Ironmonger	61	16	4	17	5	1
Tredgold, Robert - Porter	2	2	8	11	10	
Turner, William - Gentleman Merioneth (Wales)	123	15	6	34	11	0
Underwood and Doyle, Messrs. - Merchants	58	5	6	16	5	4
Van Herman and Co., Messrs. - Merchants, Middlesex	21	16	9	6	1	11
Webb, Richard - Brickmaker	13	5	0	3	13	11
White, James - Banker of Ringwood	200	0	0	53	16	8
William, Thomas - Tailor	32	9	4	9	1	3

Creditors Names & Occupations	Sums proved			Divident at		
	£	s	d	5/7d in the £		
Wooton, Robert - Stablekeeper	33	9	6	9	6	10
Young, John - Carpenter	140	3	0	39	2	5
	<hr/>			<hr/>		
Totals	£3414	19	2½	£ 953	5	3

Source: D/PM 14 4 Bankruptcy Records of John Griffiths, slater, 1810.

provided goods and work. And Abel Laver, a bricklayer, had also worked for Griffiths and supplied materials, to the extent of £77 11s 6d. Similar sums were owed to an ironmonger, Edward Toomer (£61 16s 4d) for goods sold and delivered, and work and labour done, and materials found and provided. A Middlesex man, John Doyle who was a fanlight and balcony maker, had also sold and delivered goods to the tune of £58 5s 6d, and he, too, had performed work providing his own materials. In total, sixteen men made claims against Griffiths for work and labour performed and materials provided.

Others had simply sold Griffiths goods, for which he had failed to pay the bill. Richard Laishley, a brickburner, was one of these, and he demanded £14 2s 11d. Another was William Curry Esq. who claimed £500 for materials comprising the wings of Bellevue Mansion House sold by Curry to Griffiths under an agreement made between them in July 1809. In Romsey, another brickmaker wanted £13 5s for goods sold. Further afield, in Merioneth, a gentleman and his co-partner sued for £123 15s 6d for slates sold and delivered. They had received no payment at all.

Four men were owed money in connection with freight and carriage. John Meer of Redbridge claimed £13 1s for work and labour, for wharfage duties for landing Griffiths' goods, and for carts and carriages used for the business of Griffiths. Another carrier, Moses Pitt of Hill, wanted £21 on a balance of accounts for work and labour performed by himself and his servants and his horses, carts and carriages. Griffiths had failed to pay William Humby, a hackneyman, the £5 7s 6d due to him for the hire of horses and gigs. And lastly, a mariner wanted £16 for the freight of slates to Gosport, Portsmouth and Lymington, and also to be reimbursed the Customs House expenses. Griffiths, of course, claimed his travelling expenses had been an added burden to his business, so too had been lodgings - John Jacob in Carisbrooke, on the Isle of Wight, wanted to be paid £33 lodging fees. Griffiths also had lodgings in London, which he had not vacated at the time of bankruptcy.

Richard Missing, Charles Marett and James Rolfe assumed office under the Commission of Bankruptcy, and Griffiths' estate and effects were assigned over to them in February 1810. In November 1811 they acknowledged debts proved to the total of £3,458 19s 2½d, and that, after some payments already made, they had £960 2s 10d in their hands from the sale of the estate. Creditors were therefore paid five shillings and seven pence in the pound for their respective debts.

It is doubtful whether Griffiths would have been able to continue business as long as he did (seven years) had he not been able to depend upon credit from his suppliers and his craftsmen. When ~~summoned~~ for examination, Griffiths, who failed to appear for the first two interviews, admitted that he had bought land in the name of John Griffiths (Griffiths and Co. was himself alone), mortgaged it, then granted and taken leases. The ability to build depended upon a cheap and ready supply of building materials and workmen. Evidently, builders needed leeway. They relied upon buying land upon mortgage or loan, building or re-building upon credit, and selling in time to repay their craftsmen. The case of John Griffiths illustrates all these factors.

This archive shows an overall dependency upon credit from both craftsmen and suppliers, and contains no evidence that any of Griffiths' creditors were Southampton bankers, or building societies.¹ His chief creditor, however, was a

1. However, occasionally builders did apply to banks for actual mortgage finance. In 1780 for example, Thomas Ford the bookseller made a request to Messrs Sadleir and Co. for a mortgage of £1,000 secured on a messuage on the west side of the High Street. This property was held under a lease originally granted by Mary Major in 1655 to William Pinhome. Later the premises were vested in John Cosens who erected a new dwellinghouse with stables and other appurtenances on the site. Ford took over the lease from Cosens, and applied for, and was granted, the mortgage.

Portsmouth banker. Thomas Andrews Minchin and his four co-partners, made a claim of £692 11s 10d from the Commissioners of Bankruptcy, being the balance of account for monies lent and advanced. On the Isle of Wight one James Kirkpatrick, banker, reclaimed £20, whilst James White and his co-partner in Ringwood demanded the repayment of £200 lent and advanced through Robert Hicks, an intermediary. Considering the total debts, these sums borrowed from banks are not excessive, and cannot therefore suggest large-scale borrowing from banks for purposes of building or otherwise.¹

1. The conclusion may be suggested that in general bank assistance to builders was minimal. It may have been that the sums required were themselves too small to have been of great interest to the bankers, or alternatively, bankers may have preferred to deal with local notables, the merchants and professionals, for example. Craftsmen-builders may well have appeared as a dubious risk; and those craftsmen-builders themselves may have regarded bank credit as superfluous, since there were other sources of finance perhaps more readily available to them. One cannot rule out entirely that bankers played a role in funding local building plans, but it is fair to assume both from a lack of evidence to the contrary and from the debts owed by a bankrupt builder, that their role was usually slight. In a similar vein, loan societies appear to have been far from prominent sources of capital for building, primarily since it is doubtful whether there were many in existence in the south of England before the middle of the nineteenth century. Those friendly societies that were established in Southampton during the spa period do not appear to have provided finance for building operations, so far as the evidence suggests. The banks and societies that existed in the town, with some notes on the manner and extent of their operations, have been listed in Appendix III.

b) Mortgage Finance

Amongst the Page and Moody deposited records there exist some bundles of draft mortgages. These are the drafts drawn up by the clerks some months usually before the actual transfer of funds took place. Most are inscribed with the date of fair copying (e.g. a draft drawn up in January 1824 was fair copied in December of that year). Since these are only the drafts, actual amounts borrowed on mortgage are occasionally left blank, presumably whilst the two parties continued to negotiate. Nevertheless, these documents are useful in providing key information as to the occupations of both borrower and lender, and the security on which the mortgage was raised.

The sources of finance were, for the most part, local people since, with only a few exceptions, those people who lent the money resided in Southampton.¹ If the lenders were not town dwellers, then they most commonly lived within a short radius of Southampton, at Botley, Lyndhurst or Lymington, for instance. Occasionally, mortgagees did live further afield: Henry Harcourt of Sussex, for example, lent the Reverend Collins £900 in 1789, secured on two allotments in Mason's Close, St. Mary's; and a Weymouth man, Robert Morrans, put up £1,000 in 1808 for Andrew Jacob's house on the corner of East Street. But these men were the exception rather than the rule; most lived in or near Southampton.

It was not uncommon for mortgagees to share the burden of a loan. Henry Locke, a coachmaker, borrowed £600 in 1799 from Sir Yeovil Peyton and the Messrs. Hancock, Durrell and Hilgrove, and Mr. and Mrs. Rowcliffe. In December 1802 Messrs. John Kellow, grocer, and Cornelius Trim, another grocer, lent an unspecified amount to George Stoddart, a gardener, upon an

1. See Appendix for details of these draft mortgages.

estimated five acres of land in the parish of All Saints, bounded by two meadows. Both Kellow and Trim were competing bankers, but appear to have acted in concert outside of this capacity in this instance. Again, two gentlemen in 1794 advanced £330 to John Cushen, once a brazier, then a gentleman; and the following year a cordwainer and a baker financed a carpenter and a landholder with £100, using a parcel of land, a tenement and a shop as their security. Churchwardens made the occasional mortgage investment. In 1778 the Churchwardens of St. Lawrence (Messrs. Lomer and Goldwyn Hookey) provided Edwin Jones, the sailmaker, with £350 "being the proper monies of and belonging to the said parish" upon a vault, cellar and storehouse, together with lofts and chambers over, on the east side of the High Street. In 1780 the St. Lawrence Churchwardens (this time, Robert Ballard junior and Thomas Baker) again put up £350 of the parish money to finance William Lomer on his messuage in Simnel Street.

Of the thirty-four borrowers listed in the Appendix^{III}, nine are men directly involved with the building trade: bricklayers, slaters, painters, builders or carpenters. After them the most common category is gentlemen (6), and as will be seen builders frequently altered their status in this way, and one terms himself "gentleman, late builder".¹ All the remaining mortgagors (19 in total) come from varied backgrounds - from widows (2) and merchants (3) to an innholder and a surgeon. Chalklin, too, found that generally men who were not craftsmen borrowed on mortgage less often than those engaged in the trades.² An analysis of the occupations of the borrowers listed in all the draft mortgages in Southampton reveals that approaching 18% were building craftsmen, the

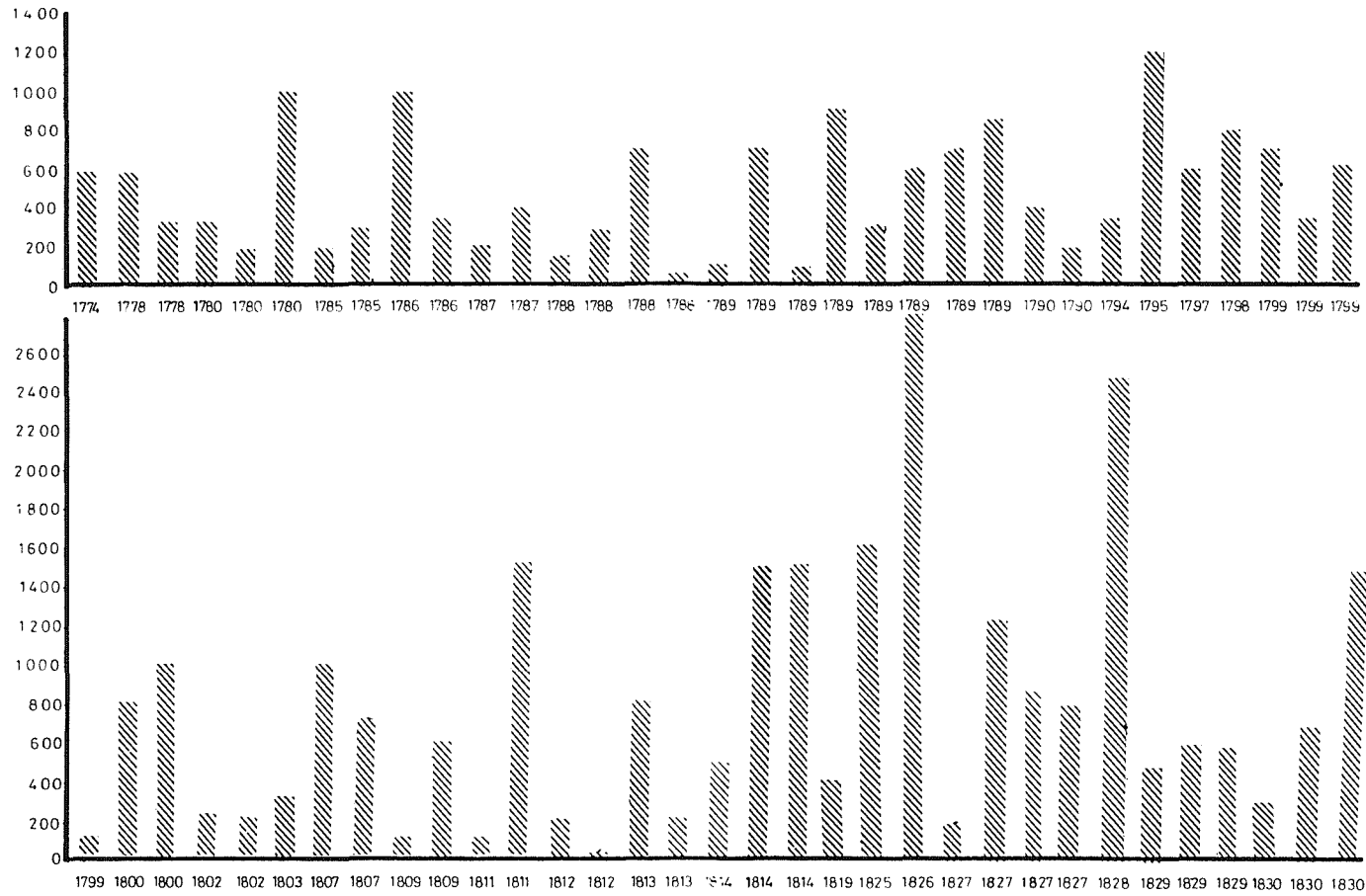
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1. See below, Chapter Five.
 2. C.W. Chalklin, op. cit., p. 240.

largest single category. Yet even this figure is misleading, since some men heavily involved in building houses in Southampton did not list themselves as "builders": John Sanders persistently labelled himself "common brewer", despite the fact that he was responsible for building several houses in the St. Mary's district and elsewhere.

It was not unknown for craftsmen themselves to advance loans on mortgage. In 1811 John Dale Hookey, a stonemason by trade, lent a gentleman, John Brice, £1,500 upon a mortgage of a dwelling house and other houses lately erected by Brice upon land where formerly had stood an old malthouse, in Above Bar Street. Robert Sanders, the brewer-builder, advanced £2,000 to George Quick, an innholder, for "The Wheatsheaf" and a piece of land, in 1826. And Peter Watts, at one time a builder, loaned William Keeping, a plumber and glazier, £1,250 for a house and premises in St. Lawrence's parish.

The amounts borrowed on mortgage ranged from as little as £25 for a garden to £2,500 for "Hampton Court" in French Street. Amounts of £300 to £500 were probably most common, as the graphs in Fig 4; illustrate. It can be seen from these charts that there was no real set pattern to borrowing levels; on the contrary, borrowing fluctuated quite considerably. The charts have been assessed by taking a mean average of the known drafts for the years recorded, and as such cannot be viewed as ultimate totals. But they do offer an insight into the sort of money likely to be borrowed on mortgage. Fig 4.2 demonstrates more dramatically the rise and fall in amounts. Fig 4.2 gives the yearly average, whilst Fig 4.3 is of the average per decade for the known period 1770-1830. Whilst there is a clear fluctuation in the latter half of the eighteenth century, afterwards a definite growth pattern emerges: average amounts borrowed on mortgage increase after the turn of the century, and rise quite dramatically during the decade 1820-1830. Whereas an average figure of £537 was found for the 1770's, by the end of the spa period that figure had reached £1,388. A peak had also been gained in 1795 of £1,200, but then average amounts

GRAPH TO SHOW AMOUNTS BORROWED ON MORTGAGE 1774 - 1830



SOURCES: CRO D/PM 52, D/PM 53, Draft Mortgages

FIGURE 4-1

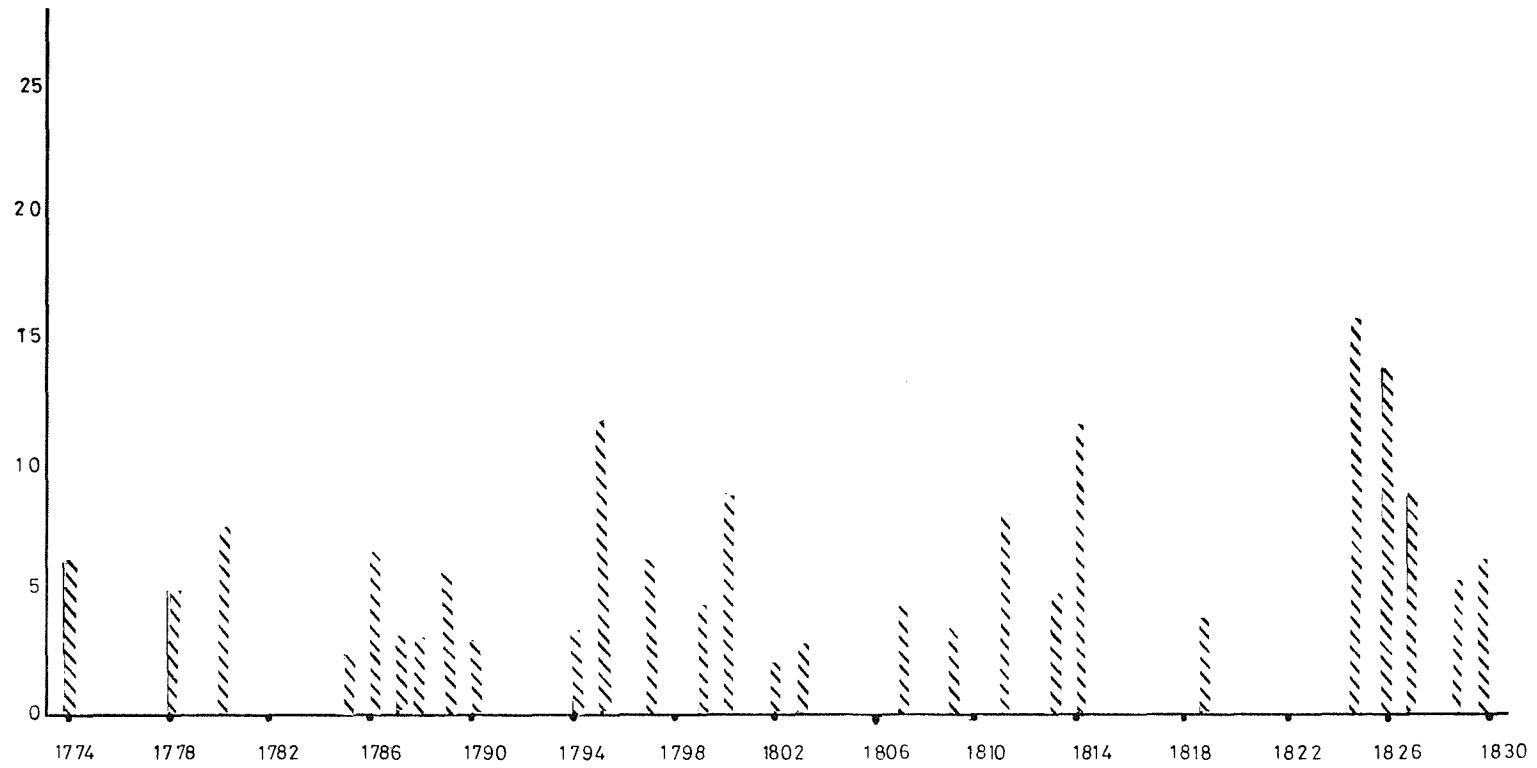
borrowed had dropped again to an all time low average in the 1800's of £438. Nevertheless, the overall picture is one of steady increase in the early years of the nineteenth century.

The largest single amount raised on mortgage in this period was for a capital house, "Hampton Court", formerly known as Little St. Dennis and later to become the Post Office, situated in French Street. This house had been left amongst his children by the will of William Steele, a wine cooper, proved in 1814. At his death, William Steele owned several messuages in Southampton, and he also owed George Atherley and Clement Hilgrove, his partners as bankers, £642 12s "for monies lent", and he owed his attorney, Charles Marett, a further sum of £362 18s 4d, both amounts with interest. His eldest son, William Brice Steele, paid his creditors £400 17s 6d, and £221 10s respectively, but when he too died in 1817 he had not sold his father's freehold estate and had not paid his debts in full. His sister, Maria, soon possessed herself of the personal estate, and only paid Atherley and Hilgrove £75 and Marett £37 8s 10d by various instalments. In 1826 the creditors took their case to the High Court of Chancery, demanding that Maria and her brother, George, hand over personal effects and, if this was insufficient to balance the account, that the deficiency be made good by the sale or mortgage of the real estate.

A widow, Rachel Hammonds, also claimed that since 1802 she had been owed £1,500 by the Steele family, since William Steele had mortgaged certain premises "Hampton Court" for that amount to the estate of Arthur Hammond. These premises, she claimed, had been for many years enjoyed by the Steeles as their own real estate.

Maria and George decided to pay off their various debts by re-mortgaging "Hampton Court", which was then divided into four distinct dwelling houses, a carpenter's shop, a workshop and two tenements. Charles and Ursula Sharp advanced £1,500

GRAPH TO SHOW AVERAGE ANNUAL BORROWING ON MORTGAGES 1774-1830



SOURCE : CRO D/PM 52 ; D/PM 53 Draft Mortgages

FIGURE 4.2

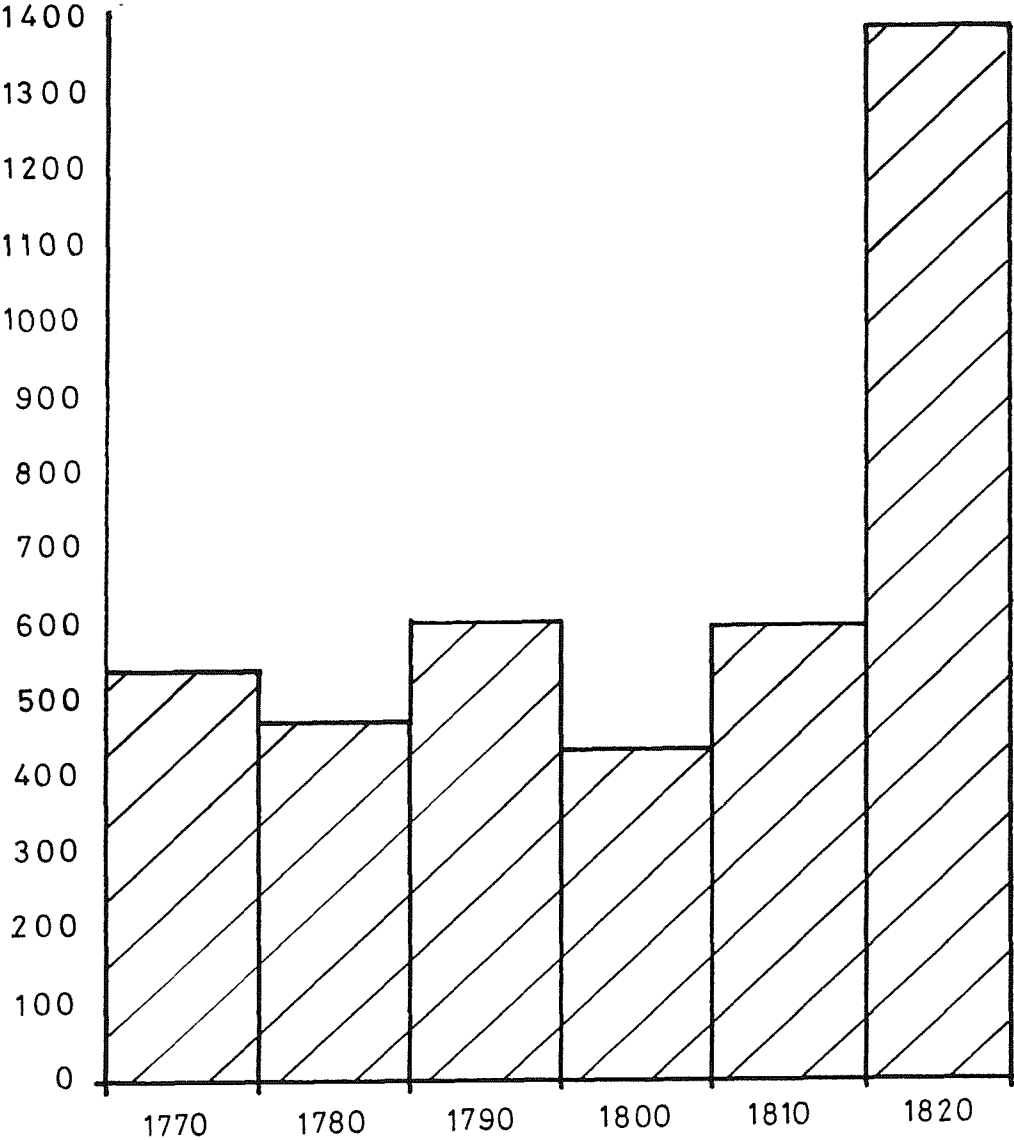
direct to Mrs. Hammond, and the Hammond family assigned their original mortgage on the property. A further sum of £1,000 went to Maria and George, who persuaded their father's other creditors to accept £115 and £85 respectively in full payment of the outstanding debts, which then stood at £169 10s 6d and £128 17s 2d. However, they had also to pay the costs of Chancery.

There are other similar instances of re-mortgaging. In 1816 Thomas Missing, a mercer, borrowed £600 from a merchant, Thomas Williams, upon a house and premises in the High Street. By 1827 Williams had occasion for the return of the £600, and Peter Watts, the builder, agreed to pay him off and also loan Missing a further £400 secured on the same premises. Another capital messuage "Lottery Hall" had been mortgaged to John Dale Hookey in 1821 for £1,500 by a gentleman, John Osbaldiston, but when Osbaldiston required a further £700 in 1827 on mortgage he applied to the Reverend Ridding of Winchester for the money. In 1826 two builders, Shelley and Snook, approached William Rogers for a loan of £2,000 on a piece of land and a dwelling house lately built by them in All Saints. That was in July, but in December a further sum of £1,000 was raised from Fitzpatrick of Newport.

By indentures of lease dated 1808 a messuage and buildings were sold to Andrew Jacob, a grocer. Jacob borrowed £1,000 from Morrans of Weymouth upon the security of this messuage, but it would appear that after a comparatively short time, Morrans had need of this money. In 1810 the mortgage was assigned over to Robert Frossner of South Stoneham, he paying Morrans back his £1,000, and providing an additional £200 for Jacob. Then in 1816 Jacob sold an interest in the house for £200 to Thomas Williams, and this was transferred to Peter Watts in December 1818. At all times, Jacob kept level with the interest repayments on these two loans, and also managed to pay off £100 of the £1,200 advanced by Frossner. But by 1825 most of the capital amount was still owing, and

GRAPH TO SHOW AVERAGE BORROWING ON MORTGAGES PER DECADE

1770 - 1820



SOURCE: CRO D/PM 52; D/PM 53 Draft Mortgages

FIGURE 4-3

Frossner wanted his money back. Jacob approached Watts who agreed to lend a total of £1,600: £1,100 was paid back to Frossner, there was a £200 debt still owing to him, and he advanced Jacob another £300.

It is hard to ascertain from these draft mortgages what percentage of the total value of the entire property they represent. Figures on the sale of these houses are not regrettably contained in this information. The only real figures available in this series are as regards the sale of the estate of Peter Watts who died on the 1st July 1828. Watts instructed his executors to sell his estate, or part of it, by auction after his death. This auction was accordingly held at the Star Inn on October 1st 1828, and the prices fetched at the auction are included in the documents.

Firstly, a freehold messuage or dwelling-house in the High Street was sold for £2,810. Thomas Mowlan made the bid, but he subsequently declared he had been bidding on behalf of Peter Watts junior.

Secondly, a messuage in Brewhouse Lane fetched £725, and this was bought by Watts senior's daughter and her husband William and Ann Howard of Knightsbridge, again acting through an intermediary. Six freehold messuages and buildings recently erected by Watts senior in the Town Ditches were sold altogether for £1,375 to Mowlan acting for Peter Watts junior. And the Howards bought yet another property - a house in Above Bar for which they paid £1575.

Since these properties were presumably bought for cash, and indentures of the transaction only survive with no mortgage deeds, it is impossible to offset mortgage value as against real value. Estimates only can be made, based upon an average price of a house compared with an average mortgage, and since the amount borrowed on mortgage fluctuated, the results are not going to be conclusive. However, since it was fairly

common for borrowers to take out a fresh mortgage on their properties at a later date, it would appear that the original mortgage was based upon a fractional assessment of the value, since mortgagees were clearly not averse to advancing greater sums of money.

Sometimes, mortgages were raised on property belonging to the Corporation or a college, let out under lease. In 1794, for example, John Cushens, who held a Corporation lease on a messuage in Bull Street, borrowed £330 from a gentleman on the security of this messuage. The quit rent was forty shillings and sixpence, plus capon money. As was customary, Cushens assigned the residue of the forty year lease over to his financier. Four years later, £700 was secured upon a tenement let by Winchester College; and in 1802 a Corporation tenement let at an annual rent of £20 was used as security to borrow £200. Queen's College Oxford owned a parcel of land of some ten and a half acres in East Maudlins, and in 1771 this "arable, meadow or pasture" land was leased to Nathaniel St. Andre Esq. for twenty-one years at a yearly rent of 20 pence and half a bushel of good wheat and three pecks of good malt. Prior to 1777 the land came to be lawfully vested in a yeoman, John Fox, for the remainder of the term. In that year, Fox applied for a loan of £600 from William Brackstone, a gentleman, assigning over two acres of the land as security.

Penalty clauses to come into operation in the event of failure to repay the mortgage are generally included in the documents. In the case of a leasehold property, the leases were to be assigned, either immediately or else at the next time of renewal. For freeholds the norm was to demand repayment within one year of the date of borrowing, sometimes less. There are no recorded instances of this money being repaid by such dates; on the contrary, mortgages are assigned over to fresh lenders or amounts added to the original sum. When Thomas Ridding applied for a mortgage from a local mercer, for example, he agreed to pay back the £600 within a few months,

and that in the case of default it would be lawful for his mortgagee "peaceably and quickly to enter into and upon have hold use occupy possess and enjoy the said Messuage or Tenement Garden plott and all and singular other the Premises". He was also empowered to take and receive the rents and profits for his own use without molestation or interruption. Nothing survives to say whether Ridding was able to pay the money back or not.

In 1780 a carpenter applied to a gentleman for a loan of £200 on a messuage he was rebuilding in Above Bar. He agreed to pay the money back within one year "without any Deduction whatsoever". In the meantime, the carpenter-builder was to retain the title and absolute authority to demise the newly-erected messuage, and was therefore presumably gambling on his ability to sell and repay before the expiry date.

Frequently properties were assigned by mortgage for periods of five hundred or a thousand years. Messrs. Kellow and Trim sold a messuage and shop in the High Street to the Misses Purbeck for five hundred years to secure £300. Kellow and Trim might demand a rent of one peppercorn if they desired. This type of agreement was always subject to a Redemption agreement or proviso: if the borrowers paid back in full within the allotted time, the assignment was handed back. John Sanders in 1786 made such an agreement with Edmund Ludlow upon a messuage (Sanders' own dwelling house) an inn and four small tenements which Sanders had just built. Sanders raised £1,000 upon these properties, selling them to Ludlow for one thousand years, at a peppercorn rent, still with a redemption clause.

The only recorded instances of failure to repay the loans within this space of time are when, as already stated, the borrower seeks a fresh loan. In the case of the Steele family already cited, it was possible for them to pay off one mortgage of £1,500 held already for twenty-four years, and still secure another £1,000. Similarly, when Thomas Missing assigned his house to a merchant in 1816 for one thousand years at a peppercorn rent, he made this agreement in September and agreed to

pay back in full by the following March. The next indenture made was, however, in December 1818, at which date it was stated that the money had not been repaid and that the mortgagee's interest in the premises had become absolute at law for the remainder of the term of one thousand years. Nevertheless, this did not prevent Missing from assigning the mortgage over to a new financier, who took up the same terms but for an increased amount.

The interest to be calculated on these loans was most normally fixed at five per cent. Occasionally, four and a half per cent was agreed (for instance, Sanders and Ludlow, 1786, cited above) but this was rare. Sometimes the documents do not actually state the amount, but use the term "at lawful interest". The interest would generally be paid half yearly or quarterly. For example, when Osbaldiston borrowed £1,500 on "Lottery Hall" he agreed to pay £37 10s on the 28th September next, and then £1,537 10s on the following 28th March. The money was not repaid, but an additional mortgage of £700 was taken out six years later when Osbaldiston agreed to pay half-yearly interest on the new amount at £17 10s. When Jacob re-assigned his mortgage over to Peter Watts in June 1825, he agreed to pay interest on the loan of £1,600 at 5% as follows: £20, being one quarters interest, in September, December and March, and £1,620 in June, 1826, thus discharging the full amount, with a total bill of £1,680.

One additional but less valuable source of information on mortgages does exist, and that is contained within the wills proved in one or other of the ecclesiastical courts. Table 6 contains the details. Mortgage information in the wills breaks down into three categories: firstly those who have loaned money out on mortgage and are thus leaving instructions for their executors on how to handle their estate - for example, John Channell's will proved in 1782; secondly, there are some who bequeath property but state that a mortgage is already held on the premises - that the executors will have to continue to pay off the interest as, for instance, in the case of William

TABLE 6

Wills and Mortgages

Date	Name	Detail
1750	George Rowcliffe Merchant	Trustees to discharge his mortgage on N. Bernards Fields
1757	John Hack Yeoman	Wife to have "full power to mortgage sell the messuage or tenement for her tenement for her subsistence".
1766	John Kingston Customs House Official	Messuage "shall not be mortgaged sold or otherwise embezzled".
1774	James Rowcliffe Butcher	Bequeaths to his wife all his real and personal estate including all his lands, houses and mortgages ...
1780	William Whiteway Gentleman	Leaves his son a messuage subject to the payment of a mortgage thereon. He must pay £50 to his brothers or sell the property and discharge the mortgage.
1781	Thomas Langford Butcher	Hill Farm shall not be sold or mortgaged on any account whatsoever.
1782	John Channell	Leaves to his son all the mortgage of £300 upon the house of Robert Atree in Castle Lane, the "Cross Guns". To eldest daughter mortgage of £150 upon a house at Romsey. Mortgage of another house left to two youngest daughters.
1782	William Thring Gentleman	Mortgage of £100 to be raised on a messuage
1784	John Vye Baker	Bequeaths £1,600 which he has out on mortgage to Wm Watson and John Brice.
1790	Elizabeth Pigeon Spinster	Leaves all her mortgages etc.
1796	Henry Wallis Bricklayer	Wife to receive several messuages, but she must not sell or mortgage any of them.
1798	William Drudge Porter	House in Orchard Lane subject to a mortgage.
1799	Thomas Kervill Builder	All sums of money owing to him on mortgage.

Continued/

Date	Name	Detail
1807	Charles Martill Bricklayer	Leaves some unspecified mortgages.
1809	Elizabeth Woodford Widow	Her house to be mortgaged for £100.
1811	Josiah Closson Cabinet Maker	All monies owing to him on mortgage...
1812	Jenny Cosens Widow	Property in St. Michael's parish is subject to a mortgage of £60 and interest.
1822	Joseph Cutler Gardener	All money owing to him on mortgage Bond.

Source: HRO Archdeacons wills, 1750-1830.

Drudge, 1798; and lastly, it was customary to leave directions as to whether the executors were empowered or expressly forbidden to raise mortgages upon any of the bequeathed properties: as for example in the will of John Hack of 1757, compared to that of John Kingston of 1766. However, as can be seen, the information to be gleaned from this source is but scant.

Southampton builders do not, however, appear to have suffered from a lack of funds with which to finance their undertakings. Within the town itself there was a reasonable supply of funds, but these funds were channelled through two major outlets. Money for house-building came from, mainly, mortgage loan and from credit.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Builders

This Chapter focuses on the builder himself. Several groups of people participated directly in the building of Southampton in the Georgian period, and the aim of this section is to examine the nature of their various involvements. Broadly speaking, the type of person who actively involved himself in the building industry was most likely to be either an entrepreneurial landowner of some standing who wished to capitalise on a sound investment, or else a craftsman practising a trade of use in house-building.

1. The Gentlemen Builders

A number of gentlemen were actively involved in the building of new houses, or the renovation of old, in terms of speculative land development. On the one hand were those men who already owned land and who were not averse to entertaining profit-making schemes, probably proposed by a craftsman-builder who required a lease on the land. On the other hand, a number of enterprising businessmen bought up plots of land in order to develop them.

The fact that landowners were prepared to make the decision to release land for building purposes was crucial, firstly for the development of the town, and secondly for the careers of the craftsmen-builders. For in many cases it was not only their initial action of providing the site that was so vital, but also that they were prepared to place control of the building in the hands of one craftsman, or one partnership. The effect of all this was that the actual builder had the site in his possession and was thereby able to use it as collateral in order to raise the finance necessary to build.

Given that the key to raising capital was legal ownership of the land, it is interesting to examine in detail the working relationship between one such landholder and a craftsman builder, and the methods employed for the transfer of title to the development site. An analysis of a series of documents held by the descendants of one craftsman, Abel Laver of Millbrook, reveals the manner in which such a builder was able to capitalise on his partner - the gentleman builder's - existing ownership of land.¹ Abel Laver was a bricklayer, a colleague and creditor of John Griffiths of Hill and, like Griffiths, active in the local building industry from the second decade of the nineteenth century. His partners were neighbours, the Hill family of Freemantle Park, and they not only leased Laver the land both intended developing, but also subsequently provided mortgage finance.

By a leasehold conveyance dated 3 April 1811 Abel Laver paid John Hill Esq. £150 for a plot of land approximately one and a half acres in area in a prime position along the Southampton to Millbrook road. The land was conveyed for three lives: that of Abel Laver himself, then aged thirty-two, and his two sons of seven and six years respectively. The land was to remain theirs for "the life of the longest liver of them, but no longer", although John Hill retained all the timber on the land for him-

1. A valuable set of title deeds and miscellaneous related documents have been loaned by Mr Smith of Southampton. They are all concerned with Abel Laver's activities, but as such are incomplete. Mr Smith also has in his possession papers concerned with his family's local building projects for as late as 1903.

self and his heirs.¹ During the lease rent was to be paid at the rate of £10 per annum. Abel Laver also covenanted that he would, at his own expense and within six years of the date of the agreement, erect and build in a substantial and workman-like manner on some part of the demised premises, two single dwelling houses and four double dwelling houses at the least. One of the end houses or one double house was to be built annually under forfeiture of £500, with an additional forfeiture of £500 in the event of all the buildings not being completed within the six year term. Plan and elevations had already been agreed between the gentleman and the craftsman, and the houses were to be built according to these specified dimensions.² Laver was also asked by Hill to fence the land (in oak, six feet high), and to keep both the buildings and the fences in good repair, since all were to be yielded back to the Hill estate at the expiration of the last life. Hill retained the right to enter, distrain and distress should Laver fall in arrears with the rent by twenty days, and until the rent was paid. If, however, Laver fell behind with the money for thirty days, then Hill had rights of re-possession.

It is clear that this was to be a working partnership. Both parties fully understood that the land had been leased for development purposes only, and the structure of that development was already agreed. The craftsman would be penalised both if he fell behind with the working schedule, and if he failed to pay the fixed rent. Moreover, he was to maintain all

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1. By a schedule attached to an 1815 lease it is apparant that John Jarrett Esq. bought the land (amongst other premises) from Sir Charles Mill of Mottisfont in 1798. In 1805 Jarrett sold to John Elwes, and Elwes sold to John Hill in April 1810.
 2. The plan setting out these dimensions has, regrettably, not survived.

the property, and it was in the Hill family's interest to see that this was done since they would, at some point in the future, re-possess the premises. Abel Laver and his two sons would, in the meantime, enjoy the rents and other profits to be yielded once the houses had been built. And even more importantly, Abel Laver now held the title to the site, and this was to prove to be first-class collateral and the crucial factor when it came to raising capital.

By November of 1812 Abel Laver needed to borrow money. Henry Hill, son of John Hill, agreed to loan him £200 on a mortgage bond secured on the same plot of land.¹ Despite the normal proviso that the money was to be repaid within six months, Laver failed not only to repay, but also required an additional loan in March 1814. Henry Hill provided a further £250, at interest, making a total loan of £450 now secured on the leasehold site. In December 1815 the partners were in a position to re-mortgage the entire property to another local gentleman, Henry Kernot. The land and buildings were conveyed for one thousand years to secure a total of £1,300: £450 to pay back Hill his capital investment, and the remaining £850 to Abel Laver.

At the same time, Henry Hill sold Laver more land - two parcels of arable land next to Laver's own garden.² However, at this point there was some dispute as to Hill's own title to this plot of land, and Laver had his attornies inspect the deeds. They suggested some doubts and raised some objections to title. But Hill clearly wished to proceed with his business transactions with Abel Laver, and, in order to induce the craftsman to complete his purchase, offered to give Laver an indemnity to the extent of £1,500.

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1. John Hill died intestate in 1813. Henry was the only son.
 2. Together, the two pieces of land measured 289 feet by 280 feet by 369 feet and by 430 feet.

The partnership continued. In 1817 Abel Laver bought a plot originally demised in 1813 by John Hill to William Cardwell, a labourer. Laver paid £100 for Cardwell's interest. And in 1819 Henry Hill, who had by now moved to London, sold Abel Laver four cottages on a triangular piece of land for £160. Having raised a substantial sum on a mortgage of his first development in the area, the builder was by this time able to manipulate the sums necessary for further building enterprises. Thus, in the summer of 1822 he secured another $1\frac{1}{2}$ acre plot next to his original piece of land. For this he raised a mortgage for twelve hundred years and for one thousand pounds from a spinster from Cattisfield, securing this mortgage upon the land he had bought in December 1815.

By this time a whole range of buildings - messuages, dwelling houses, and offices had been erected by Laver upon part of the land. These premises included a dwelling house used as two tenements, a house with a tailor's shop, a shoemaker's, one other shop and six messuages. All were let. The following year this mortgage was also transferred, to a gentleman from Hound, for £1,500: £1,000 was paid back to the original lender, and Laver made £500. All interest fixed at five per cent, had been paid to date, and in June 1826 this same gentleman lent another £600, followed by a further £250 in March 1827. He lent these additional sums upon the condition that Laver would secure the whole on a mortgage of all and singular the messuages, houses and buildings, together now with a capital mansion house, erected by Laver on the land purchased from Henry Hill in 1815 by conveyance. This was done in June of that year, Laver adding in two cottages erected on the land he bought in 1822, again from Hill. He now secured a total mortgage for £1,030 on these additional sites, in addition to the vital initial one of £1,500.

Abel Laver's building activities in this and other areas in the town continued after the spa period. With his substantial collateral he was in a position to buy up fresh plots of land and there erect whole ranges of buildings, from messuages to breweries to schools. Having found the land and the money,

initially from the same source, he was in a position of strength to further his building career.

John and Henry Hill, in the interests of speculative development of land they already owned, had been prepared to assign leases upon that land to local builders. Since John Hill sold at least one other plot to the labourer, William Cardwell (1813), it is not unlikely that the family demised other parcels of land as well. It is certain that, as in the case of the Hills' dealings with Abel Laver, where a gentleman conveyed such a plot, it was with the express purpose of having houses built upon it.

John and Henry Hill sold off plots of arable land upon their owner occupied estate. John Simpson, on the other hand, specifically bought land in order to sell it again immediately in building plots.

The development of Albion Place, near the site of the demolished castle, was a key area for new property speculation with the well-to-do market in mind. Immediately prior to partition and development, the site had been owned by a widow, Elizabeth Hoadley. Until her death she inhabited there a mansion house, with pleasure and kitchen gardens, a coachhouse, stables and other buildings necessary for such a house, and also two other freehold messuages which adjoined the mansion.¹ In addition, she held a Corporation lease on Catchcold Tower and gardens in the area.² According to the instructions of her will, proved in 1794, the freehold and the leasehold premises were all put up for sale in two lots. In August 1795 John Simpson Esq. of Bloomsbury Square, Middlesex, purchased all for £4,510.

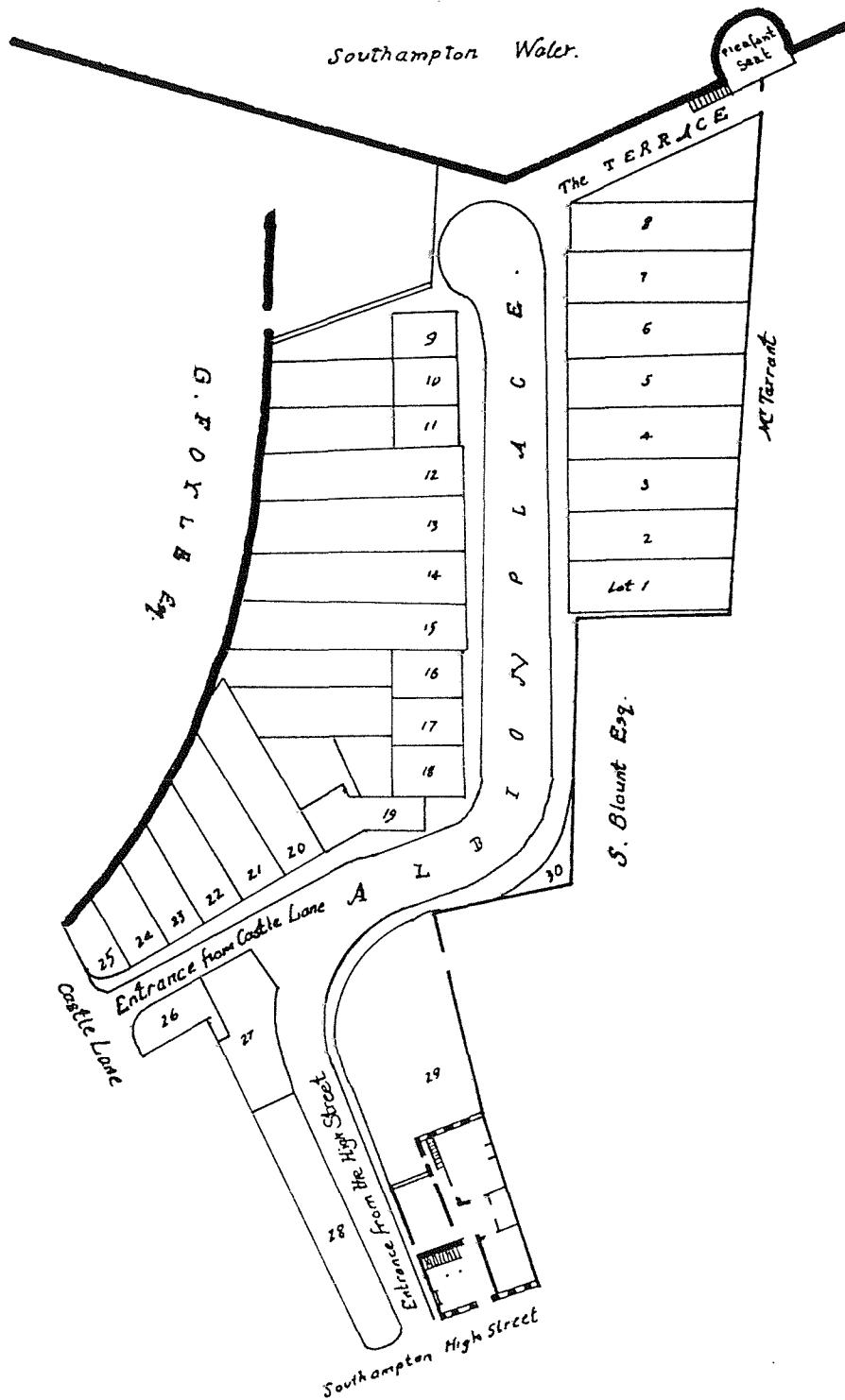
-
1. These messuages were both divided into three tenements each, and sublet.
 2. The lease to the Tower and land was assigned to Simpson in April 1795.

As with the Hill family, Simpson was about to provide a hitherto undeveloped site in a highly desirable situation. This was the vital gentleman builder who put up the initial finance, having already made the key decision to sub-lease the ground for building purposes. With this in mind, he also had drawn up the plans for the site's re-development.¹

The premises were divided into twenty-nine allotments, according to the plan often included in the title deeds (see Fig 5i). The plots were offered for sale in June 1795, six weeks before Simpson had himself completed the purchase of the entire estate. Each plot was to be sold on a one thousand year lease, with an option to purchase the freehold if desired. In several instances, notable gentlemen of the town purchased one or more of these plots and then commissioned the building of a town house.²

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1. There was to be a principal street forty feet wide with paved footways. Eight houses were to be built on the north side in the Grecian style, ten on the opposite side in the Venetian style and the remainder in the approach road. All were restricted to 'regular elevations' and trades of nuisance were prohibited. There was to be a public terrace at the end of the street, with a pleasure seat - presumably this area was to be fenced and locked as each of the inhabitants of Albion Place was to be provided with a key. This design was made by a local architect, John Plaw, who also purchased two plots and erected two of the houses himself. Albion Place was never finished.
 2. John Simpson never succeeded in selling all the plots. Fourteen remained unsold. He recouped a known £1,876 13 0, but this figure may have been a little higher since with at least one sold plot (Plot 21) the price it fetched is unknown. Simpson's activities in Albion Place are detailed in Appendix along with the known purchasers of the building plots.

ALBION PLACE 1795 THE PLOTS



SOURCE: CRO SC4/4/120/2 The 1795 Deeds

FIGURE 5.1

In this way, builders were again in a position to take up sub-leases. Lot 20, for example, was sold to a merchant tailor for £134 (freehold). In 1798 this and the adjoining Lot 21 were conveyed to a builder for £310, upon a mortgage granted by the owner to the builder for that amount, for one thousand years. Two separate houses were built, and two years later they were re-mortgaged for £600.¹

There are many instances of prominent gentlemen in Southampton who actively involved themselves in the building industry in the buying up of land and the commissioning of houses. Many, particularly in the early years of the spa, built on a small scale. These are the typical merchants and traders who owned a few houses as a sound, limited investment. Men, such as the innkeeper Benoni Bursey who started by building workshops, coachhouses and stables; or Thomas Williams, a merchant tailor, who took a greater interest in the more substantial capital houses in the High Street.² These men procured the land, either through lease or purchase of the freehold, and then financed the actual erection of one or more dwelling houses. They then either occupied the house themselves, or they sold or let it and recovered their investment. Their great contribution was that they were in many cases responsible for making the initial decision to build - and by providing finance or collateral they made the fulfilment of that decision possible.

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1. Thomas Williams was the merchant tailor, and Thomas Bartlett the builder. Both were active in building houses in other areas of the town as well.
 2. See for example Title Deeds for No 6 Castle Lane (formerly a stable) D/PM Box 55 1765-1822; and Deed to No 148 High Street 1760 - D/Z 185 1-6 for this period.

There were some, of course, who undertook to build more than just a few houses, and who therefore tied up substantial capital in their projects. One example of a gentleman builder who overstretched himself is one of the partners involved in the Polygon venture, Isaac Mallortie.¹

Mallortie was declared bankrupt in 1773. The list of his freehold, leasehold and copyhold estates to be sold by his assignees included twenty-nine lots of lands and buildings in Southampton, with yet more properties in Winchester and elsewhere.² Evidently, whilst a large amount of capital was necessarily invested in the building of the mansion houses and leisure complex at the Polygon, Mallortie was also placing out money in other projects. He was at the time actively involved in constructing houses in York Buildings and there owned, at the time of his *failure*, one completed and occupied house, one carcass of a house, and seven plots ready for the erection of seven further houses.³ In East Street he held the leases on three new-built houses and three tenements.

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1. The Polygon was an "intended assemblage of elegant edifices" - a twelve-sided complex with a gentleman's villa in the centre of each side. Situated to the north of the town, on such an elevation as to command extensive views of the surrounding countryside and water, the Polygon was to be Southampton's grandiose answer to Bath's Royal Crescent and Tunbridge's Pantiles. Financial backing was to come from the local speculator, Mallortie, and General John Carnac, a retired officer of the East India Company. The first stone was ceremoniously laid in 1768. Mallortie's bankruptcy was publicly announced in 1773. Only three of the houses and the hotel had been finished.
 2. See Appendix for the notice of sale of Mallortie's estates.
 3. Walter Taylor, another active gentleman builder, bought up Mallortie's York Buildings interests.

However, a clear example of successful large-scale building is offered in the case of the Sanders family. This family comprised a father and his two youngest sons, who both continued and expanded their building business after his death. John Sanders was primarily a brewer. Nevertheless, when an orchard in St. Mary's parish was divided and sold he purchased one of the allotments, measuring twenty feet by one hundred and seventy feet, and thus a reasonable building plot.¹ With Alexander Barber, a carrier, as a partner, he secured a mortgage on this land in 1784, from a brickburner in Bursledon. Two years later he took out another mortgage, this time on his own, and from a prominent local gentleman, Edmund Ludlow. £1,000 was raised on his own home, a messuage with four sub-let tenements behind, and the Blue Boare Inn in East Street. He had already built these properties himself.

John Sanders also subsequently acquired leases on other lands in East Street held as portions of St. Mary's glebe land. In 1794 he was granted a lease of a messuage, storehouse and garden from the Rector, paying a £2 annual rent. And in 1803 he paid £36 for the assignment of a lease formerly granted in 1794 to a gardener, and now surrendered by his widow, of six messuages in East Street, rented at £5 per year. When John Sanders died in 1805 he left all his unspecified freeholds and leaseholds and personal estate divided between his sons, Robert and William, as tenants in common. His estate was worth nearly £25,000.²

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1. A number of gentlemen acquired land in this district with the intention of sub-leasing, amongst them Richard Laishley, a brickburner, and William Daman, attorney. Daman was particularly active in the town and owned various freeholds and leaseholds. For example, he sold two newly-built messuages on the Castle Hill in 1782 for £180. His activities in Castle Hill are detailed in Appendix IV.
 2. The two brothers were charged only with the payment of three annuities to John Sanders' eldest son, daughter and grand-daughter, totalling £440.

The brothers continued to trade as brewers. But they also furthered the family's land development business. In 1812 they obtained a lease from the Rector of St. Mary's on two acres in Orchard Lane, formerly granted to William Lambert, a gardener, and now surrendered by his widow. The rent on this land cost them £7 a year. They were also granted a lease at forty shillings and for £40 of a messuage, stable, cooperage and other buildings in East Street on a plot 17 feet by 332 feet, stretching through to the Hoglands and adjoining other property of theirs on the west.

In 1817 they surrendered the two leases granted to their father. Six new leases were granted, dated March 1821 but backdated to Michaelmas 1817, to both brothers. Six tenements had been sold off. One they retained as a sawpit, the remaining five were let. The Sanders brothers were to continue their building activities well into the nineteenth century, and in particular began the extensive growth of working class housing that enveloped the St. Mary's district.¹

2. The Craftsmen Builders

The craftsmen were the bricklayers, carpenters, joiners, plumbers, painters, glaziers and plasterers in particular, who worked still according to the basically medieval pattern of apprenticeship followed by a period as a journeyman. Apprenticeship tended to make trades hereditary. Journeymen frequently accepted work by the piece, and also on occasion employed other journeymen or apprentices, thus transforming themselves into small masters. Journeymen would also often set up in business on their own account.

1. Money for their activities was obtained from local sources. William Lambell, a yeoman, who died in 1811 specified in his will that he was owed money by Messrs. Sanders by virtue of a certain annuity deed dated April 1810 and whereby he received from them £126 p.a.; and John Ibbetson, an innholder, loaned them £500 at interest before his death in 1807.

The 1831 census return for Southampton reveals that thirty-two per cent of the males over the age of twenty employed in the retail trade or as workmen were working in the building trades. Out of a total male adult population at the time in the town 4,416, there were 2,396 males engaged in the retail trade or in craftwork as either masters or workmen.¹ And of these 2,396, 768 worked in the building and related trades. These trades, and the numbers they absorbed in 1831, are listed in Table 7.

The constructional trades hold by far the greatest numbers, with 267 carpenters and 102 bricklayers, both of whom substantially exceed the next category, the house painters, of whom there were 77. The other crafts attracted fewer numbers. Nevertheless, this Table also illustrates the multiplicity of trades providing occupations for craftsmen in the building industry. It is clear that significant numbers of artisans could find employment by the builders either in actual construction work, or else in the finishing crafts. There was a place for the sawyer, the waller, or the cabinet maker as well as for the construction worker. The trades were interdependent. Whereas it was frequently the carpenters or bricklayers who undertook a building lease or contracted to build a house, they relied, nevertheless, upon the goodwill of their fellow craftsmen for skilled labour and materials, and it

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1. Appendix I lists the 1831 Census breakdown of occupations in Southampton. 4,416 males were employed chiefly in retail, agriculture, the professions or domestic service. The largest category (54.25%) were masters or workmen in the crafts; the next single largest occupation being that of labourer (21.76%). A further analysis of the 2,396 men in retail or craftwork suggests that the building trades came second as employers only to non-agriculture labour (768 in the building trades and 961 non-agricultural labourers). Both of these categories absorbed significantly higher numbers than the next trades (retail trades with 242, and domestic service with 173). There were many more builders than craftsmen engaged in the service industries (shoe-making and tailoring, for example).

TABLE 7

The Building Trades

Table to show males 20 years of age (and over) employed in the building and related trades in Southampton, 1831

Trade	No:	Trade	No:
Landjobber	1	Carpenter	267
Bricklayer	102	Cabinet Maker	75
Brickmaker	18	Sawyer	51
Lime Burner	3	Carver and Gilder	9
Plasterer	43	Glazier and Plumber	28
Slater	12	Iron Founder	6
Mason or Waller	49	Iron Monger	16
House Painter	77	Upholsterer	11

Total: out of 2,396 males over 20 years employed in the
 Retail trade, or handicraft = 768
 Percentage = 32%

Source: National Census Returns, 1831.

was never their trades exclusively that made the contracts with the gentlemen builders. John Griffiths started his career as a slate merchant, yet he employed many other craftsmen in his building operations.¹

Above these craftsmen on the social scale were the surveyors and the architects. Surveyors might hold qualifications that entitled them to survey, measure, estimate and supervise building work, but the architect, on the other hand, might not belong to a "profession" as such. Any creditable person might adopt the title. Still, there was no compulsion for any builder, albeit financier or craftsman, to actually employ a surveyor or an architect. Many undertook such work for themselves. Roles were frequently combined. John Simpson might employ an architect, John Plaw, to design Albion Place, but this was presumably noteworthy and exceptional judging from the attention it merits in the Guide Books.

There appears, in fact, to have been a distinct lack of both surveyors and architects per se in Southampton. An analysis of the poll books for the period reveals that the first surveyor to call himself such appeared as late as 1806, and the first architect in 1812.²

It is possible to trace the existence of all of the successful craftsmen builders through the poll books for the period. The earliest poll book for Southampton appeared in 1774, and

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1. See above, Chapter Four, for the full list of Griffiths' creditors, most of whom were craftsmen who had supplied him with labour and materials. They illustrate well the manner in which the various craftsmen worked inter-dependantly.
 2. This latter was John Kent, who is listed in 1802 and 1806 as a builder and is not mentioned in any of the earlier books at all. In 1831 he was living in Kingsland Place in the St. Mary's district. He is joined on the 1831 register by three other architects, William Middleton Kernot, Thomas Bertram, and Samuel Edward Toomer. None of them appear before. The Surveyor was James Irish.

thereafter they appeared at irregular intervals. Table 8 lists the numbers of building craftsmen as they appear in the poll books from 1774 to 1831. One of the most striking features to emerge is the at first uneven but then dramatic increase in the numbers of craftsmen allied to the building trades in Southampton. In 1774 there were a total of forty-three building craftsmen listed in the books, but by 1831 that figure had increased to one hundred and forty-eight. Clearly, building was an expanding trade.

The term builder does not appear as an occupation until 1794, when five builders appear on the register. Despite setbacks in the years 1802 and 1812, twelve more have been added to the list by 1831.

Throughout the period there are substantial numbers of carpenters and bricklayers listed: thirteen and fourteen respectively in 1774, rising to fifty-one and twenty-seven in 1831. These two trades always employed the greatest numbers of craftsmen. And it is within these two trades that familiar builders' names appear - the two Peter Watts, father and son, were both carpenters by trade, whilst Richard and Joseph Simms, and the Martill family were all bricklayers. It was common for families to remain in their traditional crafts, and to work together.¹

1. The Appendix^{iv} lists all those engaged in the building trades as they appeared in these poll books. It is possible to trace from these lists families and their common adoption of certain trades, as well as actual changes in occupation, e.g. from carpenter to builder, and so on. Information on the names of artisans engaged in the building trade can also be compiled from Cunningham's Directory of 1803, which lists an inordinate number of carpenters. Actual addresses are not generally recorded, merely the street of residence. Those living outside the town e.g. in Portswood have not been here included, but there were a few in number.

TABLE 8

Craftsmen involved in the Building Trade

Craft	1774	1790	1794	1802	1806	1812	1818	1820	1831
Bricklayers	14	12	8	6	13	11	9	17	27
Builders	0	0	5	4	8	2	7	7	17
Carpenters	13	16	21	20	22	17	24	33	51
Glaziers	3	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Joiners	7	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Painters	3	4	5	6	5	2	4	7	14
Plasterers	1	0	2	3	4	4	4	5	5
Plumbers	2	4	4	4	6	6	8	8	16
Miscellaneous*					6	6	8	9	15
Total	43	38	45	43	65	48	64	85	148

* architects, brickburners, pavers, slaters, surveyors.

Source: Poll Books 1774-1831 (Cope Collection).

Glaziers and joiners actually decline in numbers in this period, from three to none, and seven to three respectively. These crafts were largely dependent upon the constructional trades. Plasterers and painters, on the other hand, whilst also in this position of dependence, increased slowly. Plumbers rose steadily in number from two in 1774 to fifteen in 1831.

These craftsmen were no less vital to the industry than their gentlemen partners and co-workers in that they had also to exercise considerable business acumen. In order to make profits they had to build in the shortest possible time, so that they were then in a position to either sell the house outright, or else take in tenants. Building quickly depended upon the availability of materials, other labour particularly in the specialised 'finishing' crafts, and the necessary finance. This finance could either be obtained through a mortgage on the site alone or, as was often the case, by mortgaging other houses already finished and occupied. Builders thus frequently chose not to sell their houses immediately, since the houses could be easily let and then used as collateral for further ventures. Once a builder had raised the initial capital and started upon his career, it became easier to unlock funds for future development.

The activities of one bricklayer-builder illustrate the manner in which the erection of one group of houses triggered off the building of yet more. Thomas Bartlett was particularly active in the building of substantial brick houses for the well-to-do market of All Saints parish. His activities in Albion Place and the Castle area have been annotated in Table 9. He began his career here by purchasing a total of four building plots when they were put up for sale by John Simpson in 1795, operating in this first instance with a partner Reuben Churcher, who, since he was not a craftsman but a shopkeeper, may well have been a financial backer. Together they paid £525 for the plots, and immediately set about building three messuages. Only one year later they were ready to sign a deed of partition - the houses were finished. Bartlett bought two of the messuages

TABLE 9

The Activities of Thomas Bartlett, bricklayer and
builder, in Albion Place and the Castle area

- 1795 Purchased Lots 22, 23, 24, 25 in Albion Place with a partner, Reuben Churcher (shopkeeper) for £525. The partners erected three messuages and then divided the property.
- 1796 Bartlett paid Churcher £420 for two of the above messuages, Sold the third to Churcher for 5/-.
Mortgaged the first above message to Benoni Bursey, gent, for 1000 years for £210.
Mortgaged the second above message to Joseph Sanders, gent, for £200.
- 1797 Sold the first above message to Richard Jacobs of Hill for £90 and subject to the mortgage to Bursey.
In partnership with William Gower - mortgaged a plot of land (Castle Lane) to George Cox for £4,000 - the site on which Benoni Bursey had lately built a substantial coachhouse.
- 1798 Took out a further mortgage on the second above message for £50. Purchased Lots 20 and 21 from Thomas Williams (merchant tailor) (in Albion Place) for £310. Mortgaged above Lots to Thomas Williams for £310.
- 1800 Assigned above mortgage to George Cox (coachman) for £600 - these Lots now with two dwelling houses erected by Bartlett. Sold second message erected with Churcher and mortgaged to Joseph Sanders to Richard Webb of Toothill, (brickburner) for £360. Purchased Lot 19 in Albion Place from Thomas Baker (merchant) for £169. Mortgaged Lot 19 to Benoni Bursey, gent, for £500 - a dwelling house erected in the same year by Bartlett. Mortgage assigned to Thomas Williams. Purchased Lot 4 Albion Place from John Sanders (brewer) for £105.
- 1802 Sold house erected on Lot 19 to Thomas Smith, gent, for £420 in part discharge of the mortgage. Sold to John Brice - one message of a group of four built by Bartlett (£106 for the one house).
- 1803 Lease of a garden in Castle Lane formerly the property of Andrew Osey, gent, and by him leased for 999 years now assigned to Bartlett for £150. Mortgaged the garden now with three messuages erected by Bartlett to Elizabeth Martill widow for £300. Fourth message built on the site (i.e. Nos. 1-4 Castle Lane).
- 1804 Lease assigned to James Newlyn (cordwainer) for total of £410: £300 to repay Elizabeth Martill and £110 to Bartlett.
- 1806 Sold one house built on Lots 20 and 21 to Richard Howard subject to the Total payment of £300 and interest.

- 1807 Further mortgage on other house on Lots 20 and 21 for £40 from Phoebe Amor.
- 1830 Sold Lot 4 Albion Place to William Amor, gent, for £113.

Source: CRO, SC4/4/120; SC4/4/436; SC4/4/456; SC4/4/498; SC4/4/501; SC4/4/502; SC4/4/529; SC4/4/978.

and Churcher retained the third. But with these two houses now his sole property, Bartlett was in a strong position to find mortgage funds.

At once he raised a total of £410 upon mortgages from two different gentlemen. However, the following year he decided to sell off one of the properties, making thereby a profit of £90, and he subsequently acquired another £50 upon a further mortgage of the other house. At the same time (1798) he bought two more plots of land in Albion Place - and this time no money had to pass hands. Bartlett bought the sites from a merchant tailor, Thomas Williams, for £310, and Thomas Williams provided the £310 upon a mortgage secured on the same two plots. Again, the two houses were built quickly. In just under two years Williams and Bartlett assigned the original mortgage for £600, secured now upon the land and two dwellings.¹

Bartlett's activities in the area did not cease. In 1800, the same year as he raised the above £600 mortgage, he sold his other house in Albion Place, the one he had originally erected in conjunction with Reuben Churcher. This house was sold for £360, Bartlett making £110 after repayment of the outstanding mortgage. And he bought another building plot, this time from the merchant Thomas Baker for £169. Once more a house was built that same year, and Bartlett was able to raise a further £500 upon a mortgage of the new property. £105 was

1. The houses he had built on Lots 20 and 21 he intended conveying as part of a settlement and were therefore conveyed by feofment to trustees. One of these houses was sold before 1806, and the other was re-mortgaged for an additional £40 from Phoebe Amor in 1807.

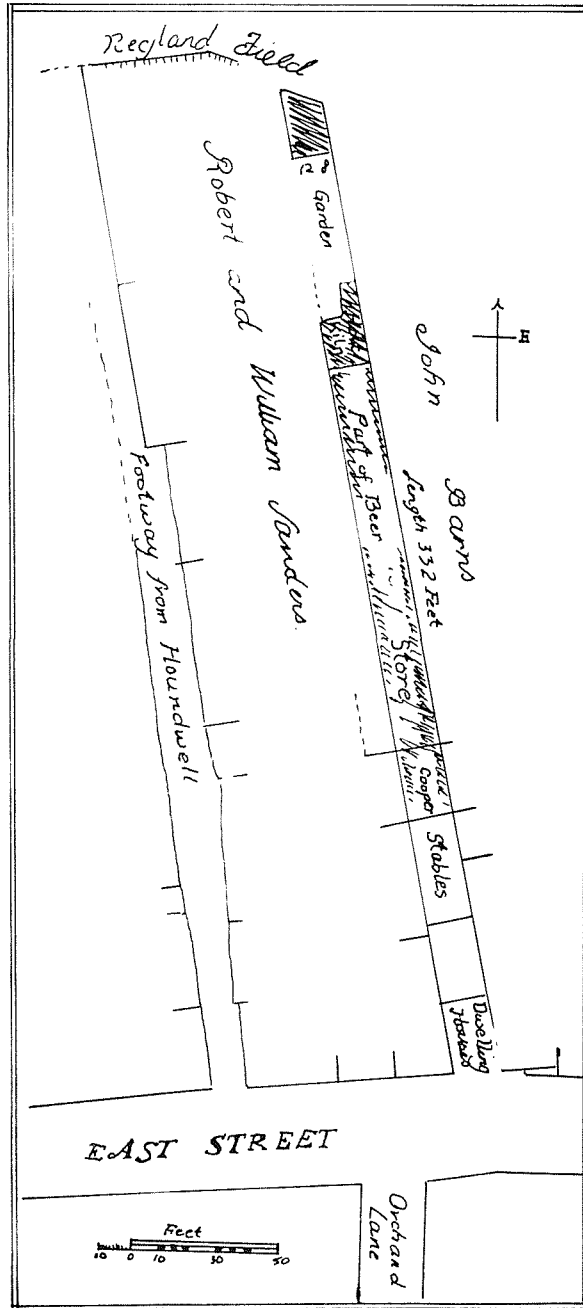
immediately spent in the purchase of yet another plot in Albion Place, this time from a fellow builder, John Sanders. Like Sanders, Bartlett never actually built upon this plot, and the land was finally conveyed by him to a gentleman builder in 1830 for £113.

Thomas Bartlett had begun to switch his activities from Albion Place shortly before the purchase of this last plot. In 1797 he acquired a plot of land in what was to become the Castle Lane development. Benoni Bursey, the innkeeper-builder had recently built a substantial coachhouse on this site, but Bartlett, after mortgaging the premises for £4,000, built and later sold four houses there.

In 1802 he sold his last remaining house in the Albion Place development, and he built no further houses there. However, his career was not ^{at} an end. The following year, 1803, he paid £150 for an assignment of a lease originally granted for 999 years by Andrew Osey, gentleman. This property was Osey's garden. Bartlett built three messuages upon the land, again quickly, so that that same year he was able to mortgage the entire premises to the widow of another bricklayer, Elizabeth Martill, for £300. Then he built a fourth house there. In 1804 he recouped his outlay when he assigned the lease for a total of £410 and paid back the £300 mortgage.

Bartlett certainly appears to have preferred working on particular sites. This was not uncommon. It may have been that builders chose key areas according to the type of house they wanted to build, so that whilst some worked primarily in the working class districts, as with the Sanders family, others built for a wealthier market and selected their sites accordingly. Of course, restricting themselves geographically can only have facilitated the solution to problems of transport of materials and the comprehensive employment of outside labour. Since the fashion of the times was for uniformity in style and the building of squares and crescents anyway, it is not surprising that builders found it more advantageous to

SANDERS BROTHERS PROPERTY IN EAST STREET



SOURCE: CRO D/NA St Mary's Glebe

FIGURE 5.2

keep to chosen streets.¹ But there are instances of builders 'dabbling' in new areas. Whilst Abel Laver was busy building houses on the Hill family estate, for example, he was nevertheless also engaged in the development at Albion Place. The plot of land that both John Sanders and Thomas Bartlett had failed to develop was finally built upon by Abel Laver.²

Thomas Bartlett's activities also highlight another regular feature of building amongst the craftsmen - that of the initial purchase of land in partnership with one another or with a non-craftsman backer. Henry Roe, another builder, bought a large building plot in 1818. This site was part of the old Castle site and therefore contained building materials as well from the demolition of the Castle, but where as Henry Roe acted as ostensible purchaser, he was in fact acting on behalf of a syndicate. This group comprised the builder, Henry Roe, plus two merchants, an auctioneer, a surveyor and a brickburner.³

In December 1819 the partners decided to sell the land and convert their investment back into money, using a boatbuilder

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1. Style will be discussed in Chapter Six.
 2. Bartlett had sold to William Amor, a gentleman, and Amor may have actually commissioned Abel Laver to build the house on the site. In 1834 Amor sold the plot and the house thereon recently erected by Laver, to Laver, for £200. In 1834 Abel Laver mortgaged the property for £350, and two years later he sold the house for £450 to his mortgagee and £150 to himself.
 3. These were John Drew (merchant), Edward Langdon Oke (merchant), John Macey (auctioneer), William Barker (surveyor) and Richard Laishley (brickburner).

as a trustee.¹ Henry Roe and Richard Laishley, the brickburner in the original syndicate, bought the land, and then proceeded to sell off lots to eighteen separate people. The remaining land was eventually vested in Henry Roe's son in 1824.²

Accepting trusteeships on each other's behalf was also common amongst the builders. When Thomas Bartlett and Reuben Churcher signed their deed of partition it was a carpenter and a gentleman builder who acted as their respective trustees. And when Thomas Bartlett made a settlement to sell two houses, his trustees were two gentlemen, two carpenters, and a brickburner.³ Especially

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1. This was James Durkin.
 2. CRO, SC4/4/551/4-10; D/MW Box 64. In 1815 the Marchioness of Lansdowne and her daughter offered for sale the entire Castle site (except for one messuage). No adequate bid was made at the auction, but afterwards Henry Roe agreed by private contract to purchase the site for £160 for the leaseholds and £1,200 for the freehold, making a total of £1,360. However, whilst the conveyance was made out to him, the actual purchase money had come in equal proportions from all of the partners. In 1819 they all agreed for the better assurance of the title to convey the site to James Durkin, in trust for Drew and Mecey. But in 1821 Roe and Laishley paid their partners £740 for two equal half shares. Over the next three years they sold off the eighteen building plots. Then in 1824 Henry Roe wished "out of natural affection" to vest his moiety of the remaining land in his son, William Henry Roe. And for £500 paid to Richard Laishley for his share, the two conveyed to William Henry all the remainder of the Castle site.
 3. Thomas Nichols was the gentleman and John Beavis the carpenter who acted as trustees at the time of the partition of the property in Albion Place. Thomas Bartlett made a settlement to sell his two houses built upon plots 20 and 21 and divide the money. The settlement was made in October 1801, and the trustees named were William Amor, gentleman, Thomas Nichols, gent, Daniel Silley, carpenter, Henry Roe, Carpenter and Richard Webb from Toothill, brickburner. He himself sold all his other properties in Albion Place. One of these houses was evidently sold before 1806; Bartlett himself took out a further mortgage of £40 in 1807. Thomas Bartlett's kinsman, John Bartlett, also acted as a trustee on his behalf. John was also a builder.

for men in property, it was perhaps inevitable that fellow builders and housebuyers should be asked to administer estates on behalf of widows and minors.

But there is also evidence to suggest that builders frequently worked together in building projects. Sometimes they actually laboured for each other, bringing their own specialist skill, tools and materials to the projects, and so that it was not always the same craftsman who was the supervisor or employer on a site. Abel Laver undertook his own building ventures, and he may well have employed other craftsmen, journeymen or apprentices, to assist in his various building operations. But at the same time he was also providing his neighbour, John Griffiths, with his own labour and materials. In other words the responsibility for building did not always fall to the same person.¹

At other times, builders might be commissioned by the gentleman owner/builders to erect one or more houses, and then again the craftsmen might work together. In 1795 Richard Simms and James Plenty, described as "bricklayers, carpenters and builders" were employed by a gentleman builder, Thomas Macklin to build a house for him at No 152 High Street.² Yet these two were also active on their own and separate accounts.

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1. No evidence has been found in Southampton of disputes arising over the use of general contracting - the practise of an outsider directly engaging the labour of craftsmen in a craft in which he himself was not skilled. In Manchester, in 1833, for example, such practice did create discontent, but it would appear that in Southampton, master builders and craftsmen co-operated well with each other upon their respective building projects.
 2. A dispute arose on this occasion. Evidently when Simms and Silley pulled down the old house, they found the house belonging to Hugh Weeks (and then occupied by Thomas Macklin as tenant) when built had encroached upon the house they had just demolished. The "old timbers etc." proved an encroachment of 6 or 7 inches in the front and 4 inches at the back. They swore an affidavit to this effect in 1795.

The activities of another speculative bricklayer, Grantham Knight, and his building and buying operations in Castle Hill, have been tabulated in Table 10. They suggest a career spanning a little over twenty years, with the last sales being made by his widow after his death. He began his activities in this area by purchasing from a prominent townsman a substantial site that had once housed a windmill, and after that a "good new banquetting house". Three tenements were built upon this site, but the banquetting house itself was not pulled down. An ice house also was built and leased, so that with an initial outlay of £400 for the site, plus his labour and materials costs, Knight was collecting in profits from three houses, a banquetting house and an ice house, and was consequently in no hurry to sell.

In fact, he made more purchases, in particular of a plot of land on the south-east part of Castle Hill. But interestingly, Knight did not himself build upon this plot. He subdivided the site, selling off building lots and thus almost transforming himself into a minor "gentleman builder".

It was Knight's fellow craftsmen who in the end bought the plots and built upon them: William Colson, a carpenter, paid Knight £28 for one plot, whilst Cornelius Starks, a bricklayer, bought another two for a total of £49. They both built houses which were sold at later dates. Knight himself appears to have restricted his actual building activities to the banquetting house site, for there he erected and sold a further three dwelling houses in addition to the three he still owned. It was not until after his death that his widow and trustee finally sold these three houses to the Marquis of Lansdowne, who was offering higher than average prices for all the premises built upon the Castle site.¹ The three houses were sold for £400 whilst the banquetting house fetched £1,000.

1. See Appendix for details of the properties purchased by the Marquis of Lansdowne on Castle Hill.

TABLE 10

Grantham Knight: Bricklayer

Activities in Castle Hill

- 1780 Purchased a good new banquet ing house built on the site of a windmill by William Holman (after 1744), but now purchased from Arthur Atherley Esq. Price £400. Knight proceeded to build three tenements on this site (i.e. part of the land belonging to the old demolished Castle at the foot and north side of Castle Hill).
- 1786 Draft of a lease to Elizabeth Hunt (pastry cook) of the Ice House built by Knight opposite the stable of the house and premises now occupied by Elizabeth Hunt - to hold to her for twenty years from 21 December 1784 at £5 rent p.a.
- 1787 Purchased piece of ground on south-east part of Castle Hill in All Saints parish from William Daman, gentleman. Price £40.
- 1795 Sold piece of land 22' square approx. to John Knight (cord-wainer). Price £20. (Bond against Dower). (John Knight mortgaged the land and built a dwelling house).
- 1797 Divided the land purchased in 1787 above. Sold one plot 30' x 24'6" to William Colson (carpenter) for £28. (Colson subsequently built two messuages which he sold in 1803 for £118). Sold one plot 24' x 19' to Cornelius Starks for £21. (bricklayer).
- 1798 Sold to Robert Miller (pastry cook) the Ice House. Price £50.
- 1799 Sold another plot 66' x 25' to Cornelius Starks for £28. (Starks built two tenements).
- 1801 Sold to Thomas Smith, gentleman, three dwelling houses which have been erected on part of the site of the banquetting house purchased in 1780 above. Plot: 44' x 20'. Price £160. (Later pulled down by the Marquis of Lansdowne).
- 1804 Knight's widow and trustee sold the banquetting house alone to John Barnes Watson Esq. from Whitchurch (Salop.) Price £1,000.
- 1805 Trustee sold to Marquis of Lansdowne three dwelling houses situated at the foot and north side of Castle Hill built by Knight on part of the land belonging to the old demolished Castle. Price £400
- Source: CRO, D/MH/2/1-6; D/MH/2/11; D/MH/2/24; D/MH/2/35; D/PM Box 64.

CHAPTER SIX

The Style of Houses and House Prices

Since the last two chapters discussed the financial aspects of house building in Southampton in the spa period and the activities of the builders themselves, the first section of this chapter will concentrate upon the actual houses they built. Exterior and interior design will be looked at, and, corresponding to that design, the choice of building materials. A final section will analyse house prices in relation to the varying types of houses erected.

The houses that were built in Southampton during this period had necessarily to correspond to certain given features of design, since the houses were erected primarily to meet the demands of the spa. The dual nature of demand for houses at this time meant that a number of smaller-type, cheaper and less stylised houses were also built. This dual demand affected not only the size of the house, but also the choice of building materials. Prices, of course, varied considerably, as did rental income, although, regrettably, Southampton sources yield little of value as regards rental income.

1. The Style

a) Exterior design features

Given that the demand for houses in this period came from two major sources - the labouring classes and the well-to-do seasonal visitors or leisured year-round residents, it will be understood that two separate types of houses were built. For whilst the lower artisans and labourers inhabited small two-or-three-roomed tenements (often shared), the wealthier segments of the

population desired somewhat more substantial dwelling houses,¹ Differences in exterior style were paramount. On the one hand austere yet elegant designs predominated, whilst on the other was the necessity of economy.

Regrettably, what remains in the town now of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century buildings that once lined the streets and filled the courts and alleys, is spasmodic and dispersed. The blitz devastated much of the High Street, wrecking public buildings, churches and many houses.² Water-side buildings, too, were destroyed. But many of the proposed ambitious schemes of development had never been actually finished, so that even before the destruction of this century, Southampton the spa lacked the concentrated splendour of other Georgian resorts. Since the most ambitious scheme of all, the Polygon, never reached fulfilment, the town failed to achieve grandeur on a marked scale. Many of the major new crescents and squares were actually built beyond the walls, extending the town houses out almost to meet the growing fringe of villas, marine cottages, and country estates that were steadily appearing at this time, So the combined result today is a dispersal of these characteristic developments; remaining Georgian town houses in Southampton are surprisingly far-flung. There are still Georgian houses in the town, but on the whole they are concealed

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1. See for example Salisbury and Winchester Journal, 2 July 1770, 13 April 1818; Hampshire Chronicle, 5 November 1787. A House in Spring Gardens was three stories high and had two rooms only on each floor, and the houses in Kingsland Place had six rooms each altogether. The Polygon houses, on the other hand, contained four reception rooms, five bedrooms, and eight servants rooms, plus a detached kitchen block.
 2. The celebrated All Saints church designed by the architect John Reveley was lost. This church, built in 1792 and consecrated in 1795, was noteworthy for its wide roof span; it was of stuccoed brick. The Audit House, built in 1772, designed by Crunden to house markets below the Council Chambers, was also destroyed.

and not self-evident.

The tenement type of house has been either razed by bombing or systematically cleared away. Many of the "rookeries" disappeared amidst post-war slum clearance projects and urban re-development schemes, here as elsewhere. There is little surviving evidence in the town of the court and backside that typified this period. The terraces of houses that covered parts of St. Mary's and that date from the Georgian period have been long demolished.

Little knowledge can therefore be gained of the style of all types of housing by studying the town today. Old photographs can provide some idea of what the houses looked like, and for this reason a few have been included in the Appendix. These are especially important for those streets and whole areas that have now been demolished, or destroyed, but a few have also been included of the more substantial houses that still stand, and thereby provide an interesting contrast. However, even these photographs are primarily of the houses erected in the latter spa period, and little can be learned visually of the earlier buildings.¹

Photographic evidence can supply some, albeit haphazard, information on the use of building materials. Generally speaking, it is difficult to gather precise knowledge of these materials, especially as regards the earliest spa buildings where the

1. These photographs are both contemporary pictures taken of surviving spa houses and some taken of the smaller tenements before they were cleared.

buildings themselves no longer survive, and neither do photographic records of them. Builders faced a choice between stone, brick or timber. However, a move away from timber over the eighteenth century nationally represented a concern over protection from fire.¹ From 1780 to the end of the century in Southampton red brick appears predominant, but from 1820 to 1840 the houses were generally stuccoed.² Houses in the poorer districts remained brick-faced, presumably out of a cost-cutting interest.

Bricks were made locally. At Colden Common, in the parish of Twyford, Hampshire, for example, there was a brick kiln "with drying sheds, Tile houses, and every Conveniency necessary to carry on that Business, with plenty of exceeding good brick earth, Tile and Paving Brick Clay, allowed to be inferior to none in the County".³ Even closer at hand, not far from the

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1. C.W. Chalklin, op. cit., p. 189. Chalklin argues that builders of the wealthier type of housing were influenced in their choice against timber by fashion, fire policy and price. Further, timber became more costly during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as pressure upon this commodity increased. There thus "came a time when it was more economical to build in brick than in wood, but this chronological point naturally varied from town to town".
 2. Pevsner and Lloyd's section on Southampton, op. cit., p. 515. Lloyd suggests "a distinctive local tradition that produced buildings which might be called elegantly austere". Back elevations were often faced with slates from Devon. After 1840 yellow brick became generally popular.
 3. Hampshire Chronicle, 29 January 1776. The advertisement continues: "N.B. Any Tenant entering on the said Brick Kiln may be accommodated with a considerable stock of raw and burnt Brick and Tiles, with all and every kind of working Utensils, necessary to carry on the business".

Polygon, was another brick and lime kiln, "and near the same plenty of Earth for making good Bricks and Tiles", with "About 24,000 BRICKS burnt, and about 20,000 unburnt".¹ A house built of "Brick and Tile" was a noteworthy feature.²

Building materials, including bricks and stones, could also be purchased from demolished edifices. The materials of the old Audit House were put up for auction in January 1774; the "new and valuable MATERIALS of the ASSEMBLY ROOMS & HOTELS in the POLYGON" in June 1777.³ Messrs. Charles and John Martill,

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1. Hampshire Chronicle, 29 November 1773 and 10 January 1774. A "quantity of Bavens and a Rick of Hay about eight tons" were also for sale. See also Salisbury Journal, 23 January 1769, for an interesting case that appeared in the Courts when several brickburners were incited for refusing to make their bricks of the dimensions of the statutes laid down in the reign of George I and George II. The case was dismissed on the grounds that these dimensions had been calculated only for London and fifteen miles around and had long since expired "If those Acts were again to be revised they would rather be an injury than a benefit as the bricks made of that size could not be used with the modern sizes, and the price of bricks would be advanced agreeable to it".
 2. *Ibid.*, 1 April 1776, for example: "Two Freehold Dwelling Houses, built of Brick and covered with Tile ...". See also *Ibid.*, 10 July 1775, and CRO, Corporation Journals, 9 December 1785. There were brick kilns at Bursledon, four miles away from Southampton, where "Vessels deliver Lime, Stone, Fuel etc., and are freighted with goods from the Kilns side at High Water". There was also a dwelling house and brickyard on Southampton Common, built in the 1780's by Anthony Harding and leased from the Corporation "with a right and liberty to dig sand and clay for making Bricks", for seven years at a rent of £10 plus capons.
 3. Hampshire Chronicle, 24 January 1774 and 2 June 1777. Materials were put up for sale in lots. See also Salisbury Journal, 7 November 1803 when the "Water Gate and all the Materials of the same, and of the SUN and part of the GLOBE PUBLIC HOUSES, to be taken down and removed" were auctioned.

the bricklayers, offered for sale "a large Quantity of STONE either by the Lot or Ton, lately taken from the East Gate very fit for the purpose of laying Foundations".¹ When nineteen lots of land were offered in East Street, the auctioneer was also empowered to sell "the Materials of several Dwelling Houses, Stables and other Erections, standing thereon which will be divided into lots for the convenience of the Purchasers". And whilst the materials from the Castle were available at a later date, in July 1780 an advertisement appeared in the local paper specifically addressed to "Gentlemen Builders", for the materials of a manor house were to be sold, and these included bricks, tiles and oak timber.²

Timber arrived regularly in the harbour, and was thus readily accessible for the craftsmen. In October 1775, for example, an auction was held of "About Eighty Tons of exceeding good MAHOGANY, just landed from the Bay of Honduras in Lots from 500 to 1,000 Feet superficial", and could be viewed on Water Gate Quay.³ Messrs. Ludlow and Ward dealt in "fine Memel timber,

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1. Hampshire Chronicle, 21 August 1775. This advertisement continues: "Any Person wanting such Stones for Building, and shall think proper to employ the said Messrs. Martill's, they will engage to complete it twenty per cent. cheaper than the usual Charge".
 2. *Ibid.*, 12 July 1780 and 17 December 1798. Details of this custom of selling used materials can also be found amongst the minute books of the Pavement Commissioners. For example, in September 1771 it was ordered that an auction should be held at the Isle of Wight Hoy to sell "the materials of the two shops opposite Broad Lane end and likewise the materials of the Porch in East Street belonging to All Saints church except the two tomb stones in the pavement". Leave was also granted in October of the same year to take down "the Building of the Fire Bell at the Friary Conduit and likewise to sell the materials for the old Brick Building".
 3. *Ibid.*, 9 October 1775.

just landed, with well-seasoned Christiana Deals and Battens with best blue Westmorland Slates by the ton, or best Tavistock, by the thousand".¹ And Messrs. Watts and sons, the builders, had for sale one February "All sorts of MAHOGANY PLANK BOARD and VENEERS, either in large or small Quantities, sold on the most reasonable Terms".² Evidently, the ease with which foreign timber could enter the town influenced the local builders.³ Timber was also for sale at times locally (a chipyard at Northam had large quantities of oak, elm, deal and beech); 808 oak trees were available in six lots at Beaulieu Manor; timber from Norway was for sale, and deals from Petersburg that were "well worth the Attention of Persons in the Building line".⁴

Stone, too, could be readily transported via the port. When the Pavement Commissioners were paving the town they were bringing in "horse flatners" from Guernsey. In 1772 Captain Priault was requested "to bring from Guernsey 50 tons of horse flatners

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1. Hampshire Chronicle, 13 July 1778; Salisbury Journal, 4 September 1769. This slate was apparently "now much in demand for its long Duration and Proof against the Weather".
 2. Ibid., 26 February 1776.
 3. See C.W. Chalklin, op. cit., p. 190. The use of foreign timber was widespread in Birmingham in the 1740's: "Imported deals would have been expensive in Birmingham, since costs of water transport via the Severn and then overland would have been high. Their general use in the town makes it probable that they were widely used in the other major towns more accessible to Scandinavian imports".
 4. Hampshire Chronicle, 27 March 1776, 18 June 1787, 22 October 1796 and 7 September 1801.

at the market price and that he be allowed 1/6d a ton freight". Later that year he was paid £6 3s 4½d for freight and charges on "3 tons $\frac{3}{4}$ of stone from Guernsey". Tons of stones and the "horses flatners" arrived quite regularly from Guernsey, and were certainly put to use in paving the town.¹ Closer to home, plumbers could be "immediately supplied, on the lowest terms" with "the best PIG and MILL'D SHEET LEAD" from a newly opened warehouse at No. 1 Hanover Buildings, whilst Edmund Ludlow had imported a cargo of iron from St. Petersburg.²

Decorative features incorporating ironwork balconies and pallisades were, of course, highly desirable, along with cornice hoods, Doric columns and pillared porches. Number 89, High Street, for example, was described as having "a handsome front with iron pallisades", whilst a newly-built house in Artisan's Row, near the Polygon, was finished with stucco and cornice.³ The development at Albion Place was intended to be remarkable for its design features, incorporating houses in the "Grecian character" and others in the "Venetian style", and "strict regard was to be paid to the elevations: "...symetry of the whole must perfectly correspond".⁴ The houses that were actually built in Portland Terrace

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1. CRO, SC/AP 1/1 4 March 1772, 25 March 1772 and 1 December 1773, for example. On 30 May 1771 42 tons were shipped at a cost of £7 7s; on 12 June 31½ tons at £5 10s 3d. On 4 June Priault was reimbursed freight charges on 63¾ tons of Guernsey flatners at £6 3s 4½d. On 30 July he was paid £11 12s 9d for 66½ tons of stone.
 2. Hampshire Chronicle, 17 April 1775. Salisbury Journal 5 December 176
 3. *Ibid.*, 31 July 1780 and 20 March 1775.
 4. Skelton's Southampton Guide, 1802, p. 37; Baker's Southampton Guide, 1806, p. 22.

were (and are) noted for their cornice hoods and fluted Doric columns.¹ Bedford Place combined a mixture of shop fronts with iron balconies and bow windows.²

Bow windows were incorporated in the Georgian town houses wherever possible. Given the requirements of the Pavement Commissioners, protruding windows had, for the most part, to be confined to upper floors only.³ However, these were certainly popular, as a look along the High Street of this period would confirm.⁴ Indeed, one Guide Book proudly said of the High Street:

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1. Pevsner and Lloyd, *op. cit.*, p. 556. This is a terrace of houses of the later period (c. 1835-40). Lloyd suggests that in design they are "a bit nearer to Early Victorian in feeling".
 2. *Ibid.*, p. 561. This terrace is c. 1820-40. Lloyd argues: "The best unaltered group is Nos. 73-77. No. 73, on the corner, has a big bow window on the ground storey, topped by ironwork, the others are a pleasant yellow-brick terrace with segmental bow windows ...".
 3. CRO, SC/AP 1/1 23 June 1779 and 27 January 1783, for example. Notice was given to Edward West to remove the bow window or projections erected on the ground floor of his house in the High Street. If he failed to do this within three days he was to become liable to a penalty of 20/- for every day the window remained. Only when windows were in line with existing windows were bows permitted. Mr. Baker, for instance, was granted leave on 23 September 1778 to "bring out" the ground floor of a house lately purchased by him in the High Street "on each side with the present Bow Window of that house". The same rules applied to any impediment to the pavement. Mr. Valobra fixed iron bars over his windows in Bugle Street "in such manner that the same came forward upon the Pavement". However, he was allowed to keep them provided he "puts a post and chain to protect the same and likewise gives up the corner of his rails now standing in the square 9 inches from the corner of the wall for the accommodation of the publick ...".
 4. See Appendix of prints and photographs.

"Its peculiar characteristic is a multitude of bow windows, no where else probably to be seen in equal numbers".¹ Other clear examples of this trend were to be seen in Carlton Place and in Palmerston Road.²

Bow windows, sashed windows, and windows with a view were all good selling points. A builder of a house in the High Street took care to site the dining room which "is elegant and spacious, will dine thirty people" to the front of the house where there was a "transcendant Bow Window, that commands the High Street from one end to the other". This house also boasted four pleasant bedchambers "with Prospects".³ Another High Street house proclaimed too a dining room fronting the High Street and thus with excellent views, whilst a third possessed a bedchamber with bow windows "commanding a most delightful Prospect from almost one end of the Street to the other".⁴

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1. Baker's Southampton Guide, 1821, p. 39.
 2. See Pevsner and Lloyd op. cit., pp. 559-560 and p. 556. Nos. 30-34 Palmerston Road "make a pleasant Late Georgian group; a three-storeyed house with a pair of convex folds making continuous bow windows up its whole height, a wide two-storeyed house with similar treatment, and, in between, two three-storeyed houses one of which has a self-contained bow window of the more usual Southampton type on the first floor". In Carlton Place there is a row of four houses with big bow windows on the first floor.
 3. Hampshire Chronicle, 27 June 1774. This house was to be let "for 3 or 4 months certain, or by the year" either the whole house or part of it. The view from the window would have been especially attractive to spa visitors.
 4. *Ibid.*, 14 June and 6 December 1773. Number 25, High Street, was to be let unfurnished in part only; whilst the other house was to be let for a term of either eight or fifteen years.

In a spa town and resort situation^{with} a mind to good views was necessarily of prime importance. New houses were built with this in mind. Sea views were especially in demand, so advertisements went to great trouble to emphasise this particular feature. Houses were extremely desirable if they could be said to command "a delightful Prospect" or "a most extensive View" of the rivers, sea, Isle of Wight, or New Forest, or several of them. A house fronting the High Street and running back to the Town Walls, for instance, possessed "a View of the Sea, the Polygon, Millbrook, Eling, the Forest &c", whilst another, Above Bar, had a large garden "commanding a most delightful View of the Southampton and Itchen Rivers".¹ Number 69, High Street had a summer house, "pleasantly situated, commanding to the South and South-West a most delightful View of the Southern River, New Forest, Calshot Castle, and Isle of Wight; to the North-East, an extensive View of the pleasant Vale from Southampton to Catherine-Hill, near Winchester".² Houses that overlooked the fields, open spaces, or that had gardens leading to the Town Walls, were likewise in demand. In the upper part of East Street a large dwelling house was for sale with "a Garden (the width of the House) extending to the Fields called Houndwell, commanding an agreeable View".³ An auction was held of two newly-built houses having "a large Piece of Garden Ground behind each, situated near Houndwell, and commands a fine prospect of the Fields"; and in Above Bar there was a family house to be let where "the Garden opens into agreeable Fields".⁴ The development at York Buildings was popular because it faced Houndwell, that of Portland Terrace because of sea frontage. Large houses in St. Mary's parish were especially desirable if they opened directly onto meadowland, whilst a house Above Bar had not only "an extensive View of the Itchen, woods adjoining and adjacent country", but also had "a Road from the Garden leading to Houndwell Fields".⁵

1. Hampshire Chronicle, 18 October 1773 and 21 March 1774.

2. *Ibid.*, 12 February 1776.

3. *Ibid.*, 9 May 1774.

4. *Ibid.*, 19 June 1775.

5. *Ibid.*, 7 September 1789.

Proximity to the centre of town and its social activities was a frequently popular requirement, essentially for the seasonal visitors. Tenants and purchasers wished to be above all "in the most desirable Part of the Town". These were the noted "convenient" houses. Two dwelling houses being sold either together or separate were "situated in the best Part of the High Street ... nearly opposite the Coffee-house there ...".¹ another was in "the pleasantest part of the High Street, and near the market, and is well adapted for the reception of a gentleman's family".² Where a central situation was not desired, houses in a "healthy" spot might be preferred. The dwellings in the Polygon were said to have been built in an area "remarkable for the salubrity of the Air",³ whereas the Brunswick Place development was advertised as possessing a "dry and healthy" situation, "being an elevated spot about a quarter of a mile from the town, at the upper end of the field called Maudlin, and cannot be built against".⁴ And, of course, where dwelling houses were being built combined with shops, as in the High Street and the main thoroughfares off it, the premises needed to be "well situated for a Person in the Retail Trade" or where "Nothing need be said concerning the Situation, as any one acquainted with Southampton must be convinced of its being the Best for any Kind of Trade".⁵ Thus in Orchard Street a coach-maker's shop with a dwelling house attached was "in the most advantageous Part

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1. Hampshire Chronicle, 1 April 1776.
 2. *Ibid.*, 1 July 1783.
 3. *Ibid.*, 17 July 1775.
 4. *Ibid.*, 8 June 1795. This development was also noted for "a situation hardly to be equalled in the Kingdom for extensive Prospect, lying between the Rivers Itchen and Anton, commanding an uninterrupted View of the New Forest, Isle of Wight, Southampton Water, and on every side, as far as sight can convey, truly picturesque."
 5. *Ibid.*, 21 March 1774 and 9 May 1774. This latter referred to a property below the Bar.

for Business, with a convenient Timber Yard",¹ and a house and shop in the High Street would be let or sold to "a genteel tradesman".²

However, despite an inclination towards space, airiness and the right situation, Georgian town houses were still sited within strict geographical bounds. Town houses could not stray too far from the central hub of the spa. As a result, whether they were designed for the wealthier market or for the labouring classes, the shape of house was conditioned by an over-riding economic need - that of erecting as many houses as possible in a given space. Moreover, since certain areas and certain streets, even inside those bounds, were undoubtedly more fashionable, there was necessarily an economy of street frontage. Builders aimed to build the greatest number of houses possible fronting one chosen street, especially if that street was in a given radius of the centre of the town. The new developments to the north of Southampton, on the other hand, could afford to be a little more generous on frontage, yet it was still practical to erect in quantity.

Building plots were not wide. At times the sites were as narrow as twenty-five feet or less; thus a house in Above Bar Street was built on a plot which to the front was "twenty-two feet six inches, or thereabouts, in back front twenty-four feet three inches; and in depth three hundred and nineteen feet, or thereabouts".³ A new site in Bugle Street divided into three lots "sufficient for building on" contained for each house "about twenty-seven feet in front and thirty-two in depth".⁴ Three doors

1. Hampshire Chronicle, 20 May 1776.

2. *Ibid.*, 14 July 1783.

3. CR0, D/Z Box 79. This was of a house put on the market in 1796, on the east side of Above Bar Street.

4. Hampshire Chronicle, 1 March 1802. This was described as: "All That spacious Freehold piece of land ...". The materials on the premises were to be sold separately and cleared away.

above the "George" in the High Street, a dwelling house with new tenements behind was for sale on a plot measuring thirteen feet by two hundred and fifteen feet, whilst No: 21 the High Street had been built on a plot of sixteen feet three inches by two hundred and seventy-four feet.¹ Characteristically, then, the Georgian town house would be erected upon a site of some twenty or thirty feet fronting the main street, with a long back garden of some hundred feet^{or more}. The typical site was thus a long strip of ground extending back from the road, with the house positioned in the front part of that strip. The lower class of dwelling maintained this basic plan, if on a reduced scale, since street frontage was still an essential requirement.

Behind the house itself there would generally be a courtyard. The larger houses would also have a garden, preferably walled in, and right at the far end a coachhouse and stable. Substantial dwelling houses were therefore often erected on plots that stretched between two roads: a fashionable street to the front, and a subsidiary service road to the back for carriage and horse access. When four houses in Gloucester Square were auctioned in lots, one of the lots was for a two-stall stable and coachhouse situated in the road behind "leading from Gloucester Square to the Beach".² A substantial house in Orchard Place erected on a plot two hundred and twenty-two feet long, backed onto Charlotte Street and was thus "very convenient for building stabling &c".³ And a house in the High Street had a large walled garden with "a coachhouse and stables behind the same".⁴

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1. Hampshire Chronicle, 25 August 1783 and 14 March 1785. The garden of the former included two large stables, and at the back increased to a width of twenty-three feet nine inches.
 2. *Ibid.*, 5 January 1801. Another house in this auction fronted the High Street (No: 67) and also had a walled garden and stable at the back. The coachhouse, for sale separately, had a loft over it.
 3. *Ibid.*, 5 May 1800. This property was a freehold house with tenements adjoining erected upon a plot 222 feet long, 22 feet of which was 40 feet wide, and the remainder 20 feet wide.
 4. *Ibid.*, 14 July 1783.

The shape and size of the town house itself was consequently conditioned by this basic format in layout. For tall, narrow houses had to be built upon long, narrow plots with tapered gardens behind. The result was the archetypal house of the period, the three - or four - storeyed dwelling. Inside, vertical living meant the apportioning of customs to certain floors - perhaps one for sleeping, one for eating and one for entertaining. It was a simple yet sound plan, and there were a number of minor variations possible within.

b) Interior design

Requirements within a family or household of single tenants necessarily varied, yet some common features of desire and design do emerge. An analysis of the number of rooms and their usage in houses offered for sale or to be let over the decade of 1770 - 1780 as they were advertised in the local newspapers has been tabulated in the Appendix^v, in order to demonstrate some of the essential features of the large houses of this period.

A genteel house consisted of at least two parlours, a kitchen and other necessary workrooms such as laundries, sculleries and pantries, a handful of guest or family bedchambers, and rooms in the attic for the servants. These were probably the basic necessities. If the house was substantial, both a family/guest and a servants staircase were desirable. Entrance halls, too, were noteworthy features. A dwelling house "fit for a large family" near Holy Rood Church in the High Street, contained "a large entrance hall, another for Servants," whilst another house in St. Michael's Square which was "large, handsome, and convenient" had "a spacious Hall, 26 feet long, 20 feet broad and 18 feet high" and three staircases. The whole was "very commodious

for a Gentleman's family."¹ The capital houses in the Polygon also incorporated a "vestibule and two staircases."² However, such features were confined to only the largest of the town houses; the smaller dwellings could not afford such extravagance in terms of space.

Rooms for entertainment were an obvious necessity. Parlours, drawing rooms and dining rooms were incorporated wherever possible into the interior design of these houses. Thus a dwelling house in the High Street contained three parlours and a large dining room, whilst a neighbouring house had "a good dining room" and two parlours.³ The Polygon houses had "on the principal story, a drawing room, dining room, common parlour, study," and a house near the Town Walls possessed "a very good dining Parlour, a large elegant Drawing Room" on the ground floor.⁴ These were most normally described as "mansion houses."⁵ Middle-sized houses, on the other hand, still included as many reception rooms as could be fitted into

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1. Salisbury Journal, 8 October 1759 and 6 June 1763. This latter house comprised two parlours, a study, large kitchen, brewhouse and other offices, "three front chambers handsomely wainscotted," two closets, two back chambers, laundry and rooms above stairs.
 2. *Ibid.*, 2 July 1770.
 3. *Ibid.*, 28 September and 26 October 1767. The other rooms in these houses were a) four bedchambers and servants rooms and kitchen and b) three bedchambers, four servants rooms, kitchen, brewhouse and washhouse.
 4. *Ibid.*, 2 July 1770. For the full contents of these houses as advertised, see the Appendix.
 5. See the Appendix for details of the interiors of some "mansion houses".

the design. One house had, on the ground floor, "two good Parlours. Kitchen, wash-house &c," and another, in French Street, consisted of "two Parlours, a Dining-Room."¹ In the grander houses, drawing rooms would be on the first floor, especially if fine views could then be commanded from the windows.

It is not always possible to ascertain the dimensions of these rooms, but occasionally the newspaper advertisements do include them. For example, No: 6, the High Street had: "On the Ground Floor, a front Parlour 19 feet 9 inches by 17 feet 6 inches; a back Parlour 18 feet 9 inches by 16 feet ... On the Second Floor (sic), a Drawing Room 23 feet by 20 feet 6 inches ...".² Another "capital Dwelling House" consisted of "...three Parlours on the Ground Floor, one of which measures 20 feet by 17, the other two 20 by 16, and 10 feet in height ...".³

Regrettably, no actual plans of these houses have survived. However, a few sale particulars of houses do exist and, whilst they contain no drawings, they do on occasion give more detail as regards dimensions. In August 1813 four genteel houses situated in Gloucester Square were put up for sale by auction. These sale particulars appear in the Appendix.⁴ Lot I had been in use as a boarding school, and as such included a separate school-room and eight bedchambers. However, on the first floor was to

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1. Hampshire Chronicle, 14 November and 25 April 1774. The other rooms in these houses were a) three bedchambers with closets, three bedchambers in the attic and b) three good chambers, two garrets, kitchen and washhouse.
 2. *Ibid.*, 29 June 1778.
 3. *Ibid.*, 2 February 1778.
 4. The Appendix reproduces some of these sale particulars including the Gloucester Square development plus a description of the mansion, Shirley House.

be found "An exceeding good Drawing Room, 20 feet 9 inches by 18 feet ..." plus a breakfast room. Downstairs, on the ground floor, there was a "good sized Dining Room, a Front Parlour, a small Back Parlour, a handsome Hall and Staircase ...". The remaining houses in this Square were smaller, yet they follow the same basic format: whilst the first floor held the drawing rooms, parlours were to be found on the ground floor.

The number of bedchambers varied. Some houses made ample provision for lodgers, given the demands of the resort. A house situated in East Street, for instance, was advertised as having, in addition to a parlour and kitchen on the ground floor, and on the next a dining room and two chambers, "lodging rooms" at the top of the house.¹ Other houses appear to have a disproportionate number of bedchambers. Number 148 High Street had seven bedchambers, in addition to five rooms for servants; another High Street house had five bedchambers on the first floor and six on the second, all guest rooms since servants had their own separate quarters.² A genteel house in the Castle had "three good Lodging Rooms on the Second Story," whilst a newly-built house near St. Mary's church had seven bedchambers.³ Yet another house, situated near the Platform, had two parlours, a kitchen and five lodging rooms.⁴ At least three or four best bedchambers were desirable. The Polygon houses had five, several houses in the High Street had four.

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1. Salisbury Journal, 11 February 1771. This house also had a washhouse and garden.
 2. Hampshire Chronicle, 18 March 1776 and 2 February 1778.
 3. *Ibid.*, 7 September 1772 and 3 May 1776. The Castle house consisted of a "handsome large Parlour, a small ditto, a Hall, and another room, Kitchen and Washhouse &c on the Ground Floor; a Drawing Room and three good Lodging Rooms on the second story, with two pleasant gardens, Coachhouse and stabling for three horses; with all other conveniences ..."; the St. Mary's house was "three stories high, with a good Vault and Cellars under, four rooms each story, viz, three Parlours and Kitchen, a large Dining Room and seven Bedchambers, the upper Rooms square Ceiling.."
 4. *Ibid.*, 28 July 1783.

Those houses which incorporated shops as well still expected to have a number of bedrooms, as with a newly built house and shop on the corner of Orchard Street, Above Bar, which had "four good bedchambers, a large Dining Room, Parlour and a large spacious Shop in front ...".¹ Likewise, No: 17 Butcher Row, had "a Shop in Front, a Cellar, Kitchen and four Bedchambers ...".²

Servants would expect to find their rooms on the attic story. Most substantial houses certainly made provision for live-in servants, usually furnishing them with garrets. Thus a smaller type of house in French Street had three reception rooms, three best bedrooms, and two garrets for servants; another house of similar size in Simnel Street also had two garrets.³ The more substantial houses might aim to emulate the country house tradition and house servants in separate quarters. The sixth house from the Bargate in the High Street is an example of this practice. The kitchen and offices were detached from the house and had "lodging over the same for servants". The Polygon houses, on the other hand, had eight rooms for servants inside the house, in the attic. In St. Mary's parish, a "modern brick built Dwelling-House" had for servants on the attic story four bedrooms and a "large light closet that will hold a bed".⁴

Servants also on occasion had a servants hall, separate staircases, and their own back entrances. However, this separation

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1. Hampshire Chronicle, 29 November 1773.
 2. Ibid., 21 March 1774.
 3. Ibid., 25 April 1774 and 5 June 1775. This latter house was on a typical plot 21 feet by 142 feet and consisted of two parlours, a kitchen, washhouse, dining room, seven bedchambers and two garrets. In 1775 it was occupied by the builder, Peter Watts, junior.
 4. Ibid., 26 January 1778.

was necessarily confined to the largest of the houses. In these cases, servants might also expect a housekeeper's room or butler's pantry. The above house in St. Mary's is an example: it included a housekeeper's room, a servants hall and a back entrance for servants. It was said to be "very compact". No: 56 High Street had a back staircase, two garrets and a butler's pantry.¹ But only a minority of the capital houses could provide such rooms.

Kitchens and related work rooms were to be found generally on the ground floor, towards the back of the house, but on occasions they were sited in the basement or even as detached offices away from the main block of the house. A High Street house had offices, for example, which "are spacious and convenient, consisting of servants hall, kitchen, larder and good cellaring ... at the back of the house".² Another had the laundry and servants rooms over the kitchen "with a very good Back Stair-case".³ And yet another had "a good Kitchen and offices detached from the house, with lodging over the same for the servants".⁴ Where such a design was impractical, kitchens were to be found on the ground floors, next to the parlours. A House in Castle Lane had, on the ground floor, a parlour, kitchen, shop, wash-house, pantry and coat-house; another had front and back parlours, kitchen, wash-house, scullery and pantry, also on the ground floor.⁵ The

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1. Hampshire Chronicle, 10 September 1792 and 3 February 1800.
 2. *Ibid.*, 2 February 1778.
 3. *Ibid.*, 3 July 1775.
 4. *Ibid.*, 29 June 1778.
 5. *Ibid.*, 12 June 1775 and 19 February 1800.

Gloucester Square houses, on the other hand, made use of the basements. The house that had been a school had in the basement "A commodious Kitchen, a Pantry, a large Wash-house or Brew-house, and good Wine, Beer and Coal Cellars". Other houses in that development had "A Front and Back Kitchen, with suitable Conveniences, on the Basement Story", with wash-houses outside in the garden.¹

Houses frequently had basements. These were often divided into several cellars and vaults, and were used for storage and brewing purposes. A house in St. Mary's had three cellars, for instance, as did No: 148 High Street. Several other High Street houses were advertised with vaults and cellars, and even the smaller type of town house included a cellar: one modest house in French Street which consisted of two parlours, kitchen, two bedchambers and two garrets had, nevertheless, a cellar.² One High Street house had "a large underground cistern and exceeding good cellaring".

Whilst the layout of all these town houses was necessarily restricted, builders nevertheless offered to make alterations or additions at the direction of their clients. Two houses in the Polygon were put up for sale in 1778, still unfinished. The houses were described as consisting of four rooms on a floor, four stories high, "which will be altered and fitted to the liking of the tenant; and coachhouse and stabling will be added". Further, either of the houses could be made smaller, or larger: "viz. Houses of five, four, three or two rooms on a Floor, to accommodate any Person".³ A High Street house put on the market

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1. CRO, D/Z Sale particulars of a house in Gloucester Square.
 2. Hampshire Chronicle, 25 December 1775 and 11 March 1776.
 3. *Ibid.*, 1 June 1778. These two houses were adjoining each other. They each had gardens of an acre "lying with a pleasant slope from the house".

in the same year also carried the promise "The walls of the house are of sufficient strength to support another floor, at a small expence, if wanted".¹ Number 69, High Street, also required alteration. "As the Fore Part of the Dwelling house will want Alteration for a genteel Family, no objection will be made to let it on a Building Lease, that the Tenant may adopt any Plan the most eligible to himself," claimed the advertisement.² At times, too, tenements and small houses were sold with suggestions of turning them into single, substantial houses, as with the sale in 1795 of God's House Court tenements and stables, "which at small expence may be made a good Dwelling House ... worthy the attention of merchants as ... a commodious warehouse or dwelling house may be built".³ Another such house was Above Bar. This was originally two houses "and for a trifling Expence may be converted so again, if required."⁴ And No: 89 High Street, "may at a small Expence be converted into two good dwelling-houses, for trade, being in front 39 feet."⁵

Only sparse information can be gained of the interior decorations of these houses. Frequently, the houses were put on the market before they were actually finished, so that the purchaser or

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1. Hampshire Chronicle, 29 June 1778.
 2. *Ibid.*, 12 February 1776.
 3. *Ibid.*, 31 August 1795. This property was held under lease from Queen's College at a quit rent of 6/8d a year.
 4. *Ibid.*, 14 July 1783. This house had four rooms on each floor with a covered way to the kitchen and brewhouse, over which were the rooms for the servants.
 5. *Ibid.*, 14 October 1782.

tenant could choose decor. A new house near the Bargate, on the corner of Orchard Street, for instance, was "now to be finished at the earliest Notice, to the liking of the Purchaser", upon application to its carpenter-builder.¹ Another new house near the Polygon advertised for sale was also "not quite finished", whilst the first house actually in the Polygon offered in September 1768 was to be "covered in by the middle of October, and then sold, agreeable to the first intention, that whoever may be the purchaser, may have the opportunity of having it finished agreeable to his own intentions".² Other houses were said to be "finished in a neat manner with plaster cornices, and genteely paper'd" or to be "finished with stucco, Cornice and Marble Chimney pieces".³ The drawing room of a Gloucester Square house was "neatly papered and dadoed, with Marble Chimney Piece", whilst another newly-built house called Newton Buildings had "The whole papered and fitted up in a neat manner".⁴ Three new houses in East Street were "neatly papered and fitted up, with Locks ...".⁵ Clearly an emphasis was put on the finishing crafts. Thus Thomas Taylor of Hanover Buildings, a plasterer "in all its branches" was able to advertise that he "repairs Whitening, and colours Ceilings &c in Oil or Distemper, in the newest taste; also Ornaments old Ceilings in a complete Manner, according to any Design".⁶

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1. Hampshire Chronicle, 1 February 1773. The carpenter was John Lander.
 2. Ibid., 15 May 1775; Salisbury Journal, 26 September 1768.
 3. Ibid., 14 September 1772 and 20 March 1775. The first house was advertised by a plasterer, Thomas Weston, "who performs Plasterers Work in general in the best Manner at the most reasonable Rates". The second was by Robert Shafflin, plasterer.
 4. CRO, D/Z Sale particulars of several houses in Gloucester Square, August 1813; Hampshire Chronicle, 13 March 1786.
 5. Salisbury Journal, 5 June 1769. These houses were to be let or sold singly.
 6. Hampshire Chronicle, 15 May 1775.

2. House Prices

House prices rose slightly over the spa period. The newly-built smaller types of tenement that were selling for £100 or so in the eighteenth century were still fetching those sorts of prices in the nineteenth century, but generally these houses were smaller. Thus a messuage in East Street could sell for £105 in 1760, and three messuages in Bell Street for £300 in 1814.¹ However, £105 could buy a plot some hundred feet long in 1760, but by 1814 the same money would buy less land.

Houses in the new areas assigned to the labouring classes generally sold for approximately £100. In 1802 two houses in Mount Street were sold for £260;² in 1800 a small house on a plot measuring twenty-two feet square fetched £100,³ and in 1825 a small dwelling house in All Saints parish was

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1. CRO, SC4/4/549 No: 5 East Street. Arthur Atherley Esq. sold to John Bridgins, nailer, a messuage and garden 18 feet by 137 feet. SC4/4/29 Deeds to No: 6 Bell Street. These three houses were built on a plot 64 feet 6 inches by 37 feet, and were thus not nearly so spacious as the previous property.
 2. CRO, SC4/4/74 Deeds to 19 and 20 Mount Street. The builder was a carpenter, John Lockyer. He had bought the land from a gardener in November 1801 paying £95 for the two allotments. By February 1802 he was ready to sell both allotments now with two messuages. They were bought by William and George Bist, a shopkeeper and painter and glazier, respectively.
 3. CRO, D/MH 2/24-29. The builder was John Knight, a cordwainer. He had mortgaged the premises for £50 in 1797, and after his death his brother (a bricklayer) sold the property for £50, with the mortgage assigned.

also sold for £100.¹ A few houses sold for under the £100 mark, but they were rare. In the Castle Hill area two houses were sold together for £85 10s in 1802,² whilst the following year another two messuages were jointly conveyed for a total of £118.³ The latter two had been erected on a slip of ground measuring only thirty feet by twenty-four feet six inches, and were, therefore, certainly of the smallest type of house. Five years later these same houses were sold to the Marquis of Lansdowne for £210.

It was not unknown for even these small houses in the poorer areas to fetch up to £200 or more. For instance, in 1829, No: 30 Mount Street was sold for £225, as was its neighbour.⁴ The plot of land on which both these houses had been erected again measured only thirty-two feet by sixty feet, and was thus

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1. CRO, D/MH 2/22/1-2 and 2/23/1-2. This property had once belonged to the bricklayer, Abraham Starks, and was sold in 1825 by Starks' son, Frederick, following the death of his mother in 1822. Cornelius Starks was the purchaser. The plot measured 25 feet 3 inches by 22 feet by 24 feet 2 inches by 29 feet.
 2. CRO, D/MH 2/17/2/18-21. In 1799 Abraham Starks paid £13 for a piece of land 22 feet by 24 feet approximately. Using mortgage finance of £125 he built then let two houses on this plot. In 1802 they were conveyed and the mortgage assigned to a gentleman builder, Thomas Smith, for a total of £85 10s. In 1810 Smith sold to the Marquis' estate for £244.
 3. CRO, D/MH 2/14 and 2/15/1-2. William Colson had been a carpenter by trade when he purchased a slip of land on the south side of Castle Hill 30 feet by 24 feet six inches from a fellow builder, Grantham Knight in 1797. He paid £28 for the land. By 1803 he was trading as a victualler.
 4. CRO, SC4/4/70. John Burgess, carpenter, built upon two allotments for which he had paid £105 in 1804. The property was auctioned after his and his heir's death. The houses were bought in 1829 by two separate people.

not an unusually large area. No: 33 Mount Street, on the other hand, sold somewhat earlier, in 1817, for £120, built on a site sixty feet by a mere twelve.¹ Two new houses in Orchard Lane were sold together for only £222 in 1797, but the builder had by then gone bankrupt, and the property was sold (possibly under-sold) by the assignees, one of whom was the purchaser.²

Property in Castle Hill appears initially to have been relatively cheap. The first of a row of four houses built there by Thomas Bartlett sold for only £92 in 1822;³ a "substantial brick messuage" was sold in 1807 for £106 also in Castle Lane;⁴ three messuages built on the hill on a plot of some sixty feet by twenty-five feet fetched a total of £365 in 1810;⁵ whilst two adjoining messuages on the east side were sold for £180 together.⁶ However, three houses built upon the former site of a windmill on a plot forty-four feet by twenty fetched a mere £160 for the three.⁷

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1. CRO, SC4/4/75. A plumber was the purchaser.
 2. CRO, SC4/4/79. Deeds to Nos: 30, 31, 56 and 57 Orchard Lane. This development was formerly a garden. The builder was Charles Newman, a cabinet-maker. He paid £50 for his plot in 1797 and the following year took out a mortgage on the premises for £150. No interest was paid back on this mortgage, and by November 1799 Newman was bankrupt. The assignees were Joseph Langar and Edward Toomer; Langar purchased the two messuages.
 3. CRO, SC4/4/1005/1-2. The Marquis paid higher sums later for most of these houses.
 4. CRO, SC4/4/456/4.
 5. CRO, D/MH 2/22/1-2.
 6. CRO, D/MH 2/23/1-2. These houses were built by the gentleman builder, William Daman.
 7. CRO, D/MH 2/37. This was in 1801. Grantham Knight, the builder, sold to the gentleman, Thomas Smith, who subsequently re-sold to the Marquis in 1805 for £412 10s. The houses were later pulled down.

Purchasers with four or five hundred pounds to spend could afford one of the more substantial houses in one of the new select developments. The houses in Albion Terrace, newly-built around the turn of the century, consistently fetched several hundred pounds. In 1797 one was sold for £300; in 1810 £340 was paid and in 1809 £1,600 was paid for two of these houses.¹ Gloucester Square was another similarly-priced, refined area. No: 5 sold for £350 in 1801. However, this house was subsequently put up for auction one year later, when £400 was bid.² Another Gloucester Square house fetched £550 when it was sold in 1813.³ One of the houses built by Isaac Mallortie on the land where formerly the almshouses had stood in East Street, another newly-popular area, sold at £420 in 1815.⁴ These were all the substantial houses of several rooms, designed for the well-to-do person who expected to keep a few servants and live in some space and comfort.

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1. CRO, SC4/4/498; SC4/4/501; SC4/4/1441; SC4/4/1442 and SC4/4/1445. The first house was one built by Bartlett and sold to Benoni Bursey, gentleman. The architect, John Plaw, sold two houses to Richard Evamy; In 1822 this same house was resold for £410.
 2. CRO, SC4/4/52. Peter Watts, the builder, sold the house to a gentleman, Thomas Turner, loaning him £300 of the purchase money upon a mortgage of the premises. However, when Turner failed to repay the principal money (he had paid all interest) it was agreed to auction the property.
 3. CRO, SC4/4/554.
 4. CRO, SC4/4/47. Isaac Mallortie, renowned for his interest in the Polygon venture, demolished five ancient almshouses, with permission, resiting them and building upon the land in East Street. The premises were thus held under a Corporation lease, at a yearly rent of 13/4d and 2/- for capon money. This plot measured 55 feet by 17.

The price of the capital or mansion house went above the thousand pound mark. One of the new houses Above Bar sold for £1,400 in 1820.¹ £1,050 was paid for No: 90 High Street in 1808.² When Peter Watts, the builder, died he owned a dwelling house Above Bar which, according to his instructions, was put up for auction. In 1828 his son-in-law paid £1,575 for the house.³ Watts had also owned a dwelling house in the High Street, another large house complete with coach-house, stables, outhouses, gardens and other appurtenances. This house sold for £2,810 at the auction.⁴ And finally, one of the "capital messuages" in Carlton Crescent fetched £2,900 in 1826.⁵

1. CRO, SC4/4/90. This was number 87, Above Bar. Peter Watts was the builder. In 1721 an acre of land had been sold, but in 1805 Watts bought an interest in the land for the remainder of the term of 1,000 years. This was the fourth house "in the row lately erected". In 1818 Thomas Williams had paid Watts £1,000 for the use of the messuage during his life, and it was thus Williams who sold this in 1820.
2. CRO, SC4/4/58.
3. CRO, D/Z 52, 53. Watts' son-in-law was William Howard of Knightsbridge, Esq. He acted through an intermediary at the auction. Several of Watts' properties were bought in this manner by members of his own family after his death.
4. Ibid.
5. CRO, D/Z Box 68. Sale of property in Carlton Crescent. This was the sixth house in the newly-built street, and was sold unfinished. Henry Buchen, a house decorator, had already received £500 from the purchaser, John Clerk Esq. However, he negotiated with Clerk for the balance of £2,400 to be advanced, promising that the house would be finished and a coachhouse and stables would be built at his own expense. Clerk decided to keep back £100 as security for the finishing of the interior decorations.

CONCLUSION

The spa period in Southampton witnessed the beginning of a dramatic growth of the town. For with a stagnating, even declining, population in the immediate pre-spa years, the decades following the 1750's stand out as the years of an unprecedented increase in the size of the town; an increase which, moreover, became spectacular as the spa reached its zenith.

Over the entire spa period the population of the town increased sixfold, rising from approximately three thousand in 1750 to over eighteen-and-a-half thousand in 1831. The increase started after 1750 and continued unabated to reach ever more spectacular heights as the eighteenth century gave way to the nineteenth. Such a rapid growth in this town is all the more marked when considered against the relatively slow growth of Hampshire's administrative centre, Winchester, over the same period, and the but marginal population increases in the region's smaller market towns such as Romsey and Alton.¹

Certainly, the eighteenth century proclaimed a national rise in the popularity of the inland spas and seaside resorts, and this great boom in leisure brought with it a concomitant upsurge in building developments. For before this period, there had been only a handful of leisured residents in these towns, and

1. M.J. Freeman, op. cit., pp. 68 - 9. During the eighteenth century, Winchester's population increased fairly slowly from an estimated 4,100 in 1725 to 6,200 in 1801. Thereafter, growth was more rapid, reaching some 13,300 inhabitants by 1851. Hampshire's smaller market towns recorded only slight population increases over the period, and some even decreased in size as the nineteenth century progressed.

Southampton in this respect was not dissimilar to other newly-emergent resorts; but the need for additional housing along the coastline was a feature new to the eighteenth century.¹

Whilst it has not been the intention of this thesis to explore the relationship of Georgian Southampton with other provincial towns of this period, it has nevertheless become apparent that Southampton developed comparatively late when set against other towns such as Hull, Birmingham, Bath and Liverpool. Prior to the post-1750 impetus afforded by the spa, Southampton remained resolutely inactive despite certain clear national peaks in building activity. Building, even before the 1750's, languished in Southampton. It was not in fact until the later years of the 1760's that the spirit of building anew was kindled, and speculative building began. Before that time, such new building as had occurred had been of the singularly 'bespoke' character - building one-off houses and not at all for the commercial market. Thus, given an over-all national swing in favour of building new houses earlier in the eighteenth century, Southampton's comparatively late development must be viewed against a backdrop of both its commercial and maritime failure, and the fact that the spa did not provide an alternative incentive until somewhat later.

The first of the new style-projects centred upon the rise of the spa, was the Polygon - a venture designed upon the grandest scale for the wealthiest of the newcomers. In anticipation that the Polygon would be installed as the town's "architect-ural wonder" in competition with other resorts, this ambitious scheme was commenced with great flourish. The planners appeared to know no bounds, as they announced in quick succession plans not only for the intended gentleman's villas, but also for a complete leisure complex ranging from hotels to churches to

1. C.W. Chalklin, op. cit., pp. 51 - 3.

libraries; in short, the Polygon was to be one distinct yet complete centre, offering all that any visitor could possibly hope for both in terms of social amenities and unrivalled sea and country views.

But it was this latter requirement, the choice of excellent views plus a separatist nature, that contributed to the failure of the Polygon. For, in retrospect, it soon became clear that this choice of site was unfortunate. Given the very clear-cut eighteenth century exigencies for centralisation within a town, a site so far to the north of the ancient walled town (and hence out of the range of such provisions as public carriages) could not, in the final analysis, prove popular. For whilst the Polygon was actually commenced in 1768, even on the map of 1802 when other Georgian squares had begun to extend in that northerly direction, its extreme location is evident: the Polygon was too far to the north, and the town would have to expand a great deal, fast, in order to bridge the geographical gap it had created.

However, the initiative taken to build the Polygon does illustrate admirably the new-found note of optimism that was a basic strength of Southampton the spa. Further, the fact that such ambition could be culled at so early a date in the history of the spa, and especially given the previous lengthy period of depression before the influx of visitors, emphasised contemporary hopes and aspirations. From its earliest days, the spa presumed a certain expectation, and it was upon this conviction in the spa's future greatness that Southampton people built, and continued to build. For the buoyant air that could initiate the grandeur that was to be the Polygon, could still maintain momentum; one project's failure was insufficient to check a growing mood of optimism, and new developments continued to be inaugurated, a little closer to the spa's amenities.

This novel growth of Southampton's housing stock was remarkable even to contemporary eye-witnesses, for changes took place within

a relatively short span of time. Individuals in the town, therefore, perceived both the turn in fortunes and the changes thus wrought within the town itself. That Baker's Guide to Southampton, in particular, should consider the reporting of the expansion of the town to be of such contemporary and local interest is highly significant, and Baker reinforced his observations with a comparative analysis. The townspeople themselves thus identified two periods of marked expansion. Baker suggested that the initial great building boom occurred between the years of 1774 and 1801, the years of the spa's heyday. These, the latter three decades of the eighteenth century, were undoubtedly the years of the spa's greatest popularity, when the demand for accommodation was so great it was not uncommon for visitors to be turned away for want of it. Then, during the decade of the 1820's, the spa was revitalised after a more languid period. Baker noted a similar boom in building developments between 1821 and 1831; a new boom, perhaps, that witnessed an altered character to development. These years saw both the building of some of Southampton's grandest Georgian houses, plus the wholesale erection of streets of the smaller type of house - the artisans' dwellings.

Essentially in the latter years of the spa, there was a dual nature to building developments. Given twin demands, most new building actually took place within two parishes, both of them extra-mural, the one to the north and the other to the east. All Saints, lying the closest to the central and medieval areas of the town, was the chosen parish of the leisured residents who wished to remain close to amenities but who also pursued fashionable desires for space and airiness. Since the parish of All Saints Extra lay just beyond the walls, it alone offered the necessary scope for centralised openness, and it was here that most of the larger new houses were built. St. Mary's parish, on the other hand, lying to the east and furthest from the social life offered by the spa along its western and north-western coastline, had also traditionally housed the town's poor, and so for these combined reasons was less attractive to the seasonal visitors.

But there was a distinct yet concurrent need for artisans' and elegant houses during the spa period, and so it was both extra-mural parishes that grew to unprecedented sizes and very quickly outstripped the older, established parishes within the walls. For these remaining four parishes offered little space, and such new building as did take place within them was basically of a renovating or replacing nature. For the first time, then, Southampton began to spread outside its ancient boundaries; modern Southampton emerged from its medieval ~~constraints~~. But, as the spa period waned, a new pattern of development appeared : after the turn of the century, the artisans' district swelled at the greatest rate, so that by 1811 there were more houses in St. Mary's than in All Saints. In All Saints in the later spa period some of the largest and most expensive houses were built in Carlton Crescent, Bedford Place and Portland Terrace, for example, whilst on the other side of the town, street upon street of small houses had to be put up in order to house the town's growing labouring population. In terms of numbers, most new houses were erected for the artisans.

Southampton was able to expand at the rate at which it did only given certain fundamental conditions. The first of these was the exceptional availability of land that the town was able to offer its builders, land which, moreover, could be readily located in any number of choice sites. This was of paramount importance, that there existed an almost unbounded supply of land, with most sites within very close proximity to the older, established thoroughfares, shopping centres, hotels and assembly rooms. 'Waste areas' abounded in this previously underdeveloped, decaying port where earlier opportunities for building expansion had been neglected or overlooked. Before the spa, the town occupied a small geographical area; land was singularly available for development.

Building regulations, however, were minimal, yet during the course of the spa period certain aspects of the builders' operations were, for the first time, called into question. Henceforth, builders were forced to abide by certain defined rules, most particularly where their efforts interfered with the increasing traffic in the town, and conform to certain guide lines. Whilst the initial lack of control manifest in Southampton before the 1770's is in no way unique, (for there was a nationwide absence of adequate municipal policies) and, moreover, understandable, given the previous decline in the house building industry, the sudden mushroom-like growth of the town did demand a new awareness of planning problems. The Pavement Commissioners came into being primarily to create an atmosphere of awareness of modern urban situations: the vital problems of the layout, cleansing and lighting of the streets. However, alongside this brief, came an accepted grasp of the need to exercise certain vital building controls, most usually when concerned with obstructions and nuisances. This interesting expansion of their role on the part of the Pavement Commissioners marked the beginning of municipal awareness of concern over building matters, and the desire to establish some uniformity of design and line. Builders and existing homeowners wishing to extend or modify, had henceforward to seek permission for their plans and alterations, or suffer the consequent fines and the penalties of having to remove their obstructions.

Nevertheless, despite the need to conform to these regulations, builders were undoubtedly encouraged to build, not the least by the manner in which the Corporation was eager to release its acres of void ground and, equally as important, to offer financial incentives to builders. For with the housing industry preparing to enhance Corporation property, the authorities were, in turn, prepared to keep their rents and renewal fines low, both on the undeveloped land itself and on the newly-erected property. For some time afterwards, fines, too, might be waived.

Where a builder acquired land from a private source, the types of building lease employed were crucial to his ability to develop the land, and thus crucial to the new development of the town as a whole. Fixed term leases could be beneficial immediately to the builder himself, since, beyond normal maintenance commitments, he could expect to reap a profit at once from letting the property - and clearly there was a demand for houses to be let at both ends of the market. Further, the builder would frequently be required to make only a small down-payment and pay low annual rents during the timescale of the lease. Generally, the terms of the leases were generous to builders who proposed enhancing the value of the ground landlord's property. The Corporation let at forty year periods, but private landlords might well offer one thousand year leases. Others provided land secured upon the lives of the builder and his heirs - ample encouragement for any family to develop, maintain and see profits accrue. Freeholds, too, appeared on the market, often with already subdivided plots of land put up for auction.

The availability of land and the adoption of types of leases that were beneficial to the builders were the initial valuable encouragements offered to the industry; but so, too, was the accessibility of finance. Cash could be raised locally either upon credit or mortgage. The fact that builders could turn to individuals within the neighbourhood for the necessary cash was absolutely vital, especially since the High Street banks and friendly societies were not major sources of loan finance. Fortunately, there appears to have been no shortage of money in the town at this time, and a wide variety of people were prepared to invest in speculative development schemes. For, since institutions did not figure as major backers of the builders, of overriding importance were these individuals who had some money to spare and were looking for investment opportunities. These people were very often leisured men, widows and spinsters: those who borrowed the most were the building craftsmen themselves. Despite the clear existence of other specifically more lucrative alternatives, it is also apparent that building investments offered a real option for these

investors, and property was judged an attractive proposition.

However, in addition to this exceptionally important source of finance for builders, there existed another indispensable source, that of the possibility of obtaining credit on labour and materials, and thereby building with speed but with the minimum of initial outlay. The John Griffiths' papers demonstrate this with great clarity, for his creditors were for the most part those craftsmen that he had employed upon his building operations, the men who brought not only their specialist labour to the field, but who also provided the necessary materials. An outstanding feature to emerge from this archive is the dependence that Griffiths placed upon his suppliers and co-workers, and that he was in fact able to build largely upon credit. Builders required in the first instance a cheap and ready supply of building materials and craftsmen, plus mortgage or other loan finance, in order to develop the land. The emphasis was thus upon a quick turnover, a fast sell, in order to repay the various creditors.

Gentleman builders made an especial contribution to the local building industry, in that they actively involved themselves in the trade. These were the vital men who obtained the land in the first instance, and then by financing an overall scheme, they made it possible for others to develop the land. Their role was to plan the square, lay out the streets, commission architectural plans where applicable and then dispose of the land through building leases or the sale of the freeholds. They acted in the anticipation of reaping profits by passing on the individual plots, often to a variety of craftsmen builders, whilst generally maintaining an element of overall proprietorship or stating clear directives as to the houses to be built. They thus stamped their mark upon the development.

It was this interaction of the gentlemen builders and the craftsmen builders that was crucial to the Georgian building industry. The two were inter-dependent. On the one hand, the craftsmen needed the gentlemen to make the land available through buying a substantial tract and then subdividing that

into manageable single-dwelling plots; whilst on the other the gentleman builder relied upon the craftsman and his fellow workers to place their skills and sources of supplies at the projects disposal. Further, the one frequently provided the mortgage loan for the other, thus enabling the craftsman builder to exist upon a clearly defined basis of the minimum of expenditure, the maximum of speed in the actual erection and subsequent disposal of the property, and the final settling of accounts with creditors before moving on to the next venture. But the gentlemen builders provided another, perhaps psychological element to the whole procedure, in that in many cases it was these gentlemen who offered the impetus to build speculatively. They made that initial decision, then followed this by providing finance or collateral and thereby encouraging the craftsman builder into the project; this was their especial contribution to the entire process.

For the skilled men themselves it was of paramount importance that they, too, should co-operate with each other upon their various building projects. The manner in which a multiplicity of craftsmen actually worked together illustrates their interdependence, their mutual assistance, whether within a family grouping or otherwise. The numbers of men in the constructional trades grew year by year, most especially in the bricklaying and carpentry trades. Interestingly, there was a singular lack of surveyors and architects, at least in the early years of spa development, and presumably this deficit accounted for some aspects of Southampton's haphazard development. Nevertheless, there was a dramatic increase in the numbers of building craftsmen finding work in Southampton in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, with an overall increase of some one hundred craftsmen engaged in work relating to the building trade over the period 1774 - 1831.

One further fundamental contribution that these craftsmen had to make to building developments lay in their ability to exercise considerable business acumen. Building in the spa was for fast profit; for the profit released by one good house could trigger off further developments whether for the initial partnership or for new ones. At times even the craftsmen themselves were

transformed into the financiers of the new venture, for with one house already standing, they unleashed the collateral vital to finance speculative developments. The craftsman with one or more houses already to his credit could afford to build alone, find new partners, or mortgage out money himself to co-craftsmen. Such versatility was essential to the growth of Southampton.

Responsibility for building did not, therefore, always fall to the same person or partnership. Rather, it was common practice for builders at times to initiate their own projects and utilise the skills of their fellow craftsmen, whilst at others these same builders might well perform labour for another builder. Builders, for the most part, liked to work in both a certain geographical area of the town, for example in squares and crescents off the High Street, and for a distinct market, the affluent or the artisan. The excellent archive material held in Southampton can provide such analysis of the careers of certain builders to illustrate their methods of work.

As regards the actual houses that these men built, one of their most distinctive features lay in the widespread adoption of bow or bulk windows to the upper floors - in accordance with the rules laid down by the Pavement Commissioners. Even today, in parts of the town, these windows survive to present a distinctive Georgian character. Naturally, bow windows were incorporated into the town houses of the day wherever possible, but in Southampton the spa they were ever popular because of one essential requirement of the visitors : a room with a view. Sea views in particular, but open-aspected houses as well, were highly desirable, and any Georgian resort had to recognise this need. In Southampton the 'right' place was probably a little to the north of the town, but not too far, with a sea view to the rear; an acceptable alternative might be a bustling view of the activities of the High Street. Other demands made by the wealthy inhabitant included a centralised situation with easy, trouble-free access to points of local interest and society locations, and semi-exclusive design features.

The Georgian builders left their mark upon the town, for even today, there survive fine examples of grandeur. Indeed, whilst the independent builders were extending their range of activities, it is no coincidence that the hitherto unwilling Corporation began to take account of the state of the town and of its public buildings in particular. The spa period thus marks the time not only of a great enhancement in the quantity and quality of domestic houses, but also of a new range of municipal buildings, from churches to markets to council chambers. Architectural design began to be of paramount importance in a 'showpiece' town. But the impact this made lay not only in the affluent areas; the builders of the spa period were also responsible for the initial setting out of the residential streets of the labouring populace of St. Mary's. In later years, this outlying parish of tenements was to become the core of the new-found mercantile interest. All these buildings were the legacies of the spa.

APPENDIX I :

POPULATION.

PARISH	HOUSES		PERSONS		OCCUPATIONS			TOTAL OF PERSONS	
	INHABITED	BY HOW MANY UNINHABITED	MALE	FEMALE	PERSONS CHIEFLY EMPLOYED IN AGRICULTURE	PERSONS CHIEFLY EMPLOYED IN MANUFACTURE OR HANDICRAFT	OTHER		
All Saints	401	519	21	902	1413	83	1053	1179	2315
Holyrood	226	313	15	603	812	-	220	1195	1415
St Lawrence	45	72	-	156	207	-	92	271	363
St Mary	375	375	24	813	994	-	-	-	1807
St Michael	211	354	7	509	701	-	330	880	1210
St Johns	105	94	6	263	256	135	57	65	519
Stoneham	146	149	-	144	140	17	130	137	284
TOTAL	1509	1876	73	3390	4523	235	1882	3727	7913

PARISH	HOUSES		PERSONS				OCCUPATIONS			TOTAL OF PERSONS
	INHABITED	FAMILIES BUILDINGS	UNINHABITED	MALE	FEMALE	PERSONS CHIEFLY EMPLOYED IN AGRICULTURE	PERSONS CHIEFLY EMPLOYED IN MANUFACTURE OR HANDICRAFT	OTHER		
All Saints	476	590	11	26	1088	1704	-	449	141	2792
Holyrood	246	324	-	6	670	873	29	234	61	1543
St Johns	80	112	-	2	269	243	3	94	15	512
St Lawrence	51	77	1	1	162	257	-	48	29	419
St Mary	430	517	17	20	1143	1399	123	279	115	2542
St Michael	249	378	2	8	639	811	-	360	18	1450
Portswood	41	71	2	-	159	200	10	21	40	349
TOTAL	1573	2069	33	63	4130	5487	165	1485	419	9617

PARISH	HOUSES		PERSONS				OCCUPATIONS			
	INHABITED FAMILIES	BUILDINGS UNINHABITED	MALE	FEMALE	PERSONS CHIEFLY EMPLOYED IN AGRICULTURE	PERSONS CHIEFLY EMPLOYED IN MANUFACTURE OR HANDICRAFT	OTHER	TOTAL OF PERSONS		
All Saints	593	777	12	16	1523	2162	-	575	202	3685
Holyrood	272	376	-	4	784	955	1	324	51	1739
St Johns	99	185	1	2	286	365	-	165	20	651
St Lawrence	61	99	3	-	180	279	-	66	33	459
St Mary	781	1015	26	18	2210	2498	15	878	122	4708
St Michael	265	417	2	4	743	928	-	280	137	1671
Portswood	90	91	-	-	205	235	30	43	18	440
TOTAL	2161	2960	44	44	5931	7422	46	2331	583	13,353

PARISH	HOUSES			PERSONS			OCCUPATIONS			
	INHABITED FAMILIES	BUILDINGS	UNINHABITED	MALE	FEMALE	PERSONS CHIEFLY EMPLOYED IN AGRICULTURE	PERSONS CHIEFLY EMPLOYED IN MANUFACTURE OR HANDICRAFT	OTHER	TOTAL	
All Saints	877	982	47	52	2208	3352	9	354	619	5560
Holyrood	278	356	-	18	819	953	1	201	154	1772
St Johns	107	169	-	3	306	354	-	57	112	660
St Lawrence	53	73	-	3	164	242	-	50	23	406
St Mary	1434	1938	66	90	4026	4494	1	83	1101	8520
St Michael	267	408	4	23	799	953	-	205	203	1752
Portswood	123	133	1	6	323	331	6	35	92	654
TOTAL	3189	4059	118	195	8645	10879	17	1738	2304	19324

TOTAL POPULATION ACCORDING TO PARISH

PARISH	1801	1811	1821	1831
All Saints	2315	2792	3685	5560
Holy Rood	1415	1543	1739	1772
St Johns	519	512	651	660
St Lawrence	363	419	459	406
St Mary	1807	2542	4708	8520
St Michael	1210	1450	1671	1752
Portswood	284	357	440	654
TOTAL	7913	9617	13,353	19,324

Occupations in Southampton, 1831

Occupation	Number of Males Over 20 Years of Age	Percentage Of Males
Agriculture	55	1.24
Manufacture	1	0.02
Retail & Workmen*	2,396	54.25
Professional	377	8.53
Labourers	961	21.76
Domestic Service	173	3.91
Other	453	10.25
Total	<u>4,416</u>	

* Males 20 years of age employed in Retail Trade, or in Handicraft, as Masters or Workmen.

Source: National Census of Population, 1831.

Occupations in Southampton, 1831

Occupation	Number of Males Over 20 Years of Age	Percentage Of Males
Building Trades	768	32
Furniture and Coach Making	91	3.8
Shoemaking	59	2.5
Tailoring	55	2.3
Domestic Service	173	7.2
Labouring non-Agricultural	961	40
Labouring	47	2
Other (Mostly Retail Trades - but includes some Craftsmen)	242	10.2
Total	<u>2,396</u>	

Source: National Census of Population, 1831.

APPENDIX II :

LAND AVAILABILITY AND CHECKS ON BUILDING

ADVERTISEMENTS IN THE HAMPSHIRE CHRONICLE 1773 - 1800
 Giving Details of Land and Building Plots for Sale or to be Let.

Date	Size of Plot	Situation	Price	Comments
21. 6.1773 For sale by Private Contract	100' x 130' "a large piece of land"	At the back of York Buildings, facing Houndwell	£200 Quit Rent of 7/4d p.a.	Leasehold under the Corporation. "The above is well situated to build small Tenements on, which are much wanted in this town"
13. 9.1773	8 Plots in 170' x 200'	Polygon	Ground Rent £6 p.a. each	Property of Isaac Mallortie - Bankrupt
9. 5.1774	3 Plots : 21½' x 137'	Fronting East Street Upper End	(Auction)	Freehold
	10 Plots : 18' x 100'	Fronting the road leading to Houndwell	(Auction)	Freehold
22. 5.1774	Several Plots			
9. 1.1775	21' x 56'	Lower end of Simnel Street, adjoining the Cross Guns		Freehold - Stable and Outhouse on land
20. 2.1775	"Large piece of Ground"	Back of the Castle, leading to West Quay		Slaughter House and Stable on land
30. 1.1775	19" x 216"	Above Bar		"being a fine spot of ground for building a convenient dwelling- house" with good views.
27. 3.1775	52' x 106'	Contiguous to the sugar house, abutting upon the High Street		Freehold "Whereon may be erected two good dwelling houses"
	15' x 40'	Fronting High Street adjoining a dwelling house with shop		Freehold

ADVERTISEMENTS IN THE HAMPSHIRE CHRONICLE 1773 - 1800

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Date	Size of Plot	Situation	Price	Comments
17. 7.1775	Three fields containing 8 acres	Adjoining Love Lane "Kingsland"		For Rent
11.12.1775	"Large piece of land" in 5 lots each lot 20' x 130'	Near Hanover Buildings, fronting Houndwell	(Auction)	"No buildings can be erected to obstruct the Prospect, which commands a view of the Fields, Bellevue and other buildings adjacent"
21.10.1776	107' x 40½'	East Street		
2. 6.1777	One Plot	Waste ground below Hanover Buildings		Walter Taylor intends building 4 or 5 houses, and has one plot to dispose of
2. 6.1777	Piece of land	Part of the seashore	(Auction)	Corporation Lease
28. 9.1778	39' x 13' x 40' x 17'	Adjoining to Orchard Street Stable with ground adjoining		Corporation Lease "where great improvements may be made"
16. 7.1781	10 Parcels 150' x 20' also "divers other parcels of land contiguous thereto"	South side of Lower East Street South-east side of Orchard Lane		Freehold "Extremely well situated for building upon"
28. 7.1783	"Small lots" - several pieces	near the Platform		Freehold, good prospect "for conveniency of such Persons as may be inclined to purchase and build thereon"
28. 2.1785		Bugle Hall		"Several handsome houses may be erected on part of the gardens"
22. 8.1785	Several Lots	"pleasantly situated"	(Auction)	Freehold - Good views

ADVERTISEMENTS IN THE HAMPSHIRE CHRONICLE 1773 - 1800

- III -

Date	Size of Plot	Situation	Price	Comments
5. 2.1787	Six several allotments	Spring Gardens	(Auction)	"Well adapted for building on" Freehold
21. 4.1788	$\frac{1}{2}$ acre Also 82' x 124'	All Saints parish adjoining Feltmonger's Yard Newton Buildings - "pleasantly situated"		Freehold
9. 2.1789	Various Plots of garden ground			"well adapted for building on"
9. 7.1792	150' x 80' either altogether or in lots 16' x 70'	East Street	(Auction)	Freehold - paled all round 7' high
3.12.1792	Several Lots: 14' x 69' 13' x 69' 13' x 69' 13' x 69' 13' x 69'	Bugle Street "a very eligible situation for building"	(Auction)	Also two houses
2. 9.1793	4 Lots : 25' x 171' 25' x 162' 25' x 151' 25' x 141'	Orchard Place "the scite whereof is most eligible for building on" - because of the views		Leasehold
8. 6.1795	18 Lots "for building"	Brunswick Place - good prospect		99 years term subject to plan, elevation and conditions
31. 8.1795	Several tenements "commodious warehouse or dwelling houses may be built"	God's House Court		Queen's College lease = quit rent 6/8d
17.12.1798	"Large piece" to be divided into 19 lots	South side of East Street fronting York Buildings		Freehold - agreeable to plan etc.

LAND AVAILABILITY IN ST MARY'S

Land adjoining Hoglands Common Field
(Cook Street and Lower East Street).

1793 Lease to Hannah Shepherd for 40 years for 20 gns. Rent £5.
Garden ground/land + messuages or tenements erected thereon.

1823 Lease to John and Millicent Churcher for 40 years for £13 10s.
Rent 3/-. Messuage and appurts 17'5" x 30'.

Bag Row and Chapel Street 1808 - 1829.

1808 Lease to John Bates (carpenter) for 40 years for £71 5s.
Rent 19/6d. Parcel of garden ground 104' x 57' in Chapel Street.
"And also all those several Messuages or Tenements and Buildings
lately erected and built by the said John Bates thereon".

1808 Lease to James Beavis (carpenter) for 40 years for £7 10s.
Rent 3/-. Parcel of garden ground in Chapel Street.

1809 Lease to Nicholas Jardin (shopkeeper) for 40 years for £14 17 6d.
Rent 6/-. Garden grounds in Chapel Street 57' x 32'. With
messuage lately built by Jardin.

1811 Lease to Joshua Skinner (cabinet maker) for 40 years for £40.
Rent £1 7s 6d. All those messuages or tenements in Bag Row
63' x 58', garden ground 57' x 16', piece of arable land in
Hoglands Field c 100' x 118½'. To repair "all future buildings
which may be erected thereon".

1811 Lease to John Barney (gent) for 40 years for £30. Rent £4.
4 messuages in Bag Row (or Love Lane).

1811 Lease to John Bartlett (bricklayer) for 40 years for £7 10s.
Rent 3/-. Parcel of garden ground c 16' x 57' in Chapel Street
together with 2 messuages lately built by Bartlett thereon.

Land Availability in St Mary's

1821 Lease to John Band (yeoman) for 40 years for £54 15s.
Rent £1 7s 6d. All those messuages in Bag Row 63' x 58'
(be the same more or less). Also allotment formerly garden.

1823 Lease to Job Oxford (plasterer) for 40 years for £15.
Rent 3/-. Allotment, garden ground, on south side of
Chapel Street.

East Street.

1799 Lease to Elizabeth Lambert, widow of William (gardener)
for 40 years for no fine, rent £7. Messuage in East Street
with orchard of two acres in Orchard Lane.

1803 Lease to John Sanders for 40 years for £8 8s. Rent £2.
Messuage in East Street.

Source : CRO, D/NA St. Mary's Glebe.

QUEEN'S COLLEGE OXFORD - LAND HELD IN SOUTHAMPTON

PARISH OF ALL SAINTS EXTRA

Prior to 1800

Later

Part of "Coach and Horses" yard

Part of "Royal York Hotel", Above Bar Street

58 and 59 Above Bar Street

"Odeon Cinema" site (developed 1851)

Close of $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres in East Magdalens on east side of Above Bar Street

The "Fair Field"

Nos. 1 - 4 Sussex Place (divided into leaseholds for dwelling houses of a superior class, 1835)

Two shops in East Magdalen Field & Great and Little Bucklands (c. 16 acres)

Oakley's Gardens - 1809 - 85 held on lease by Messrs. Oakley, nurserymen and market gardeners (Sold for building development 1885 - site of Oxford Avenue, Clovelly Road, Graham Road)

Padwell (c. 45 acres)

Part of Bevois Mount Estate - (sold 1734).

QUEEN'S COLLEGE OXFORD - LAND HELD IN SOUTHAMPTON

PARISH OF ST. MARY

Prior to 1800

Later

Baker's Close	Sold by auction 1823 to Daniel Brooks & Bros. to build 9 large houses (1 only built, Richmond Lodge)
Close south of Baker's	
Orchard and Public House in Orchard Lane	Timber yard and tenements
Orchard Adjoining	(Later site of 1 - 7 Briton Street & 1 - 8 Orchard Place)
God's House Close	(Porter's Meadow)
King's Orchard	(Developed post 1842 by Laishley : Oxford Street Orchard Lane, College Street, Latimer Street)
Close north of Porter's meadow	(Later, Orchard Place, Latimer Street)
Garden on north side of St. Mary's Street	Sold 1800.

VOID LAND LET ON CORPORATION LEASES 1760 - 1770

Date	Situation	Lessee	Fine	Rent
25. 3.1761	Piece of ground in the Lane between Simnel Street and the Castle	Seymour Lawrence	Without Fine	
26. 2.1762	Waste ground without the sea banks opposite the road leading from East Street towards Cross House 300' in breadth and to extend towards the sea as far as he shall think fit not exceeding that breadth.	William Wisdom	-	6/8d
26. 7.1765	Waste ground on the sea shore between Windmill Lane End and West Key	Robert Sadleir Esq.		
26. 7.1765	Parcel of ground without the town wall between a Tower and a buttress adjoining to the Pound with liberty to make a doorway through the town wall	John Bridger & Thomas Abraham		2/6d & couple of capons
26. 7.1765	Parcel of ground without the town wall between a Tower on the east and a buttress adjoining to the Walk or Pound on the west, the low water mark on the south and the town wall on the north with liberty to make a doorway through the town wall - keeping it in repair.	John Bridger & Thomas Abraham		2/6d & Capons
30. 8.1765	Waste piece of ground on the east side of the Highway and on the west side of Magdalen Field and adjoining on the south to his own garden 27' x feet.	David Pryce Esq.		3/4d & Capons
13. 9.1765	Piece of waste ground part of the Sea Beech	Edmund Ludlow		2/6d & Capons
13. 9.1765	Piece of waste ground extends from above as far as Gods House Tower	William Purbeck		2/6d & Capons

VOID LAND LET ON CORPORATION LEASES 1760 - 1770

- II -

Date	Situation	Lessee	Fine	Rent
8. 8.1766	Piece of void or waste ground within the town walls between a coachhouse and a house 30' in length northward and 9'6" in breadth at the south end	William Brown		5/- & Capons
5. 9.1766	Piece of void or waste ground in Orchard Lane adjoining to the Bowling Green and a garden Dimensions: 66' x 54' x 34' x 10'	James d'Auvergne		5/- & Capons
18. 9.1766	Piece of ground against the Hedge of Godshouse Moat 106' x 34' x 112' x 6' to be added to above lease	James d'Auvergne		Rent of whole = 1 Guinea & Capons
5.12.1766	Void piece of ground called the Spanish Burying Place adjoining to the town wall	John Brissault	15 gns	26/8d & Capons "but to be reduced to 6/8d when the tenant shall build thereon a dwelling house or houses of the yearly value of £5 or upwards and so long as he shall maintain the s
6. 2.1767	Void piece of marshy ground near the Cross-House according to a plan 120' x 40'	Edmund Ludlow		2/6d & Capons restrictions imposed 22' to be left between any new build and the trees there 40' between the Cro
19. 2.1768	Tin Cellar and Linnen Hall remains "the tenant being bound to erect a substantial building and to keep it in repair during the term and lease it so at the end of it"	Walter Taylor	£100	40/-
19. 2.1768	Void ground in St. John's parish from the Town Wall towards the High Way about 9' x 44'	John Bridger & Thomas Abraham		6/8d & Capons or 2/-
(31. 3.1768	extended to 10' 8")			

VOID LAND LET ON CORPORATION LEASES 1760 - 1770

- III -

Date	Situation	Lessee	Fine	Rent
18. 3.1768	Waste ground near the present Pound	John Bridger		1 Guinea & 2/- for Capons
22. 4.1768	Rope Walk and Ditches	Robert Jefferies	4 gns	13/4d & Capons
22. 4.1768	Garden plot adjoining George Inn	Richard Vernon Sadleir	5 gns	13/4d & Capons

Source: CRO, Corporation Journals.

TOWN DITCHES

6 December 1771

Town Lease : Walter Taylor Blockmaker

Renew Lease of messuage and Town Ditches granted to him by lease dated 20 February 1766 - except so much of the said ditches as is mentioned in the following grants to Mr. Barret and Mr. Mallortie.

20/- fine 14 gns old quit rents and a couple of capons.
6 years expired michaelmas last.

Town Lease : Michael Barret Esq.

- * New lease of one hundred feet in length from East to West and $129\frac{1}{2}$ feet or thereabouts in width of the ground excepted in said lease to Walter Taylor. 40 years michaelmas last quit rents 10/- and usual capon money and such covenants with respect to the said ground as are comprised in the said lease to Walter Taylor.

Town Lease : Isaac Mallortie Esq.

- * New lease of other part of the Ditches excepted in the grant to Walter Taylor and also set off in the before mentioned plan viz. 46 feet in length from East to West (21 feet whereof are formed into a bridge leading to York Buildings) and in depth from North to South one hundred and thirty feet and an half or thereabouts 40 years michaelmas last quit rents of 3/6d ditto as above.

2 April 1774

Town Lease : Walter Taylor

Entry made - 6 November 1771 - ordered new lease be granted to Walter Taylor of messuage and Town Ditches comprised in a former lease granted to him 20 February 1766 (except Ditches since granted to Michael Barret and Mallortie) - new lease having never been granted - Walter Taylor now

- II -

applied to have the said messuage and his part of the Town Ditches on account of the several buildings thereon erected held by six distinct leases - It is now ordered that upon surrender of the present leases of the said premises, Walter Taylor and his assigns shall have six separate leases thereof, three whereof are to be in his name and two with name of Mrs. Elizabeth Taylor his mother and one of Mr. John Brice, of the particular estates described in a plan now by Walter Taylor produced - following quit rents Viz.

Mr. Taylor's 3/4 on each lease and couple of capons

Mrs. Taylor's 3/4 on each two

Mr. Brice's 3/4 on each two

Fine of 14 gns agreed to be paid by Mr. Taylor on renewal of said former lease to be apportioned as he thinks proper.

9 June 1775

Licence to alienate : Barret to Eldridge

Michael Barret to alienate the piece of land (part of the Town Ditches) demised by him by lease 7 August 1772 to Thomas Eldridge of Soton cabinet maker on this particular proviso and condition That the said Thomas Eldridge's Executors, Administrators, Assigns, do not nor shall at any time during the remainder of the term therein to come erect set affix or place on the said premises or any part thereof any slaughter houses Hogstye or Buildings of any sort whatsoever that may be an annoyance offence or nuisance to the public or the tenants of the Corporation and upon this further condition, that neither he nor they shall procure or suffer any Building or Erection on the premises that may be converted into a slaughter house etc.

TOWN DITCHES

25 March 1776

Leases of parts of late Barret's land

To: Thomas Tarrant)	
William Stretton)	Seals.
David Coleman)	

Corporation having consented that Thomas Eldridge to whom Michael Barret Esq. assigned the land granted to him (late Taylor's) being part of the Town Ditches should have liberty to divide and sell the same in separate lots, and that the purchasers thereof should have distinct leases of such lots - he having accordingly sold to Thomas Tarrant sadler 20 feet in front of the Easternmost part of the said land with the Tower called St. Dennis Tower and to William Stratton sergeant at mace 20 feet in front of the Westernmost part of the said land, and the like quantity other part of the same land to David Coleman. Leases for 40 years michaelmas last fine 2/6d each lease quit rents 3/4 + capons.

Leases : Walter Taylor

Of part of Town Ditches which was intended to have been granted to Mr. Mallortie.

Lease of parcel of that part of Town Ditches lying on the East side of new highway or road leading from Houndwell Lane to York Buildings containing 20 feet from East to West in front and in depth 130 feet being a part of the Town Ditches containing 26 feet in front and 130 feet in depth which was to have been Isaac Mallortie's - Journal 6 November 1771 for the purpose of forming the aforesaid New Road of Highway and otherwise to said Walter Taylor having purchased of the assignees of Mallortie who lately became a bankrupt their equitable interest in the before described land - lease to Walter Taylor to comprise only an extent of 20 feet in front and 130 feet in depth - the residue of the said 46 feet in front and depth being reserved for the public use of

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the aforesaid new Road, and whereto the said assignees are to have no exclusive claim nor the said Mr. Taylor - to commence 25 March last quit rents 3/6d and capons and usual covenants.

Lease : Mrs. Elizabeth Taylor, Walter Taylor

Lease granted to Elizabeth Taylor 27 January 1775 of piece of land being part of Town Ditches 52 feet 9 inches in front and in depth 121 feet 9 inches on the West side and 124 feet 6 inches on the East - having requested a new lease to be granted to her of part of the same land containing 30 feet and 9 inches in front on the East side and of the depth before mentioned - and also a new lease to be granted to her son Walter Taylor of the residue of the said land being 19 feet in front and of the depth aforesaid - surrender of old leases accepted and new leases granted - fine 2/6d each and capons michaelmas 1771. 40 years, usual covenants, quit rents 3/6d.

Source: CRO, Corporation Journals.

ROPE WALK.

6 December 1771

Town Lease : William Elderton

- * William Elderton, stonemason, lease of part of the ground demised to Robert T. Jefferies Esq. called the Rope Walk in April 1768 viz. on the north side thereof and containing in depth from east to west 67 feet and in width from north to south 20 feet or thereabouts (Robert Jefferies surrendering his lease or causing the same to be done by John Silley his assignee) 40 years michaelmas last fine 5/- quit rent 3/6d and couple of capons, also covenant with respect to repairs, taxes etc.

Town Lease : William Osgood

- * William Osgood, currier, also have other part (lease of) of said Rope Walk on south side thereof and containing from east to west 56 feet and from north to south 13 feet or thereabouts (surrender made as above) 40 years michaelmas last fine 3/6d, couple of capons, covenant with respect to repairs of buildings and payment of taxes as customary.

Town Lease : Samuel Ward

- * Samuel Ward, bricklayer, lease of other part of Rope Walk on north side thereof containing from the east end of the dwelling house lately built by the said Elderton on his ground above demised towards the east 50 feet in width and 20 feet for the same term and under like rent and couple of capons as in Elderton's lease and the like fine of £0 5/-

28 February 1772

Town Lease : John Lander

- * New lease of part of the ground formerly called the Rope Walk in All St. Extra on the north side thereof to contain from east to west 50 feet in depth 20feet 40 years michaelmas last fine 5/- quit rents 3/6d and usual couple of capons.

Town Lease : Weston

- * Thomas Weston, plasterer, have a lease of other part of ground called Rope Walk 15 feet east to west width 20 feet ground granted to Ward as after mentioned on the west and said Lander's ground on the east 40 years michaelmas last fine 5/- quit rents 3/6d and couple of capons.

15 May 1772

Town Lease : Robert Jefferies Esq.

Lease of piece of ground on the north side of the above mentioned Rope Walk to contain in length from east to west 34 feet and in breadth at the east and west ends 20 feet at the like fine and rents and same term to commence michaelmas last.

Town Lease : John Haslock

- * John Haslock to have an original lease of a piece of ground on the south side of the Rope Walk in All St. Extra to contain in length east to west 47 feet and in breadth 14 feet adjoining to the premises already granted to Osgood 40 years lady last fine 5/- quit rents 3/6d and couple of capons.

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27 May 1774

Licence to alienate : Elderton

- * William Elderton house and land in the Old Rope Walk now called Orchard Street. All St to Daniel Silley by way of mortgage.

Lease or licence to John Silley to lodge timber on the town walls and build on some part thereof.

Liberty to be granted to John Silley to lodge the timbers of two new houses by him building in Orchard Street, and to build the walls thereof 10 feet high and 14 inches thick in and on the town walls next to the said Orchard Street on condition that he takes a lease thereof in 5 years from this time, and also covenants to do no willful damage to the said town wall and to place a shoot lined with lead or other proper conveyance for carrying the water from the Eves of the said houses in such a manner as not to prejudice Mr. LeGay's or any other persons Buildings on the other side of the Town Wall.

21 August 1776

Town Leases : John Bridger and Thomas Jeanes

- * New lease to John Bridger of parcel of land in length 35 feet and in breadth 16 feet being parcel of the land granted to Robert Jefferies Esq. formerly called the Rope Walk in parish of All Saints 40 years michaelmas next fine 2/6d quit rents 3/4d and couple of capons.

- * Lease of another parcel of same land 50 feet in length and 20 feet in breadth to Thomas Jeanes - same term and conditions and rents. As soon as John Silley the possessor of the original lease granted to the said Robert Jefferies of all the said land called the Old Rope Walk shall be actually surrendered.

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4 April 1777

Surrender of the lease of the Old Rope Walk now called
Orchard Street

It appearing to this Corporation that a surrender of the lease of part of the Town Ditches formerly called the Rope Walk and now called Orchard Street granted 22 April 1768 to Robert Jefferies is absolutely necessary previous to the fixing the seal to the leases intended to be granted to John Bridger and Thomas Jeanes and Mr. Andrews of divers parcels of the premises comprised in the said Mr. Jefferies' lease It is now resolved that John Silley the present assignee thereof shall make such surrender of the same accordingly And that thereupon a new lease of the Residue of the premises now remaining the property of John Silley shall be granted from michaelmas last 40 years fine 13/4d quit rents 6/8d usual covenants And in consideration of the many Improvements made by John Silley on the land abovementioned - Common Council consented to discharge the whole Expence of the proposed surrender and the new intended lease to John Silley.

27 June 1777

Town Lease and Agreement with John Silley

- * Survey made of John Silley's land in Orchard Street. The conveniency of having a road through the same to communicate with the sea shore taken into consideration - agreed - : John Silley should allow the Corporation and public k (as long as they should permit) a free and uninterrupted Right of Liberty of passing and repassing with horses carts and carriages through the whole of Orchard Street as far as the present inclosure of John Silley near the west extremity thereof - and he should surrender and relinquish to the Corporation a space of ground of the Breadth of 13 feet 6 inches to be continued through the whole of his said inclosure for a way of passage from

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thence to the seashore for the use of the Corporation and publick as long as they should think proper. John Silley to surrender lease of all land originally granted to Robert Jefferies - Corporation agree to confirm their resolution of 4 April last re-renewal of land in Orchard Street - and that his fine for renewing the same shall not be advanced until the expiration of 28 years michaelmas last - And moreover that a new lease shall be granted him by the Corporation michaelmas next 40 years of piece of land near Arundel Tower lying between his present inclosure and the seashore quit rents 1/- and capons and proper restrictive covenants - he is to be at liberty to remove the soil therein as far as to the mark this day made in the Town Wall - John Silley agrees with the Corporation to allow a Foot Path through his said inclosure to Cold Harbour in the Daytime until the intended way or Passage to the seashore shall be compleated.

Source: CRO, Corporation Journals.

TENDERS AND CONTRACTS FOR PAVING

25 June 1770

The Agreement signed by Monday and Baily.

We whose names are hereunder subscribed do agree with the Councillors present at a public meeting held by virtue and in pursuance of the Act of Parliament lately passed for paving the town of Southampton to pave the said town agreeable to the public advertisement for that purpose and the private Requisitions read to us this day and hereunto answered at and for the several prices affixed against the respective Article specified in our tender this day delivered to them and to sign a contract with proper security for that purpose with them on any kind of the said Commissions whenever thereunto required and to complete the several pavements by the first of January one thousand seven hundred and seventy four ----

'Requisitions'

All materials to be surveyed before use. The rejected ones to be carried off by the contractors before night or any two of the Commissioners may remove them the next day at the said Contractors expense. Edge stones to be strictly agreeable to the advertisement, the inside straight as well as the outside, the surface not inferior but more regular than those at Portsmouth. Flatners to be close jointed in Mortar with a good surface. Old Pebbles, to be sorted by the Contractors, the Commissioners paying the expense of the time necessary for so doing, to be surveyed and approved by the Commissioners. To be relaid agreeable to such assortments upright in good Gravel, stones of different sizes not being intended to be used promiscuously. The paving to be well rammed as soon as possible and covered with good gravel. Pebbles to be taken up and removed from place to place as occasion may require, at Contractors expense. Commissioners will produce new pebbles if wanted at the quay to be carted by the Contractors, the Commissioners allowing them their net expense for so doing. The Contractors will not be answerable for any expense of wharfage. The

Tenders and Contracts for Paving

Gutters under the footways to be covered with flatners solidly bedded on the bricks so that if taken up to cleanse the same, they may immediately be replaced without causing any irregularity to the surface of the footway. The said flatners to be chizzled in the joints, no specific charge for this regulation, but to be included in that of Brick gutters and foot running. Old smooth pavement and flatners, relaid by Commissioners direction in any part of the town, decaying within the seven years and requiring to be replaced by new, the new to be found by the Commissioners, the workmanship, cartage and labour by the Contractors. Gutter stone includes the several kinds used on Portsmouth Common.

Copy of Tender

Edge Stone new	£	1s	4 $\frac{3}{4}$ d	A foot Superficial
Ditto relaid			2	Ditto running
Ditto cut for gutters			8	A pair
Flatners new		3	4 $\frac{3}{4}$	A yard square
Ditto of smooth pavement relaid			6 $\frac{3}{4}$	A yard square
Horse flatens with mortar		5	1	A yard square
Ditto without mortar		4	7	A yard square
Smooth pavement new			6	Per foot square
Stops 6 inches		1	2	Per foot superficial
Stops 7 inches		1	3	Per foot superficial
Stops 8 inches		1	5	Per foot superficial
Stops relaid			9	Each
Pebbles relaid			6 $\frac{1}{2}$	Per yard square
Channel stand new			9	Per foot running
Ditto relaid			1	Per foot running
Brick gutters			10	Per foot running

Tenders and Contracts for Paving

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To keep pebbling in repair after the first two years for the remaining five (Commissioners to find new if wanted) $\frac{1}{2}$ per yard square.

Flatners in repair	$\frac{1}{4}$ per yard square per annum
Edge stones	$\frac{1}{4}$ per foot running per annum
Gutter stone	$\frac{1}{4}$ per foot running per annum
Gravel pits at the place called The Crofts	

Monday's Paving Bill

29 November 1775

This, the fixed day for settling Accounts of the pavement:
Guillaume (Treasurer) produced the following account:

<u>1771</u>	By Cash	Amount of passing the Act ordered to be paid	£ 693	15	5
	<u>By Cash</u>	<u>Paid by Mr Monday :</u>			
14 June	Paving Above Bar		660	0	0
19 Dec.	Paving High Street and East Street		1258	15	8
<u>1772</u>					
7 Oct.	in full of Above Bar Street		16	16	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
<u>1773</u>					
7 April	For paving various Streets		1152	17	2
<u>1774</u>					
21 July	For paving various Streets		408	19	5
<u>1775</u>					
29 March	For Labour, Cartage where the Audit House stood		5	7	1
29 March	For paving behind the Walls		115	4	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
31 May	For paving where the old Audit House stood		70	0	4 $\frac{3}{4}$
27 Nov.	For paving where East Gate stood		53	19	8
27 Nov.	For paving West Quay		31	1	10
27 Nov.	For cartage and sundry alterations		29	6	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
27 Nov.	For pebbles as order		179	10	2

Tenders and Contracts for Paving

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Other Payments

1773

29 Jan.	Wharfage	Paid Mr. Ludlow	23	3	4
1 Dec.	Wharfage	Paid Mr. Ludlow	7	1	4

1774

20 July	Wharfage	Paid Mr. Guillaume	1	2	4
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£ 31 7 0

1775

29 Nov.	By Cash paid Charles & John Martill	21	18	7
	Walter Taylor	7	16	4½
	Mr. Guillaume (for pebbles)	28	18	4½
	Peter Watts	8	11	7½
	Mr. Guillaume (for wharfage)	1	11	10

Total expense of pavement: £ 4,775 17 10¾

To Cash Amount of First Rate	1830	4	0
Second Rate	1652	16	0
Third Rate	736	8	0
Fourth Rate	273	9	6
Fifth Rate	165	5	0
Sixth Rate	130	11	8

£ 4788 14 2

Amount of the whole disbursements on account of the pavement to this day	4788	14	2
	4775	17	10½

£ 12 16 0¾

3 April 1776

Payment of Repairing Contract

	£	s	d
Upper East Street 1774 - 1775	3	8	3½
English Street	31	3	7¾
Pitts Lane		17	3¼
Castle Lane	8	0	3½
St. Michael's Square 1775 - 1776	3	12	10
Church Lane		6	5¼
Westgate Street	2	15	8
Butcher Row	5	18	0
Upper East Street	3	8	3½
English Street	31	3	7¾
Pitts Lane		17	3¼
Castle Lane	8	0	3½
St. Michael's Square	3	12	10
Church Lane		6	5¼
Westgate Street	2	15	8
Pepper Alley	1	5	9
French Street	9	5	0¼
Broad Lane	2	6	0
Vye's Lane		3	3
Brewhouse Lane		3	9
Gloucester Square	2	11	2¼
Symnel Street	3	16	3
Bugle Street	7	12	4¾
Porter's Lane	3	11	9½
Wynkle Street	2	16	4
Market Lane		3	9¾
Total of Repairing Contracts now owed.....£101	17		3¾

Source: Minutes of the Pavement Commissioners.

EXTRACTS OF INTERVENTION BY THE PAVEMENT COMMISSIONERS

1770 - 1780

- 5.11.70 Collector to report from time to time such new Buildings as are erecting that a proper survey be made of the same - to prevent them becoming an encroachment or an offence against this Act.
- 12.11.70 Mr Drew having erected pales before his house at the corner of Houndwell Lane - leave to let them stand.
15. 4.71 Captain Rushworth having applied for leave to insert a bow window on the ground floor fronting his house (Above Bar) which is intended to be rebuilt. Ordered he has liberty to do so under inspection of Collector - Watts to see that the front pavement fronting the said house be preserved in its width and the foundation of the house, if rebuilt, does not project beyond the old one.
29. 4.71 Joseph Light has liberty to alter his steps to his street door as desired by him following Monday's directions. Same for John Brice, senior, at his new house Above Bar. Same for Mr. Clutterbuck.
3. 6.71 Examined Mr. Mullin's building and of the opinion that the plinths of the upright posts supporting the said building project into the street 3 inches beyond the former plinths - ordered to alter them and set them within the ancient bounds.
20. 6.71 Isaac Mallortie has liberty to project his steps 3 feet 2 inches from the lower set opposite the front door of his two houses in East Street.
- 16.10.71 Richard White at the Nags Head has laid down a stone step at the outside of his porch without Commissioners leave ... Mr. White has refused to take it away. Orders are now given to the workmen to remove it, leaving the materials and making the work good.

17. 6.72 Notice to be given to the several occupiers of houses in Broad Lane to remove their respective encroachments.
15. 7.72 Wm. Stratton having applied for leave to erect a projecting window from his house in French Street - refused since this would be an encroachment.
- 21.10.72 Discussion upon the bulk window erected on the ground floor of house in St. Lawrence - occupiers believed they had licence to do so. Now application granted.
29. 7.73 Information made before the Mayor against master workman, Daniel Silley, for continuing to erect a bulk window after notice had been served him to desist.
18. 8.73 Leave given to continue Mrs, Bernard's bulk so as to take in the entry of her house for the purpose of enlarging her shop, taking care that it should not project in front beyond the present one. Collector to take dimensions.
6. 4.74 Mr. Wyld desires leave to carry up a bow window on his ground floor - leave should not be granted because endless application might be made in consequence of it throughout the town.
3. 8.74 Mr. May has liberty to carry out a Bulk according to a plan he has now produced ...
Commissioners insist on the surveyors enforcing the Act of Parliament relating to the Proprietors of new Buildings making enclosures for their mortar etc., leaving sufficient room for carriages and foot passengers.
21. 9.74 Mr. Bernard has leave to alter his window shutters and cellar window...
- 19.10.74 Mr. Eldridge made a complaint that Mr. Ward has carried out the front of his shop further than his old foundations...

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29. 3.75 Mr. Hunt and Mr. Antrim have leave to range their fronts in the Butcher Row in a line according to a plan delivered in, under the inspection of Peter Watts.
26. 3.77 Peter Watts, junior's, application to bring out a window for a shop on the ground floor of his house - resolved, to be under the direction of Mr. Ward.
23. 9.78 Mr. Baker has leave to bring out the ground floor of his house in the High Street ...
- 23.12.78 Application by Mr. Lomer to bring out a shop window at his new house now building in the High Street - not granted.
13. 1.79 Lomer's Petition. Unanimous opinion of the Commissioners present on a view had of the building that the complying with the Petition will be rather an ornament than otherwise to the street ...
23. 6.79 Peter Watts to give notice to Edward West to remove the bow window or projections erected on the ground floor of a house in the High Street - if this is not done within three days he will become liable to a penalty of 20/- for every day it continues.
John Moore attended and paid the fine set upon him, he being employed as the master workman in making a bulk or bow window ...
15. 9.79 Applications made by William Rogers (tenement in All Saints), William Gully (tenement in All Saints) and Mrs. Hesser (house in St. Michael's) to bring out bulk windows. Unanimously resolved not to allow any of these applications ...

Source: CRO, SC/AP.

APPENDIX III :

FINANCE

BANKS

The first bank to be established in Southampton was that headed by Richard Vernon Sadlier, founded in 1778. The partners in Sadlier and Company totalled six, and all were prominent men in the Corporation : Messrs. Sadlier, Guillaume, Noble, Hilgrove, Moody and Lowder. This bank undertook the buying and selling of all Government Securities, was "found very convenient for strangers in discounting Bills etc.", and transacted banking business in general "with Punctuality and Dispatch".¹ The Southampton Register for 1806 called this bank 'the Southampton and Hampshire Bank', and it was then to be found at No. 25, the High Street. There were a variety of changes in the partnership (Sadlier himself died in 1810) but the bank survived the vicissitudes of the economy, becoming Messrs. Atherley and Fall by 1829.

A second bank, Simpson, Maddison and Shaw, was in town by 1796. Sometimes known as the Southampton Commercial Bank of No. 173, the High Street, this was to become subsequently dominated by the Maddison family. Messrs. Maddison and Maddison, nearly opposite the All Saints' Church, is still listed in the 1839 Skelton's Guide.

At No. 56 the High Street, the Southampton Bank was found. Its partners were Hunt, Baker, Trim, Miller and Toomer, often known more simply as Trim and Toomer's, and was established before 1802.

Kellow and Pritchard's also joined the list of banks established in Southampton in the early nineteenth century.

1. Ford's Southampton Guide, 1781, p. 60

FRIENDLY SOCIETIES

In Southampton a Friendly Society was founded at the Star Inn in January 1750, and later moved to the George Inn. Admission was restricted to Protestant residents of the town who earned a minimum of twelve shillings and sixpence per week, and were under thirty years of age. No soldiers, sailors, bailiffs or "bailiffs' followers" were to be admitted. Members paid into the club a fixed amount (five shillings per quarter) which entitled them, after a period of two years, to receive seven shillings a week for six months sickness benefit. If still unable to return to work after six months, the sick man was entitled to an indefinite three-and-sixpence a week so long as he was able to maintain himself without parish relief. Five pounds was also provided in the event of his death: three pounds for his burial and two for his widow or nominee. In 1799 this Society had 145 paid-up members, among them several building craftsmen. Subscribers also included two or three gentlemen builders.

In June 1804 another Society was founded, meeting at The Three Tuns in French Street. This club consisted of 101 members, and was more exclusive. No one was admitted if he held a dangerous position, and amongst those excluded were plumbers, painters and glaziers.

The Union Benefit Society, founded for the relief of persons in 1804, also made some provision for the placing out of capital. Its Rule Book of 1815 lays down that the capital of the Society, or any part of it, may be from time to time placed out at interest "on good Government or real or personal security or securities" as ordered by either a majority of the membership (there were 200 members) or by a committee appointed to manage this fund. One proviso was made, that Society property was not to be applied in the purchase of any lottery ticket "or in or about anything in

Friendly Societies

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the nature of a risk or adventure".¹ This fund was not to be allowed to fall below £300, and, if kept at over £700, was to pay out a dividend of 14 shillings a week to those receiving sickness benefit. This Society met at The Yeoman in East Street, and also refused to admit painters, plumbers and glaziers.

1. Union Benefit Society Order Book, 1815, Clauses 48 and 49.

PERSONAL ESTATES AND EFFECTS (EXCLUDING REAL ESTATE)
VALUED AT OVER £100 : SOUTHAMPTON 1750 - 1830

Date	Name	Occupation	Personal Estate and Effects "do not amount to ..."
1780	Elizabeth Redford	Widow	£ 300
1781	Daniel Gunston	Gentleman	£ 300
1782	John Sutter	Fitter	£ 300
1782	Joseph Taylor	Builder	£ 2,100
1782	Edward Wrantmore	Victualler	£ 150
1783	John Hickman	Soldier	£ 300
1783	Philip Journeau	Mariner	£ 300
1787	Joan Elcock	Widow	£ 400
1787	John Palmer	Victualler	£ 1,000
1788	John Cushen	Tinplate Worker & Brazier	£ 500
1788	John Keal	Mercer and Draper	Over £ 1,000
1788	Nicholas Turner Smith	Gentleman	£ 600
1788	James Vaughan	Draper	£ 1,000
1789	John Day Junior	Organist	£ 1,300
1789	Robert Head	Gentleman	£ 200
1790	Elizabeth Pigeon	Spinster	£ 700
1791	James Mobbs	Hatter, Hosier & Haberdasher	£ 600
1791	Thomas Scott	Gentleman	£ 300
1791	Daniel Silley	Carpenter	£ 1,800
1793	Thomas Lejeune	Gentleman	£ 300
1793	James Knight	Bricklayer	£ 600
1793	Ann Vye	Spinster	£ 1,000

Date	Name	Occupation	Personal Estate and Effects "do not amount to ..."
1794	Robert Deale	Gentleman	£ 4,500
1794	Samuel Foyn	Gentleman	£ 420
1794	Peter Irwin	Nurseryman	£ 500
1795	Richard Osman	Gentleman	£ 1,100
1795	William Smith	Baker	£ 300
1796	John Nowlan	Shipbuilder	£ 300
1796	Ann Sutter	Widow	£ 300
1796	Henry Wallis	Bricklayer	£ 500
1797	William Andrew Nance		£ 1,000
1799	Joseph Judares	Mariner	£ 600
1799	Elizabeth Lintott	Spinster	£ 1,000
1799	Pettus Harman	Painter & Glazier	£ 600
1800	Edward Davis	China Man	£ 300
1800	Elizabeth Hunt	Spinster	£ 300
1800	Joseph Norris	Tidesman	£ 300
1801	Thomas Chidell	Innholder	£ 2,000
1801	John Primmer	Innholder	£ 300
1802	Henry Fielder	Gentleman	£ 300
1802	Benjamin Johns	Gentleman	£ 5,000
1802	Hannah Taylor	Widow	£ 400
1803	William Sheath	Breeches Maker	£ 300
1803	William Stubbington	Cooper	£ 300
1804	John Channell	Tailor	£ 300
1804	William Thring	Gentleman	£ 600
1805	John Sanders	Common Brewer	£25,000

Personal Estates and Effects

- III -

Date	Name	Occupation	Personal Estate and Effects "do not amount to"
1806	Benoni Bursey	Gentleman	£ 1,500
1806	Thomas B. Hookey	Druggist	£ 800
1806	John Weeks	Porter	£ 300
1807	Barnabus Gauntlett	Shopkeeper	£ 300
1807	John Ibbetson	Innholder	£ 1,000
1807	Mary Long	Widow	£ 2,000
1807	Charles Martill	Bricklayer	£ 1,500
1807	John Reed	Tailor	£ 200
1807	John Wallis	Bricklayer	£ 300
1808	John Hammond	Music Master	£ 1,500
1808	Ann Poore		£ 300
1808	Richard Simms	Bricklayer	£ 600
1808	Sarah Sickett	Widow	£ 200
1809	Valentine Hanbury		£ 300
1809	Mary Marett		£ 7,500
1811	George Bursey	Coalmeter	£ 150
1811	Edward Jacobs	Innholder	£ 600
1811	Robert Jewell	Innholder	£ 300
1811	Thomas Miles	Linen Draper	£ 3,500
1812	Jenny Cosens	Widow	£ 300
1812	James Goodchild	Cornfactor	£ 300
1813	Mary Lyell	Widow	£ 300
1813	Edward Vincent	Hairdresser & Perfumer	£ 300
1814	John Povey	Gentleman	£ 200

Personal Estates and Effects

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Date	Name	Occupation	Personal Estate and Effects "do not amount to ..."
1814	Myra Weaver	Spinster	£ 450
1815	Susannah Jens	Widow	£ 450
1815	James Taylor	Plumber	£ 1,500
1816	Edward Lucas	Perfumer	£ 1,500
1816	William Sheldon	Whitesmith	£ 450
1817	Charles Martill	Bricklayer	£ 400
1817	Sarah Simms	Widow	£ 1,200
1818	Mary Budden	Widow	£ 300
1818	Stephen Gradidge	Butcher	£ 1,000
1819	John Dorsett		£ 1,500
1820	William Baker	Surveyor	£ 200
1820	John Cushen	Gentleman	£ 1,500
1820	John King	Plumber & Glazier	£ 2,000
1821	William Colbourne	Leather Dealer	£ 2,000
1821	Abraham S. Lawrence	Cooper	£ 300
1821	James Martin	Baker	£ 600
1821	William Harris	Plumber & Glazier & Painter	£ 400
1822	Joseph Cutler	Gardener	£ 600
1822	Richard Sweetingham	Mariner	£ 200
1823	Mary Butt	Widow	£ 800
1823	Reuben Churcher	Baker	£ 300
1824	Joseph Hives	Carpenter	£ 200
1824	Richard Taylor	Stonemason	£ 2,000
1825	Ann Ridges	Bacon Jobber	£ 300

Personal Estates and Effects

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Date	Name	Occupation	Personal Estate and Effects "do not amount to ..."
1825	William Brice Steele	Wine Merchant	£ 450
1826	William Cheater	Butcher	£ 450
1826	Thomas Masters	Gentleman	£ 200
1827	Mary Carpenter	Spinster	£ 200
1827	Sarah Colson	Wife of John - John Certified Insane	£ 1,500
1827	James Crouch	Brewer	£ 800
1827	Edward Westlake		£ 2,000
1827	Sarah Whitlock	Single woman - ex Servant	£ 200
1828	James Hardin	Locker at Customs House	£ 200
1828	Mary Ann Lucas	Spinster	£ 900
1829	Dinah Draper	Widow	£ 300
1829	James Linden	Gentleman	£ 6,000
1829	Ruth Parker	Widow	£ 300
1829	George Rogers	Sadler	£ 300
1829	Jeffrey Johnson Truss	Sergeant-at-mace	£ 1,000
1830	Mary Butcher	Widow	£ 2,000
1830	Thomas Webb	Confectioner	£ 450

Source: Archdeaconry Wills.

SPECIFIED PROPERTIES IN WILLS

Date	Name	Occupation	Property
1816	Alexander Barber	Carrier	a) Freehold messuage - own home - St. Mary's b) Freehold messuage let out
1819	John Barnes	Gardener	a) Freehold in St. Lawrence b) Freehold in Lower East Street
1778	William Barnes	Labourer	a) Own house b) House with shop and yard let out at rent of £5 p.a.
1769	Robert Beare	Painter	a) Messuage lately purchased in which daughter dwells b) Messuage in which he dwells
1785	William Bridgins	Cheese-monger	a) Freehold messuage in which he dwells b) Copyhold messuage let out at Itchin Ferry
1813	Joseph Brimyard	Gentleman	Two houses at Hill
1776	John Brine	Bricklayer	a) Messuage in Hanover Buildings b) 4 Tenements in Gods House Court c) Messuage in French Street (own home)
1821	William Colbourne	Leather dealer	a) Dwellinghouse in Kingsland Place b) Other messuages, lands and tenements
1764	William Farmer	Glover	a) Leasehold messuage in All Saints - let out b) House in St. Lawrence - own home c) One other house in St. Lawrence - let out
1816	Allen Figes	White-smith	2 Freehold messuages in All Saints and St. Lawrence with several buildings thereto.
1777	Edward Fox	Yeoman	a) Messuage let out b) Leasehold estate at Nursling c) Own home
1781	Daniel Gunston	Gent	a) Messuage in Bugle Street - own home b) 4 Messuages in French Street c) Parcel of garden ground
1818	Stephen Gradidge	Butcher	a) 4 Freehold new-built messuages in All Saints b) 3 Leasehold messuages in Orchard Street
1828	James Harding	Customs house locker	a) 2 Parcels of land near Orchard Lane b) New house in Portswood

Specified Properties in Wills

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Date	Name	Occupation	Property
1789	Robert Head	Gent	3 Messuages adjoining each other in All Saints - all freehold and let
1783	John Hickman	Soldier	2 Leasehold messuages in Castle Lane - let out
1754	John Janverin	Mariner	Lands and tenements in St. Michael's and All Saints
1802	Benjamin Johns	Gent	a) 5 Freehold houses in Southampton let out recently bought b) Freehold house - own home
1766	John Kingston	Custom house officer	a) Messuage behind the walls b) 2 Freehold messuages in Andover
1778	Edward Lejeune	Cabinet maker	a) Own house in High Street b) Messuage in East Street - let c) Messuage in Bugle Street d) A third part of house in York Buildings - let e) Land in East Street
1807	Charles Martill	Bricklayer	a) Leasehold messuage in Pepper Alley - own home b) 4 Freehold messuages in All Saints Place c) 2 Freehold houses and 5 tenements in Simmel Street d) House and 5 tenements in Butcher Row
1817	Charles Martill	Bricklayer	a) Messuages, lands, tenements b) Several messuages let or in own occupation in or near St. Michael's Square
1757	Jane Messer	Widow	a) Freehold house in Bull Street b) House in Westgate Lane - Corp. Lease c) Land without the wall - Corp. Lease d) House and garden in All Saints Queen's College Lease
1759	Thomas Miller		a) Messuage in Above Bar Street purchased 1758 b) Messuage in St. Michael's parish c) Messuage in Lord's Lane d) Messuage in Broad Lane - own home
1759	Robert Read	Haber-dasher	a) Land - lease of lives b) Messuage in Romsey c) Land in Bishopstoke d) Messuage and carpentry yard in Town Ditches - Corp. Lease
1754	Jane Redford	Widow	Several Freehold messuages in East Street - let out

Specified Properties in Wills

Date	Name	Occupation	Property
1780	William Rolph	Yeoman	a) Freehold house in French Street b) Messuage in High Street (Mortgage of £250 held on it) c) Own home in High Street d) Buckland's Farm in St. Mary's - lease
1798	Edward Rolph	Victualler	a) Freehold messuages in Orchard Lane and Spring Gardens
1750	George Rowcliffe	Merchant	a) Messuage in St. Lawrence - let b) Freehold messuage - own home
1819	John Rumbell	Shop- keeper	2 Leaseholds in East Street
1830	Thomas Seed Scott	Engraver	2 Freehold messuages in Spring Gardens
1759	William Smith	Baker	a) Messuage in All Saints - own home b) Messuages let out
1803	William Stubbington	Cooper	4 Freehold messuages in St. Johns
1782	Joseph Taylor	Builder	a) Messuage in Simmel Street b) Tenement in High Street c) Messuage in High Street - let to 6 d) 6 Messuages in Simmel Street e) Messuage in Above Bar Street
1782	William Thring	Gent	a) Messuage let to 3 in All Saints b) Dwellinghouse in All Saints c) lands
1793	Ann Vye	Spinster	a) Messuage in Bull Street b) Messuage in Simmel Street c) Other messuages
1806	John Weeks	Porter	a) 4 Freehold messuages in Houndwell Lane b) Messuage - own home c) 2 Messuages
1762	George West		a) Houses at Hamble b) House in Holy Rood parish c) 2 Houses in St. Michael's d) 2 Houses in Butcher Row
1780	William Whiteway	Gent	a) Messuage in High Street - let b) Messuage in Butcher Row - let

TABLE TO SHOW MONEY INVESTED IN GOVERNMENT STOCKS
AND OTHER PUBLIC FUNDS 1750 - 1830

Date	Name	Occupation	Amount Invested	Where Invested
1752	Elizabeth Compton	Spinster	£3,000	
1764	Christopher Fulford	Victualler	£	Public Funds
1769	Benoni Bursey	Innholder	£ 300	Public Funds
1815	Mary Bursey	Widow	£ 400	Public Funds
1770	Henry Weak	Hoopmaker	£	Public Funds or go Private Security
1775	William Campion	Ironmonger	£	Public Funds or or Private Securities
1775	George Martin	Shipwright	£	Government Securit
1776	John Brine	Bricklayer	£	Government Securit or other good
1777	Edward Fox	Yeoman	£ 700	Government or othe
1778	Mary Ramacle	Widow	£	Public Funds
1780	William Rolph	Yeoman	£ 300	Public or Private
1785	Mary Taylor	Widow	£ 100	At Interest
1787	John Palmer	Victualler	£	Securities
1788	John Keal	Mercer & Draper	£2,000	Public Funds
1791	Daniel Silley	Carpenter	£	At Interest
1793	Ann Vye	Spinster	£	Government Security
1796	Mary Sanders	Wife of William	£ 65	Public Funds
1798	Hester Brown	Widow	£ 300	Joint Stock
1799	Pettus Harman	Painter & Glazier	£	Government Funds
1799	Robert Willis	Grocer	£	Public Funds
1801	Thomas Chidell	Innholder	£	Government Funds
1802	Henry Fielder	Gentleman	£	Public Funds

Money Invested in Government Stocks ...

- II -

Date	Name	Occupation	Amount Invested	Where Invested
1803	William Stubbington	Cooper	£ 500	Government Funds
1806	James Linden	Schoolmaster	£ 100	Bank Stock
1809	Mary Marrett	Widow	£ 800+	"Imperial" 3%
1811	Edward Jacobs	Innholder	£	At Interest
1813	Edward Vincent	Hairdresser	£ 100	Canal Bond
1814	Jane Collis	Widow	£ 100	Government Funds
1815	Susannah Jens	Widow	£	Government Funds
1815	Cover		£	At Liberty
1816	Dorothy Penton	Widow	£	At Interest
1819	Joseph Terrell	Coalmeter	£	Securities
1820	John Cushen	Gentleman	£ 250	5% Navy Bank of England
1820	John King	Plumber & Glazier	£	Government
1821	William Colbourne	Leather Dealer	£	Government
1821	William Harris	Plumber, Glazier & Painter	£	Government
1821	A.S. Lawrence	Cooper	£	Government
1821	James Martin	Baker	£	
1826	Thomas Masters	Gentleman	£ 75	Hilgrove & Atherley Bank
1827	James Crouch	Brewer	£ 800	Public
1829	James Linden			

DRAFT MORTGAGES : A SELECTION

Date	Lender	(Occupation of) Borrower	Amount	Property
1794	Gentleman	Gentleman Formerly Brazier	£ 330	Messuage in Bull Street held on Corporation Lease (Rent 40/6) Lease assigned to Lender.
1799	Victualler of Soton.	House Carpenter of Portsea	£ 700	Tenement in Porter's Lane let by Winchester College
1799	Gentleman	Yeoman and Brewer (2)	£ 350	3 Parcels of land in St. Mary's parish each 45' x 15' with buildings erected.
1799	Baronet & Others	Coachmaker	£ 600	Messuage on west side of Above Bar Street
1799	Cordwainer & Baker (2)	Carpenter & Landholder (2)	£ 100	Parcel of land and messuage & shop in All Saints parish 56' x 32'
1800	Gentleman	Mariner & Gentleman (2)	£ 800	Freehold and Leasehold premises in St. Michael's Square
1800	Gentleman	Two Merchants	£1,000	Messuage in High Street held under Corporation Lease and adjoining Corporation tenement.
1802	Shopkeeper of Botley	Bricklayer	£ 230	Parcel of land in All Saints - Brunswick Place 33' x 20'
1802	Mariner	Gentleman	£ 200	Tenement in St. Michael's parish held under Corporation Lease of rent £20 - 72' x 16'
1802	Two Grocers	Gardener	£	Estimated 5 Acres in All Saints parish
1803	Widow	Bricklayer	£ 300	Garden in lane leading to Castle
1804	Widow	Bricklayer	£ 100	Messuage in High Street
1807	Mariner	Slater	£ 100	Parcel of land & 2 messuages in All Saints parish 16' x 83'
1807	Gentleman N. Lymington	Surgeon	£ 750	Messuage in All Saints without the Bar 404' x 44'
1809	Baker	Widow	£ 100	Dwelling house & shop in High Street in Holy Rood
1809		Schoolmaster	£ 600	Tenement & garden held under Queen's College Oxford 302½' x 36½'
1809	Widow		£ 100	Piece of land in All Saints
1811	Gentleman	Bricklayer		Parcel of ground in St. Mary's /

Draft Mortgages

- II -

Date	Lender	(Occupation of) Borrower	Amount	Property
			£ 100	/ parish 16' x 57'
1811	Stonemason	Gentleman	£1,500	Lands and 2 messuages in Above Bar Street
1812	Mariner	Merchant	£ 200	Parcel of land - dwelling house erected
1812	Gentleman	Widow	£ 25	Garden near Simnel Street
1813	Gentleman	Tallow Chandler	£ 800	Dwelling house in St. Lawrences parish in High Street
1813	Gentleman (of Hythe)	Whitesmith	£ 200	Tenement in French Street Queen's College Lease
1814	Gentleman	Surgeon	£ 500	Messuage in East Street, Corporation Lease
1814	Gentleman (of Sutton Scotney)	Yeoman	£1,500	Dwelling house and land
1814	Merchant	Sadler	£1,500	Dwelling house Above Bar Corporation Lease
1818	Merchant	Builder		
1819	Gentleman	Serving Man	£ 400	No. 4 Hanover Builders Corporation Lease
1826	Merchant	Innholder	£2,000	House, stables, coachhouse "The Wheatsheaf" in All Saints + land
1826	Gentleman	Painter's Family	£ 800	Messuage on west side of French Street and workshops
1827	Gentleman	Cabinet Maker	£ 250	Messuage in Bull Street Corporation Lease
1827	Builder	Mercer	£1,000	House and premises in High Street
1827	Gentleman	Gentleman, late builder	£ 800	Two messuages in Waterloo Place, All Saints
1827	Clergyman of Winchester	Gentleman	£ 700	Capital messuage "Lottery Hall" (£1,500 already secured)
1828	2 Gentleman	Spinster & Merchant	£2,500	"Hampton Court" formerly Little St. Dennis in French Street.

APPENDIX IV :

THE BUILDERS

BUILDING CRAFTSMEN LISTED IN THE POLL BOOKS 1774 - 1831

1774

Joiners	Bricklayers	Glaziers	Plasterers	Plumbers	Carpenters	Painters
Champress, George	Brice, John	Goldfinch, John	Shafflin, Robert	Andrews, Simon	Colo, George	Beare, William
Clark, Robert	Browne, John	Lambert, John		Vining, John	Curtis, William	Martin, William
Fry, George	Dorst, John	Warden, Richard Morse			Gamaway, Thomas	Sealy, Robert
Silly, John	Holt, George				Gamaway, Thomas Jnr.	
Smith, James	Johnson, James				Lever, George	
Sopp, Robert	Knight Grantham				Plenty, William	
Unwin, Isaac	Knight, Grantham Jnr.				Plenty, James	
	Knight, James				Silley, Daniel	
	Knight, Richard				Taylor Joseph	
	Martill, Charles				Waight, Richard	
	Martill, John				Watts, Peter	
	Simms, Richard				Watts, Peter, Jnr.	
	Wallis, John				Wit, John	
	Ward, Samuel					
7	14	3	1	2	13	3

BUILDING CRAFTSMEN LISTED IN THE POLL BOOKS 1774 - 1831

1790

Joiners	Bricklayers	Glaziers	Plumbers	Carpenters	Painters
Fry, Eades	Chambers, Samuel	Lambert, John	Andrews, Simon	Biles, William	Beare, Thomas
	Dorset, John		King, John	Colo, George	Hinves, George
	Fox, William		Taylor James	Dacombe, James	Martin, William
	Knight, Grantham		Vining, John	Cole, Thomas Flint	Suiter, Edward
	Knight, James			Gamaway, James	
	Knight, Richard			Gamaway, Thomas	
	Knight, Richard Jnr.			Longwith, John	
	Martill, Charles			Moore, John	
	Simms, Richard			Plenty, James	
	Taylor, Daniel			Primmer, Richard	
	Wallis, Henry			Silley, Daniel	
	Wallis, John			Silley, James Sopp, William	
				Turner, William	
				Watts, Peter	
				Woodroffe, Henry	
1	12	1	4	16	4

BUILDING CRAFTSMEN LISTED IN THE POLL BOOKS 1774 - 1831

1794

Bricklayers	Plasterers	Plumbers	Carpenters	Painters	Builders
Chambers, Samuel	Brewett, John	Andrews, Simon	Bates, John	Batt, Robert	Colo, George
Dorset, John	Coombs, Robert	Friend, Edward	Beavis, John	Beare, Thomas	Conder, Joseph
Knight, Richard		King, John	Biles, William	Blyth, Peter	Nowlan, John
Martill, Charles		Taylor, James	Cole, Flint	Hinves, George	Slater, Joseph
Martill, Charles, Jnr.			Culverwell, James	Suiter, Edward	Watts, Peter
Pearcy, Thomas			Dacombe, James		
Wallis, Henry			Gamaway, Thomas		
Wallis, John			Harris, Joseph		
			Hedges, William		
			Hucker, George		
			Kervill, Thomas		
			Moore, John		
			Oddeford, George		
			Plenty, James		
			Primmer, Richard		
			Scammell, William		
			Silley, Daniel		
			Silley, James		
			Sopp, William		
			Turner, William		
			Yetwell, James Spicer		
8	2	4	21	5	5

BUILDING CRAFTSMEN LISTED IN THE POLL BOOKS 1774 - 1831

1802

Bricklayers	Plasterers	Plumbers	Carpenters	Painters	Builders	Miscellaneous
Fox, William	Brewell, John	Andrews, Simon	Beavis, John	Beare, Thomas	Kent John	Churchill, Edward (Paviour)
Martill, Charles	Coombes, Robert	Hinves, George	Burgess, John	Blyth, Peter	Roe, Henry	Coles, Robert (Slater)
Reed, William	Hill, Joseph	King, John	Cole, Flint	Keeping, William	Slater, Joseph	Freake, Richard (Brickburner)
Simms, Joseph		Taylor, James	Culverwell, James	Moody, Thomas	Watts, Peter	
Wallis, John			Davis, John	Staples, William		
Wallis, William			Dacombe, James	Suiter, Edward		
			Gamaway, John			
			Harris, Joseph			
			Hawkins John			
			Hedges William			
			Holmes, William			
			Kervill, Thomas			
			Primmer, Richard			
			Prince, Richard			
			Scammell, William			
			Sellis, George			
			Silley, Daniel			
			Stacey, John			
			Woodford, Robert			
			Yetwell, James Spicer			
6	3	4	20	6	4	3

BUILDING CRAFTSMEN LISTED IN THE POLL BOOKS 1774 - 1831

1806

Bricklayers	Plasterers	Plumbers	Carpenters	Painters	Builders	Miscellaneous
Thomas Bartlett	John Brewett	Simon Andrews	Thomas Bascomb	Peter Blyth	John Bates	Robert Coles (Slater)
William Chambers	Robert Coombes	Benjamin Howell	John Beavis	George Hives	Adam Clark	Richard Frake (Brickburner)
John Dorset	Joseph Hill	William Keeping	John Burgess	William North	John Kent	Thomas King (Brickburner)
Richard Jeffreys	George Parsons	John King	William Cull	William Staples	William Pardy	James Irish (Surveyor)
Edward Jones		James Taylor	James Dacombe	Edward Suiter	John Plaw	Richard Laishley (Brickburner)
Charles Martill		William Woolman	James Edsall		Daniel Silley	Cornelius Starks (Paviour)
Charles Martill Jnr.			John Fielder		Joseph Slater	George Turner (Glazier)
John Oakley			John Gill		Peter Watts	
Thomas Percy			Hamilton Harris			
Richard Simms			Joseph Harris			
Joseph Syms			William Hedges			
William Wallis			Antrim Howe			
James Young			Thomas Kervill			
			James Lavington			
			Robert Payne			
			Henry Roe			
			George Sallis			
			William Scammell			
			Cornelius Shepard			
			Thomas Stacey			
			Thomas Steele			
			Isaac Ware			

BUILDING CRAFTSMEN LISTED IN THE POLL BOOKS 1774 - 1831

1812

Bricklayers	Plasterers	Plumbers	Carpenters	Painters	Builders	Miscellaneous
Thomas Bartlett	Robert Coombes	George Hinves	William Barry	William Beare	Daniel Brooks	William Barker (Surveyor)
William Chambers	Joseph Hill	Benjamin Howell	John Bates	William Keeping*	Peter Watts	Richard Coles (Slater)
James Cosens	Job Oxford	William Keeping*	John Beavis			Robert Coles (Slater)
John Dorset	Samuel Parsons	John King	Henry Budd			William Coles (Slater)
John Fox		John King Jnr.	John Burgess			John Kent (Architect)
Richard Jeffrey		James Taylor	Flint Cole			Richard Laishley (Brickburner)
Charles Martill			John Gamaway			
James Noyce			John Gill			
Joseph Simms			George Glasspoole			
Cornelius Starks			Joseph Harris			
William Wallis			William Hedges			
			Antrim How			
			Robert Lawson			
			Richard Primmer			
			Henry Roe			
			George Sallis			
			John Young			
11	4	6	17	2	2	6

*William Keeping - Painter and Plumber.

BUILDING CRAFTSMEN LISTED IN THE POLL BOOKS 1774 - 1831

1818

Bricklayers	Plasterers	Plumbers	Carpenters	Painters	Builders	Miscellaneous
John Bartlett	Robert Coombs	Thomas Beare (& Glazier)	Jonathon Bampton	William Harris	Daniel Brooks	William Casewell (Slater)
Jonathon Cosens	Isaac Hopgood	George Hinves	Jonathon Bates	Jonathon Meacher	John Kent	Richard Coles (Slater)
James Haysom	Joseph Hill	George Hinves Jnr.	Joseph Beaminster	Jonathon Steppard	Richard Laishley	Richard Coles (Slater)
Richard Jeffrey	Thomas Worth	B.B. Howell (& Glazier)	John Burgess	William Whitcher	Henry Roe	William Coles (Slater)
William Moss		William Keeping	Adam Clark		George Sallis	John Laishley (Brickburner)
Jonathon Oakley		John King	Flint Cole		Jonathon Taylor	Richard Linney (Brickburner)
Joseph Simms		Jonathon King	Walter Coward		Peter Watts	Jonathon Shelley (Brickburner)
Cornelius Starks		William Woolman	George Culverwell			Robert Young (Slater)
William Wallis			John Gammaway			
			John Gill			
			Philip Graves			
			Joseph Harris			
			Robert Hatcher			
			William Hedges			
			George Hoar			
			William Pardy			
			Charles Pitt			
			Richard Primmer			
			Joseph Reed			
9	4	8	Daniel Silley	4	7	8
			Jonathon Wale			
			W. Winkworth			
			Barnaby Woodford			
			John Young			

BUILDING CRAFTSMEN LISTED IN THE POLL BOOKS 1774 - 1831

1820

Bricklayers	Plasterers	Plumbers	Carpenters		Painters	Builders	et al.
John Bartlett	Robert Coombes	George Dosson	John Bates Jr.	John Brine	Thomas Beare	Daniel Brooks	Richard Close (Slater)
William Conway	Joseph Hill	George Hinves Sen. (& Glazier)	John Bates Sen.	John Burgess	William Harris	John Bevis	William Casewell (Slater)
James Cosens	Isaac Hopgood	George Hinves Jr. (& Glazier)	Joseph Beminster	James Bampton	William Longland	Henry Roe	James Coles (Slater)
William Chambers	John Pitman	Benjamin Beckett Howell	James Bevis	Walter Coward	Joseph Meacher	William Henry Roe	William Oates (Surveyor)
James Elcombe	Thomas Worth	William Keeping	Flint Cole	George Dawkins	John Payne	George Sallis	John Kent (Architect)
James Haysome		James King	John Fisher	James Fielder	John Shepard	John Taylor	Richard Linney (Brickburner)
John Hinves		John King	John Gill	John Gamaway	William Whitcher	Peter Watts	John Laishley (Brickburner)
Richard Jeffrey		William Woollman	Philip Graves	Samuel Hardy			John Shelley (Brickburner)
Joseph Laver			William Hedges	Joseph Harris			Robert Young (Slater)
George Martill			Robert Hatcher	William May			
William Morse			Charles Pitt	Richard Primmer			
John Oackley			William Pardy	James Reed			
William Read			James Roe	Charles Sims			
John Snook			John Silley	Daniel Silley			
Cornelius Starks			John Taylor	William Thomas			
Joseph Simms			William Unwin	Barnaby Woodford			
William Wallis			John Young				
17	5	8	33		7	7	9

BUILDING CRAFTSMEN LISTED IN THE POLL BOOKS 1774 - 1831

1831

Bricklayers	Plasterers	Plumbers	Carpenters	Painters	Builders	Miscellaneous
John Bartlett Chapel	John Coles Kingsland Place	John Bennett Canal Walk	Job Arnold Kingsland Place	William Bower Orchard Lane	Thomas Batt East Street	Thomas Benham (Architect) Love Lane
John Bennett Kingsland Place	Isaac Hopgood French Street	Henry Buchan High Street	Abraham Axton East Street	Thomas Case Bedford Terrace	John Brinton Orchard Lane	Richard Coles (Slater) Cross House
George Blueman Market Lane	Adam Hill Kingsland Place	Henry Hickman Kingsland Place	Joseph Bampton Kingsland Place	Charles L. Dawkings Orchard Lane	Daniel Brooks Orchard Lane	Thomas Arnold (Slater) Grove Street
Samuel Coldman Butcher Row	Joseph Hill, Snr Orchard Lane	George Hinvess Snr East Street	John Bates, Junior Church Row	Henry Edwards French Street	John Foot Orchard Lane	Richard Close (Slater) Houndwell
Charles Cole Chapel	John Pittman Kingsland Place	George Hinvess Jnr East Street	James Beavis College Street	Edward How Above Bar	John Gill Kingsland Place	William Coles (Slater) Cross House
William Coombs King Street	5	B.B. Howell Senior East Street	John Beavis East Street	Joseph Leach High Street	James Hayter St. Michael's Square	Joseph Faulkner (Slater) Kingsland Place
Richard Cozens Kingsland Place		Samuel Ingram Union Street	Joseph Beminster Bugle Street	James Martin Queen Street	Joseph Hill Jnr Orchard Place	John Holman (Surveyor) St. Mary's Street
George Dorning Mount Place		William Keeping Albion Place	John Bridle Houndwell	Thomas Milverton Grove Street	John Penny Bedford Place	John Kent (Architect) Kingsland Place
John Harris King Street		John Lisle Canal Walk	Joseph Bull Orchard Lane	Edward Monk St. Michael's Square	John Quit Bedford Terrace	William M. Kernot (Architect) College Street

1831 - Continued...

Bricklayers	Plasterers	Plumbers	Carpenters	Painters	Builders	Miscellaneous
John Hinves		Joseph Metcher	Thomas Butler	Robert Norris	William Read	William Maude (Surveyor) Kingsland Place
Godfrey's Town		East Street	Bedford Place	Canal Walk	College Street	
Robert Hinves		Thomas Metcher	William Charvell	John Shepparden	Henry Roe	John Shelley (Brickburner) Bedford Terrace
Orchard Lane		Simnel Street	Portswood	French Street	High Street	
Richard Jeffrey		John Shephard Jnr	Thomas Case	William Smithers	George Sallis	Joseph Squibbs (Slater) Kingsland Place
Love Lane		French Street	Godfrey's Town	Grove Street	Orchard Lane	
Thomas Kent		William Taylor	Flint Cole	George Slight	William Sanders	Samuel Edward Toomer (Architect) High Street
Kingsland Place		Three-Field Lane	Westgate Street	Union Street	Orchard Lane	
George Martill		Robert Underwood	Thomas Cole	William Yates	William Slater	Robert Young (Slater) Love Lane
College Street		Kingsland Place	Kingsland Place	Castle Lane	Union Street	
William Morse		Thomas Weston	William Crook	14	Cornelius Starks Jnr	14
Canal Walk		Bernard Street	Kingsland Place		French Street	
William Morse Jnr		William Witt	George Culverwell		John Young	
Union Street		Canal Terrace	Bridge Street		Orchard Lane	
James Noyce		16	John Draper		Thomas Young	
Orchard Lane			Town Ditcher		Union Street	
John Oakley			Josiah Early		17	
Kingsland Place			Kingsland Place			

1831 - Continued...

Bricklayers

Carpenters

William Pollard	Joseph Price	John Fisher	John Gamaway
Canal Walk	St. Mary's Place	Kingsland Place	Portswood
James Read	John Scott	William Gates Jnr	Philip Graves
Chapel	Kingsland Place	Union Street	Bedford Place
William Searle	Joseph Sims	William Hopgood	Samuel Hardy
Godfrey's Town	East Street	Orchard Lane	Butcher Row
Charles Smith	Cornelius Starks	Henry Haydon	Jacob Heath
Kingsland Place	Westgate Street	Orchard Lane	Charlotte Place
Henry Wallis		Robert Henning	Henry Hilary
French Street		Charlotte Place	St. George's Place
		Antrim How	Joseph Hutchings
		Orchard Lane	Kingsland Place
		George Ingram	James Isaac
		Kingsland Place	Kingsland Place
		John Johnson	Henry Langford
		St. Mary's	Kingsland Place
		Francis Levington	Thomas Mayor
		Bedford Place	College Street
		John Massey	Richard Matthews
		East Street	Kingsland Place

1831 - Continued...

Carpenters

William May	John Oxford
Exmouth Street	Charlotte Place
Samuel Pearce	Samuel Pearce
Houndwell	New Road
Thomas Petty	George Phillips
Union Street	Northam
Charles Pitt	John Rainer
St. Michael's Square	Kingsland Place
John Snellgrove	William Taylor
Church Row	Chapel
William Thomas	Barnaby Woodford
Kingsland Place	Portswood
Henry Young	
Kingsland Place	

Artisans Engaged in the Building Trade, 1803

Name	Occupation	Street of Residence
Andrews, Simon	Plumber	Above Bar
Andrews, John	Bricklayer	Bell Street
Bartlett, Thomas	Builder	Albion Place
Bates, John	Carpenter	Chapel Street
Beare, Thomas	Plumber, Glazier & Painter	Butcher Row
Beavis, John	Carpenter	East Street
Bevan, William	Carpenter	Spring Gardens
Blythe, Peter	Plumber, Glazier & Painter	High Street
Bulbec, William	Carpenter	Butcher Row
Burgess, John	Carpenter	Spring Gardens
Barnet, John	Surveyor	East Street
Casey, William	Bricklayer	East Street
Chambers, William	Bricklayer	All Saints Place
Cole, Flint	Carpenter	East Street
Coles, John	Carpenter	Chapel Street
Coombes, Robert	Plasterer	Above Bar
Coombes, George	Carpenter	High Street
Cornish	Painter and Glazier	East Street
Cull, William	Carpenter	East Street
Culverwell, James	Carpenter	Orchard Place
Dacomb, James	Carpenter	Orchard Place
Dacomb, James Junior	Carpenter	Orchard Place
Davidge, John	Carpenter	Orchard Place
Dorsett, John	Bricklayer	High Street
Fox, William	Bricklayer	East Street
Gannaway, Jno.	Carpenter	Nelson's Place
Gill, John	Carpenter	South Place
Hampton, William	Bricklayer	St Mary's
Harris, Joseph	Carpenter	Houndwell Lane
Hatcher	Carpenter	Bell Street
Hawkins, Jno.	Carpenter	St. George's Place
Hawkins, John	Carpenter	Houndwell Lane
Hedges, William	Carpenter	Blue Anchor Lane
Hedges, Charles	Carpenter	East Street

Artisans Engaged in the Building Trade, 1803

- II -

Name	Occupation	Street of Residence
Henley, William	Carpenter	Spring Gardens
Hill, Joseph	Plasterer	East Street
Hinves, George	Plumber and Glazier	East Street
Holmes, William	Carpenter	East Street
Isles, Jas.	Carpenter	Bell Street
Keeping, William	Plumber	Butcher Row
Kervill, Thomas	Carpenter	Simnel Street
King, John	Plumber, Glazier & Painter	Above Bar
Major, William	Carpenter	36 High Street
Mansell, Bridett	Carpenter	East Street
Martill, Charles	Bricklayer	Pepper Alley
Piercy, Thomas	Bricklayer	Bell Street
Plenty, James	Carpenter	Castle Lane
Plaw, John	Architect	Spring Place
Primmer, Richard	Carpenter	St. George's Place
Richards, John	Carpenter	East Street
Roe, Henry	Carpenter	East Street
Rogers	Carpenter	Spring Gardens
Sanger	Carpenter	French Street
Scammel, William	Carpenter	East Street
Silley, Daniel	Carpenter	Red Lion Square
Silley, William	Carpenter	East Street
Sillis, George	Carpenter	East Street
Sims, Richard	Bricklayer	Hanover Buildings
Sims, Joseph	Bricklayer	Charlotte Street
Slater, Joseph	Builder	Bugle Street
Stacey, Thomas	Carpenter	High Street
Stacey, Thomas	Carpenter	King Street
Staples, William	Glazier and House Painter	108 High Street
Suitor & Hinves	Painters	East Street
Taylor, Mrs. & Son	Carpenters	Bugle Street
Taylor, Jas	Plumber and Glazier	160 High Street
Wallis, Wm.	Bricklayer	French Street
Wallis, John	Bricklayer	French Street

Artisans Engaged in the Building Trade, 1803

- III -

Name	Occupation	Street of Residence
Wallis, John	Bricklayer	Bugle Street
Watts, Peter	Builder	Above Bar
Watson, John	Painter	Butcher Row
Young, James	Bricklayer	Simmel Street

Source: Cunningham's Directory, 1803.

Artisans Engaged in the Building Trade, 1811

Name	Occupation	Street of Residence
Andrews, John	Bricklayer	Bell Street
Bampton, James	Carpenter	Mount Street
Barker, William	Surveyor	Castle Square
Barry, William	Joiner	Houndwell Place
Bartlett, Thomas	Bricklayer	6 Albion Place
Bates, John	Carpenter	Chapel Street
Beare, William	Plumber, Glazier & Painter	Butcher Row & French Street
Beavis, John	Carpenter	East Street
Bevan, William	Carpenter	Spring Gardens
Boyce, John	Joiner	West Place
Brewet, Mrs	Plasterer	French Street
Brine, John	Bricklayer	French Street
Brooks, Daniel	Architect	Canal Place
Budd, H	Carpenter	French Street
Burbec, John	Carpenter	French Street
Burgess, John	Carpenter	Spring Gardens
Casey, William	Bricklayer	East Street
Chambers, William	Bricklayer	All Saints Place
Clarke, Adam	Carpenter	East Street
Close, Richard	Slater	Hanover Place
Cole, Flint	Carpenter	Westgate Street
Coles, Richard & James	Slaters	Cross House
Coombes, Robert	Plasterer	Orchard Street
Coombes, George	Carpenter	Orchard Lane
Cull, William	Carpenter	East Street
Culverwell, James	Carpenter	All Saints Place
Dacomb, James	Carpenter	Orchard Place
Davidge, Thomas	Carpenter	St. George's Place
Dorsett, John	Bricklayer	19 High Street
Elcock, Robert	Bricklayer	Portswood
Fox, William	Bricklayer	East Street
Fox, John	Bricklayer	East Street
Freake, Richard	Bricklayer	Greenland Place

Artisans Engaged in the Building Trade, 1811

- II -

Name	Occupation	Street of Residence
Gannaway, John	Carpenter	Nelson's Place
Gannaway, Thomas	Carpenter	Portswood
Gill, John	Carpenter	Greenland Place
Graves, Philip	Carpenter	Butcher Row
Harris, Hamilton	Carpenter	French Street
Harris, Joseph	Carpenter	Houndwell Place
Hatcher	Carpenter	Castle Lane
Hawkins, John	Carpenter	Houndwell Place
Hedges, William	Carpenter	Blue Anchor Lane
Hedges, Charles	Carpenter	East Street
Henley, William	Carpenter	Spring Gardens
Hill, Joseph	Plasterer	Orchard Lane
Hinves, George	Plumber and Glazier	East Street
Hinves, Joseph	Carpenter	St. Michael's Square
Holmes, William	Carpenter	St. Thomas' Street
Howe, John	Carpenter	Chapel Street
Howell, Benjamin	Painter and Glazier	East Street
Isles, James	Carpenter	Bell Street
Jeffrey, Richard	Bricklayer	East Street
Jones, Edwin	Bricklayer	East Street
Jordon, Robert	Carpenter	Mount Street
Keeping, William	Plumber and Glazier	Butcher Row
King, Samuel	Bricklayer	Simmel Street
Kervill, Thomas	Carpenter	Simmel Street
King, Joseph	Plumber and Glazier	Above Bar
Major, William	Carpenter	36 High Street
Mansell, Bridett	Carpenter	East Street
Martill, Charles	Bricklayer	Pepper Alley
Martin, Thomas	Painter	East Street
Martin, Thomas Junior	Painter	Spring Gardens
Moody, Thomas	Painter	Bugle Street
Pardy, William	Carpenter	Above Bar
Parson, George	Plasterer	Chapel Street
Pitt, Charles	Surveyor	Above Bar
Primmer, Richard	Carpenter	St. George's Place

Artisans Engaged in the Building Trade, 1811

- III -

Name	Occupation	Street of Residence
Randall, William	Carpenter	Winkle Street
Rayner, John	Carpenter	East Street
Richards, John	Carpenter	East Street
Roe, Henry	Carpenter	East Street
Rogers, J	Carpenter	Spring Gardens
Scammel, William	Carpenter	East Street
Silley, Daniel	Carpenter	Red Lion Street
Silley, William	Carpenter	East Street
Sillis, George	Carpenter	Orchard Lane
Shepherd, J	Painter	East Street
Sims, Joseph	Bricklayer	Charlotte Street
Slater, Joseph	Builder	Orchard Place
Stacey, Thomas	Carpenter	King Street
Staples, William	Glazier and House Painter	97 High Street
Starks, Cornelius	Paviour	French Street
Taylor, Mrs. & Son	Builders	Bugle Street
Taylor, James	Painter, Plumber & Glazier	160 High Street
Wallis, William	Bricklayer	Bugle Street
Wallis, John	Bricklayer	French Street
Wallis, Peter	Builder	Above Bar
Withers, George	Carpenter	French Street
Woolman, William	Plumber and Glazier	97 High Street
Young, James	Bricklayer	St. Michael's Square

Source: Southampton Register for 1811, Cunningham.

SOUTHAMPTON.

TO be LETT or SOLD, and entered on immediately, a convenient FREEHOLD HOUSE, with a Yard and Garden adjoining, now in the Occupation of Mr. John Hutchens.

Enquire of Mr. JOSEPH TAYLOR.

ROMSEY.

TO be LETT, and entered upon immediately, All that commodious and well-accustomed INN, called the BELL INN, late in the Occupation of William Coles the Elder, a Bankrupt.

For Particulars, apply to Mr. MIDDLETON, in Romsey.

PARISH of TROTTON, in SUSSEX.

WANTED, to take Care of the POOR in the Workhouse of the said Parish, a MAN and WOMAN; the Man capable of taking Account of the Work done in the House, and keeping the Poor to their Duty; the Woman must understand something of Spinning and Knitting, in order to instruct the Children in those Employments.

Whoever this may suit, may apply to the Overseers of the Poor at Trotton, of whom they shall have sufficient Encouragement.

TO be SOLD by AUCTION, on Wednesday the 24th Day of this instant November, at the George Inn, in the City of Winchester, between the Hours of Four and Nine o'Clock in the Evening.

LOT 1. A LEASEHOLD MESSAGE or DWELLING-HOUSE, called the COFFEE-ROOM, Part of the Three Crowns Inn, in the Parish of St. Swithin, near Winchester aforesaid, held under the College of Winchester, for forty Years, from the 1st of November, 1772, subject to a Quit-Rent of 20s. per Annum, in good Repair, and well situated for any Kind of Business.

LOT 2. A FREEHOLD MESSAGE or DWELLING-HOUSE, STABLE, and GARDEN, walled in, with the Appurtenances, situate in Palliard Twitchin.lane, in the Parish of St. Michael, near the said City.

LOT 3. A FREEHOLD MESSAGE or DWELLING-HOUSE, GARDEN, and PREMISES, adjoining to the above-mentioned Freehold Messuage or Dwelling-House, both in good Repair.

For further Particulars, enquire of Mr. William Thomas, Apothecary, or Mr. William Gunner, Attorney at Law, in Winchester.

Portsmouth, October 23, 1773.

TO be SOLD by AUCTION, on Wednesday the 17th of November inst. at the House of Peter Covency, known by the Sign of the King's Arms, between the Hours of Three and Four in the Afternoon, and entered on immediately.

All that very convenient FREEHOLD MESSAGE and DWELLING HOUSE, situate in the principal Part of the Market Place, consisting (on the Ground Floor) of a commodious Shop, late in the Occupation of a Milliner, with a large and small Parlour behind it, dry Cellars, with other Conveniences under the Whole. On the first Floor is a good Dining-Room with a large China Closet, a Bed Chamber with three large Closets, a genteel Dressing Room, with a Fire Place. On the second Floor are two Bed Chambers with Closets and a Bed Room for Servants. A Kitchen detached from the Dwelling, with a covered Way; over the Kitchen is a Laundry, and a large Bed Chamber for Servants; in the Court Yard is a large Pantry, with Graves fixed, and may be made Use of as a Kitchen. Also a Stable for two Horses, with a Hay-Loft, a good Wood-house, and a Garden wall'd all round. The Whole is in complete Repair. Likewise a Right of Passage at all Seasons, quite thro' into Penny-street.

The Premises may be viewed any Day before the Sale, by applying to Joseph Smith, Upholder, in Portsmouth.

To be SOLD,

THE Freehold, Leafhold, and Copyhold ESTATES of Mr. ISAAC MALLORTIE, a Bankrupt.

FREEHOLDS in the Polygon, most delightfully situated on an Eminence, near to and within the Limits of the Town of Southampton, which will entitle every Purchaser to vote for Members to Parliament for the County of Southampton.

LOT 1. A substantial new-erected capital Brick Mansion-House, with proper Offices, a Court Yard and Garden, late in the Possession of John Carnac, Esq. together with a small Piece of Ground opposite the said Mansion.

LOT 2. A Piece of Ground granted to Jacob Leroux, Esq. for the Term of 99 Years, of which 94 are unexpired, at the Rent of 6l. per Annum, on which was lately erected a large substantial Brick Tenement, and Offices, together with a small Piece of Ground opposite to the said Tenement, not included in the said Lease.

LOT 3. A large substantial new-erected Brick Tenement, with proper Offices, Court Yard, and Garden, the two principal Rooms of which are not quite complet, with a small Piece of Ground opposite the said Tenement.

LOTS 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, consisting of 8 large Pieces of Ground, on which were intended to have been erected 8 capital Houses.

LOT 12. A Piece of Ground agreed to be granted to John Carnac, Esq. for a Term of 99 Years, of which 94 are unexpired, at the Rent of 12l. per Annum, on which is begun a large capital Brick Mansion-house and Offices, together with a small Piece of Ground opposite the same, not included in the said Lease.

LOT 13. A Piece of Ground granted to William Macket, Esq. for a Term of 99 Years, of which 94 are unexpired, at the Rent of 12l. per Annum, on which is erected a large capital Brick Mansion-house, and proper Offices; also a small Piece of Ground before the House, but not included in the said Lease.

FREEHOLDS near the Polygon; also within the Limits of the Town, with the Privileges thereof.

LOT 14. A large Piece of Ground, on which have been erected a capital House and Offices, called the HOTEL, in Lease for a Term of 99 Years, of which 94 Years are unexpired, at the Rent of 60l. per Annum, provided the Buildings thereon let for 300l. per Annum; and if not, then at such other Rents and Conditions as are particularly specified in the Lease.

LOT 15. A Nursery Ground, called Pease Close, containing about 6 Acres, which may either be converted into Pasture or Pleasure Grounds, now in Lease, of which there are about three Years unexpired, at the Rent of 12l. per Ann.

A FREEHOLD at Hill, near Whitehead's Wood, about one Mile from the Polygon.

LOT 16. An Estate called Cockrude Farm, in the Renting of William Soffe, consisting of a Farm House, Barn, Stable, and between 20 and 30 Acres of Land, with a Right of Pasturage on the Common and Wastes of Whitehead's Wood without Stint.

FREEHOLDS in York Buildings, in the Town of Southampton, with the Privileges belonging thereto.

LOT 17. A substantial new-erected convenient Dwelling-house and Garden, late in Possession of Capt. Hughes.

LOT 18. A substantial new-erected Carcase of a House, with the Ground thereunto belonging, and adjoining to the last mentioned Premises.

LOTS 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, consisting of 7 Pieces of Ground, all adjoining, on which were intended to have been erected 7 substantial Houses.

LEASEHOLDS in East-street, in the Town of Southampton, held of the Corporation at small Quit Rents, for Terms of 40 Years respectively, with a perpetual Right of Renewal every 14 Years without Fine.

LOT 26. A substantial new-erected and convenient Brick Dwelling-house, now or late in the Possession of Mr. William Andrews.

LOT 27. A substantial new-erected and convenient Brick Dwelling-house, now or late in the Possession of Capt. Gually.

LOT 28. A substantial new-erected and convenient Brick Dwelling-house, now or late in Possession of Mr. Lejeune.

LOT 29. Three Tenements, with Gardens belonging thereto, now in Possession of Widow Hayes, Joseph Brown, and John Lancaster, held by Lease of the Corporation for forty Years, renewable every fourteen, on a reasonable Fine.

COPYHOLD of Inheritance under the Bishoprick of Winchester, elegantly situated at Ridgeway, near Pear-tree Green, in the County of Southampton.

A convenient Dwelling-house, Garden, and Offices, now or late in the Possession of the Honourable Mrs. Pitt.

Enquire of Robert Taylor, Esq. Spring Gardens, Westminster, one of the Assignees, or of Mr. Le Gay, at Southampton.

THE ALBION PLACE DEVELOPMENT

Site purchased and sold in lots in the first instance by John Simpson Esq. of Bloomsbury Square.

Lot 1 and Lot 30

1802 Sold to Elizabeth Biddulph for £205.

Lot 2

1795 Sold to William Bernard (grocer) for £145.

Lot 4

1795 Sold to John Sanders for £90.

1800 Sold to Thomas Bartlett for £105.

1830 Sold to William Amor Esq. for £113.

1834 Sold to Abel Laver for £200 - ground on which Laver had lately erected a dwelling house.

1834 Mortgaged to Anne Michell for £350.

1836 Sold for £450 to Anne Michell and £150 to Abel Laver (Total £600).

Lots 7 and 8 (2 Albion Terrace)

1803 Sold to John Plaw for £290 13s. Both lots.

1809 Sold to Richard Evamy, now with two new-erected brick messuages occupied by Nathaniel Fletcher and Phoebe Moody respectively.

1809 Letter from John Plaw that no funds or letters have reached him in America (Prince Edward Island).

1815 Mortgaged to George Twynham and Thomas James both of Whitchurch (Hants) Esqs. for £6,000.

1828 Surrender of Mortgage - the £6,000 repaid in full. Both houses occupied.

The Albion Place Development

1828 Grant of annuity to Jane Keturah Harrison, spinster, of £220 charged upon :

- a) Lots 7 and 8 Freeholds, and Leasehold Catchcold Tower and garden called Catchcold;
- b) Freehold land known as Cutts in All Saints on which Richard Evamy is shortly to build a dwelling house in a new terrace to be known as Portland Terrace;
- c) House in Nursling occupied by Evamy.

Lot 16

1795 Sold to Martin Maddison (Banker) for £140.

Lots 17 and 18

1795 Sold to Thomas Baker (Merchant) for £220.

1803 Lot 17 sold by Thomas Baker the elder to Thomas Baker the younger for £120. (House already built by Thomas Baker, senior, on the other plot).

1804 "Angular piece on the corner" sold by Simpson to Baker, senior, for 10/-.

1825 Mortgage T. Baker (Bookseller) and Betty Baker (his widowed mother) to Emma King, widow, for £1,500 with power to sell. (This was formerly Lot 16). Houses have been built now on Lots 17 and 18 and are let.

Lot 19

1795 Sold to Thomas Baker (Merchant) for £126 10s.

1800 Sold to Thomas Bartlett for £169.

1800 Mortgaged to Benoni Bursey, gent, for £500 - now with dwelling house.

1802 Sold to Thomas Smith, gentleman, for £420 in part discharge of the mortgage, and Bursey assigns the mortgage to John Colson, Merchant.

1810 Smith sold to John Lucas, Builder, for £500 upon mortgage for 500 years.

The Albion Place Development

Lots 20 and 21

- 1795 Lot 20 sold to Thomas Williams (Merchant Tailor) freehold for £134.
- 1798 Lots 20 and 21 sold to Thomas Bartlett (Builder) for £310.
- 1798 Lots 20 and 21 Mortgaged from Bartlett to Williams for £310.
- 1800 Lots 20 and 21 Mortgage assigned to George Cox, (Coachman) for £600 - plots now include two newly erected dwelling houses.
- 1806 Assignment of Mortgage Executors of George Cox to Phoebe Martha Amor, spinster, for total of £350 for one of the houses - the other having since been sold to Richard Howard subject to the payment of £300 with interest.
- 1807 Further Mortgage for £40 (from Phoebe Amor)

(N.B. Lot 21 was originally sold to John Plaw, Architect).

Lots 22 and 25 incl.

- 1795 Lots 22, 23, 24, and 25 (Nos. 1, 3 and 4) sold to Reuben Churcher (Shopkeeper) and Thomas Bartlett (Builder) for £525, as tenants in common. (Includes some materials on the sites).
- 1796 Deed of Partition. Churcher sells to Bartlett for £420 all that newly erected (No. 4) corner messuage and one other newly erected (No. 1), messuage. Bartlett sells to Churcher for 5/- another newly erected messuage (No. 3 Albion Place).

After Partition

No. 1 (Now sole property of Bartlett). Corner messuage.

- 1796 Mortgaged to Benoni Bursey, gent, for 1000 years for £210.
- 1797 Sold by Bartlett to Richard Jacobs of Hill for £90 subject to the above mortgage.
- 1805 Mortgage assigned from Bursey, and property sold by Jacobs' Trustees to John Cotton Worthington Esq. for £220 principal and interest to Bursey and £53 to the Trustees. (Total £273)
- 1808 Worthington sold to Gilbert William Timms (Innholder) for £260.

The Albion Place Development

- 1816 Mortgaged by Timms to Samuel Silver Taylor, John Sadlier Moody, Thomas Sloane Moody (Brewers and Co-Partners) for £320.
- 1824 Transfer of Mortgage, two surviving members of above firm and Timms to George Waring Esq. of Itchen for £320 principal.
- 1828 Sold by Timms to William Keeping (Plumber and Glazier) for £380 (the house is now in the occupation of Mrs. Brothers as tenant-at-will of G.W. Timms. £60 to Timms, rest subject to Waring's Mortgage.
- 1829 Further Mortgage of £100.

No. 3 (Now sole property of Churcher)

- 1797 Mortgaged to Joseph Saunders, gent, for 1000 years for £200.
- 1810 Sold and Mortgage assigned Saunders and Churcher to Thomas Foot (Tidewaiter) for £200 to Saunders and £140 to Churcher (Total £340).
- 1822 Sold to Sarah Maskelyn, widow, for £410.
- 1828 Sold to Thomas Williams, gent, for £350.

No. 4 (Now sole property of Bartlett)

- 1796 Mortgaged to Joseph Saunders, gent, for £200.
- 1798 Further Mortgage for £50.
- 1800 Sold to Richard Webb of Toothill, Brickburner, for £360.
- 1809 Sold to Jane Taylor, spinster, for £450. (In occupation of Lawrence Wareham).
- 1810 Sold to Anna Maria Wilson, spinster, for £460.

Catchcold Tower and Garden

- 1751 Corporation Lease assigned from Dame Mary Lequesne to James Delamon Esq. for £1,400.
- 1765 Lease for 40 years to William Rufane for surrender of former Lease to Nathaniel Knight. Quit Rent 6/-.
- 1773 Licence to Assign to Reverend John Hoadley for £50.
- 1776 Lease to Elizabeth Hoadley for surrender of 1765 Lease.

The Albion Place Development

- 1794 Elizabeth Hoadley's Will - new Lease granted to her Executors.
Endorsed : "Renewed to Richard Evamy from Lady Day 1809".
- 1803 Assignment of Lease : John Simpson Esq. to John Plaw, Architect,
of Hill. April 1785 Tower and land assigned to Simpson who
purchased certain freeholds and leaseholds. The leaseholds
comprised Lot 8, which Plaw has now contracted to purchase
for £30.
John Plaw assigned to Richard Evamy, Merchant, for £50.
Plaw moved to America.
- 1811 Lease to Evamy, 6/- rent.
- 1828 Renewed.

Source: CRO, SC4/4/120; SC4/4/458; SC4/4/498; SC4/4/501;
SC4/4/502; SC4/4/529; SC4/4/978; SC4/4/1442;
SC4/4/1445; SC4/3/805; SC4/3/988; SC4/3/1211;
D/PM Box 97.

TABLE OF SIMPSON'S ACTIVITIES IN ALBION PLACE

30 Aug. 1795 Purchase of capital mansion house plus gardens and other appurtenances plus two messuages each divided into 3 tenements - for £4,510

17 June 1795 29 Allotments (Leasehold for 1000 years, or Freehold) put up for sale according to prepared plan

Lot	Price	Purchaser	Lot	Price	Purchaser
1	£205	Elizabeth Biddulph*	16	£140	Martin Maddison (Banker)
2	£145	William Bernard (Grocer)	17	£220	Thomas Baker (Merchant)
3			18	"	" (& triangular piece)
4	£ 90	John Sanders (Brewer)	19	£126 10	Thomas Baker (Merchant)
5			20	£134	Thomas Williams (Tailor)
6			21		John Plaw (Architect) Later Thomas Williams
7)	£290 13	John Plaw (Architect)	22)	£525	Reuben Churcher (Shopkeeper)
))		
8)	"	"	23)	"	& Thomas Bartlett (Builder)
))		
9			24)	"	As Tenants
10			25)	"	in Common
11			26		
12			27		
13			28		
14			29		
15					

* This price includes Lot 30 - a small triangular in-filling plot. In 1804 Simpson also sold to T. Baker the elder the "Angular piece on the corner" for 10/-.

Table of Simpson's Activities in Albion Place

- II -

Guide Book comment : Skelton's Guide 1802 and 1805 :

"Albion Place (on which 28 houses are intended to be built)
...The designs and arrangement of the buildings are by
Mr. Plaw, Architect of this place".

Handwritten comment to the 1805 issue :

"Who (is Plaw) very lately erected two houses and Mr. Baker
has since erected two more".

THOMAS SMITH : GENTLEMAN BUILDER (MERCHANT)

ACTIVITIES IN CASTLE HILL

1802 Purchased piece of land from Cornelius Starks and his Mortgagee (formerly William Daman's land and then the property of Grantham Knight (bricklayer)) - now with two dwelling houses lately built and now lett.

Price : £ 85 5s and Mortgage of £125 assigned.

Purchased messuage on south-east side of Castle Hill from James Spearing (serving man) - formerly property of William and Esther Daman.

Price : £80.

1806 Sold messuage purchased 1802 above to the Marquis of Lansdowne
Price : £100. Endorsed : "pulled down".

1807 Agreement to sell to the Marquis a tenement with appurtenances on the south or south-east side of Castle Hill now lett.

Price : £220.

1810 Sold to the Marchioness of Lansdowne the two dwelling-houses purchased in 1802 above.

Price : £244, paid by the Marquis before his death.

Sold to the Marchioness piece of land formerly part of Castle Hill and formerly in the possession of Grantham Knight together with three messuages built there by Cornelius Starks, now lett.

Price : £365.

Source: CRO, D/MH 2/21; D/MH 2/27; D/MH 2/37.

WILLIAM DAMAN : GENTLEMAN BUILDER

ACTIVITIES IN CASTLE HILL

(And also Esther Daman, his Widow)

- 1762 Sold to Richard Knight (bricklayer) the Infirmary in the occupation of the Overseers of the Poor with a piece of garden ground (All Saints)
Price : £ 155.
- Purchased messuage and premises near Castle Hill
(no price).
- 1763 Sold above to John Breton, gent, for £ 55 - the house is in the occupation of James Plenty, carpenter.
- 1779 Purchased piece of ground being south-east part of Castle Hill together with three stables and a workshop and other buildings.
Plot: 391' x ... Price : £ 250.
- 1782 Sold to Peter Mallett of Jersey (merchant) two new erected messuages adjoining together on east side of Castle Hill (lett) lately built by Daman on part of land purchased in 1779 above.
Price : £ 180.
- 1787 Corporation Lease to William Daman for surrender of former Lease granted to Rector of All Saints (Reverend Robert Rooke) and for 16 guineas : messuage with court and backside on north side of Simnel Street
Rent : £ 1 13s 4d + 2/- capon money (Also garden).
Proceeded to build a stable, cowhouse and other buildings - all lett (lease renewals 1795 and 1811).
Esther Daman sold to Grantham Knight (bricklayer) part of the land purchased by William in 1779 above : this Plot 213' x ...
Price : £ 40.

William Daman : Gentleman Builder - Activities in Castle Hill

- II -

1788 Esther sold to James Spearing (serving man) messuage on south-east side of Castle Hill on plot 27'2" x 10' also part of 1779 conveyance.

Price : £ 70.

Source: CRO, D/MH 2/11; D/MH 2/33.

THE MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE'S PURCHASES

IN CASTLE HILL

1805 Purchased from Trustees to Grantham Knight's estate -
the site of the Windmill, the Castle Hill and a slip of
ground

Price : £ 1,300

Also - 3 houses built by Grantham Knight on part of the land

Price : £ 400

(Grantham Knight bought the site in 1780 for £ 400).

Purchased from Robert Miller an Ice House built by Grantham
Knight

Price : £ 100

(Miller paid £50 in 1798).

Purchase from Thomas Smith of 3 houses probably built by
Grantham Knight on Windmill site

Price : £ 412 10 0

(Smith paid £160 in 1801). Pulled down.

Purchase from Mary Vining and Trustees of estate of John
Vining (hillier and plumber) of messuage built by Mr. Taylor
on north side of Castle Hill

Price : £ 315 and £25 a year for life to Mary Vining

(John Vining paid £91 in 1754).

Purchase of 4 messuages and stable buildings, formerly one
dwelling house from Isaac Anderson (common courier)

Price : £ 500

(Anderson paid £300 in 1792 for the dwelling house, stable
and coachhouse).

1806 Purchase from Thomas Smith of messuage on south east side
of Castle Hill

Price : £ 100

(Smith paid £80 in 1802). Endorsed: "Pulled down".

The Marquis of Lansdowne's Purchases in Castle Hill

- II -

1807 Purchase from Thomas Smith of a tenement on the south or south east side of Castle Hill

Price : £ 220

(Thomas Smith paid £156 in 1806).

Purchase from Thomas Mallett of 2 messuages on east side of Castle Hill built by William Daman

Price : £ 300

(Mallett paid £180 in 1782).

1808 Purchased 2 messuages built by William Colson (victualler) on south side of Castle Hill (Land purchased by William Colson from Grantham Knight)

Price : £ 210

(Colson sold the messuages to Richard Immans (gardener) for £118 in 1803).

1809 Purchase of tenements under the Castle from George Whittaker (clerk)

Price : £ 367

Whittaker originally bought in 1802.

1810 Purchase by Marchioness of 2 houses (built by George Taver, gentleman)

Price : £ 244 (Paid by Marquis before his death).

Conveyed to Marchioness by Thomas Smith (merchant) who paid £85 and £105 for them in 1802.

Source: CRO, D/MH/2/1 - 50; D/PM Box 64; D/PH Box 15;
SC4/4/555/1 - 10; SC4/4/448/1 - 10.

APPENDIX V :

THE HOUSES

SOUTHAMPTON.

FREEHOLD

Residences in Gloucester Square,

EXONERATED FROM LAND-TAX.

Particulars

OF

SIX HANDSOME WELL-BUILT

FREEHOLD HOUSES,

WITH THEIR APPURTENANCES;

A SMALL DWELLING HOUSE,

AND

A Plot of Ground,

ELIGIBLY SITUATE

In GLOUCESTER SQUARE, in the PARISH of HOLYROOD,

IN THE

TOWN OF SOUTHAMPTON;

NOW OR LATE IN THE OCCUPATION OF

Miss BARNOUIN, Mr. RALFE, Mr. CORFE, Mrs. PARR, Mrs. ASCOUGH,

MRS. SHERER, AND JOHN AUSTEN.

WHICH WILL BE SOLD BY AUCTION,

By Mr. PRICKETT.

At the Star Inn, in the Town of Southampton,

On SATURDAY, the 23d of JANUARY, 1813,

AT TWELVE O'CLOCK,

In Seven Lots.

May be viewed by Leave of the Tenants, and the two Houses at present unoccupied on application to Mr. WATTS, of Southampton, of whom printed Particulars may be had. Particulars may likewise be had at the STAR INN, Southampton; the GEORGE INN, Winchester; the BELL INN, Romsey; the INDIA ARMS, Gosport; the CROWN INN, Portsmouth; of Mr. FRANKLIN, Lincoln's Inn; at the AUCTION MART, London; and of Mr. PRICKETT, Highgate, Middlesex.

PARTICULARS, &c.

The whole exonerated from Land Tax.

LOT I.

Is peculiarly well adapted, both as to Situation and commodious and suitable Apartments for

A LADIES' BOARDING-SCHOOL,

For which Purpose, for many Years with high Celebrity, it has been occupied,

AND CONSISTS OF

A SPACIOUS SUBSTANTIAL-BUILT

Freehold Residence,

With a conveniently attached Three-Stall Stable, and double Coach-house, Garden, Yard, and Offices.

THE DWELLING

CONTAINS

On the ATTIC STORY—Four Bed Rooms with Closets.

On the TWO PAIR STORY—Four good airy Chambers with Closets.

On the ONE PAIR STORY—An exceeding good Drawing Room, 20 Feet 9 Inches by 18 Feet, neatly papered and dadoed, with Marble Chimney Piece; a Breakfast Room; a good Bed Chamber; and spacious Landing.

On the GROUND STORY—A good sized Dining Room; a Front Parlour; a small Back Parlour; a handsome Hall and Staircase, and a Store or China Closet.

ALSO,

A Room, 37 Feet long and 15 Feet 6 Inches wide, erected a few Years since, and heretofore used as the School-Room; and another Room adjoining.

On the BASEMENT STORY—A commodious Kitchen, a Pantry, a large Wash-house or Brewhouse, and good Wine, Beer, and Coal Cellars;

A paved Yard, through which by separate Doorways is a Communication from GLOUCESTER-SQUARE to the LONG ROOM and BASEMENT STORY.

Behind the House, is a walled Garden, and communicating therewith as well as with the Back Street are the Three-stall Stable, double Coach-house and Loft.

Lot 1, for many Years, and until very recently, has been in the Occupation of Miss BARNOUN, at a moderate Rent of £99:9s. per Annum.

N. B. A few Fixtures to be taken at a Valuation, an Inventory of which may be seen at the Time of Sale.

LOT II.

A Substantially-built FREEHOLD RESIDENCE,

No. 6, in GLOUCESTER-SQUARE, in the Occupation of Mr. RAFFE, at £45 per Annum.—Containing Two Bed Rooms, on the THREE PAIR STORY;—A Front and Back Chamber, and a small Room adjoining, on the TWO PAIR STORY;—A Drawing Room, a Back Chamber, and Sitting or Bed Room, on the ONE PAIR STORY;—A Front Parlour, and a Back Parlour, on the GROUND STORY;—A Front and Back Kitchen with suitable Conveniences on the BASEMENT STORY;—The Front Area inclosed with Iron Palisadoes.

Behind, a Garden or Yard, in which is a Wash-house.

LOT III.

A Substantially-built FREEHOLD RESIDENCE,

No. 5, in GLOUCESTER-SQUARE, in the Occupation of Mr. CORRE, at £38:10s. per Annum; containing Two Bed Rooms on the THREE PAIR STORY;—A Front and Back Chamber on the TWO PAIR STORY;—a Drawing-Room and Back Chamber, on the ONE PAIR STORY;—A Front and Back Parlour, on the GROUND STORY;—A Front and Back Kitchen, with suitable Conveniences, on the BASEMENT STORY;—The Front Area inclosed with Iron Palisadoes.

Behind, a Garden or Yard, in which is a Wash-house.

LOT IV.

A Substantially-built FREEHOLD RESIDENCE,

No. 4, in GLOUCESTER-SQUARE, in the Occupation of Mrs. PARR, at £38:10s. per Annum;—Of the same Description, and possessing the same Conveniences as Lot 3.

LOT V.

A Substantially-built FREEHOLD RESIDENCE,

No. 3, in GLOUCESTER-SQUARE, in the Occupation of Mrs. ASCOUGH, at £38:10s. per Annum;—Of the same Description, and possessing the Conveniences, as Lot 3.

LOT VI.

A Substantially-built FREEHOLD RESIDENCE,

No. 2, in GLOUCESTER-SQUARE, recently in the Occupation of Mrs. SHERER, at £38:10s. per Annum;—Of the same Description; and possessing the same Conveniences as Lot 3.

Together with a valuable PLOT of FREEHOLD GARDEN or BUILDING GROUND adjoining.

N. B. A few Fixtures to be taken at a Valuation, an Inventory of which may be seen at the Time of Sale.

LOT VII.

A FREEHOLD HOUSE,

Adjoining Lot 6, in the Occupation of Mr. JOHN AUSTEN, at £12:12s. per Annum.

CONDITIONS OF SALE.

- I. The highest Bidder for each Lot shall be declared the Purchaser; and if any Dispute arise between two or more Bidders, the same to be put up again and re-sold.
- II. No Person to advance less than £10 at each Bidding for Lot 1, and £5 on each of the other Lots.
- III. The Purchasers to pay down immediately into the Hands of Mr. PRICKETT, a deposit of £20 per Cent, in Part of the Purchase Money, and sign an Agreement for Payment of the Remainder, on or before the 25th of March, 1813, on having a good Title; up to which Time all Out-goings will be cleared; but should the Purchase not be completed by that time, the Purchaser or Purchasers to pay Interest at the rate of £5 per Cent. per Annum on the Remainder of the Purchase-money.
- IV. The Vendors will deliver Abstracts of the Title to the Estates to the Purchasers.
- V. The Purchasers shall have Conveyances of the Premises at their own Expence, on payment of the Remainder of the Purchase Money, agreeably to the foregoing Conditions.
- VI. The largest Purchaser will be entitled to such of the Title Deeds as relate solely to this Property, and the other Purchasers will be furnished with attested Copies thereof at their own Expence; and the Purchaser of the largest Lot shall execute a Deed or Deeds of Covenant for the production of such Deeds, and to give such attested Copies when required. And the Purchasers shall have a Deed of Covenant for the production of such Title Deeds as relate to this and other Property, and attested Copies of such Deeds, if required, at their own Expence.
- VII. If through any Mistake the Premises should be improperly described, or any Error or Mistatement be inserted in this Particular, such Error or Errors shall not vitiate the Sale thereof, but the Vendors or Purchaser, as the Case may happen, shall pay or allow a proportionate Value, according to the Average of the whole Purchase Money, as a Compensation either way.
- VIII. The Excise Duty to be paid in equal Moieties by the Vendor and Purchasers.
- IX. If the Purchasers shall neglect or fail to comply with the above Conditions, the Deposit-money to be forfeited, the Proprietor shall be at full liberty to re-sell the said Estate; and the Deficiency (if any) by such second Sale, together with all Charges attending the same, shall be made good by the Defaulters at this present Sale.

SOUTHAMPTON.

FREEHOLD

Residences, in Gloucester Square,

EXONERATED FROM LAND TAX.

PARTICULARS

OF

FOUR GENTLE

FREEHOLD HOUSES,

WITH THEIR APPURTENANCES,

ELIGIBLY SITUATE IN

Gloucester Square, in the Parish of Holyrood,

IN THE TOWN OF

SOUTHAMPTON;

NOW OR LATE IN THE OCCUPATION OF

Miss BARNQUIN; Mr. RALFE; Mr. CORFE; and Mrs. PARR.

Which will be Sold by Auction,

By Mr. PRICKETT,

At the Star Inn,

IN THE TOWN OF SOUTHAMPTON,

On SATURDAY, 21st of AUGUST, 1813,

AT TWELVE O'CLOCK, IN FOUR LOTS.

May be viewed by Leave of the Tenants, and the House at present unoccupied on application to Mr. WATTS, of Southampton, of whom printed Particulars may be had. Particulars may likewise be had at the STAR INN, Southampton; the GEORGE INN, Winchester; the BELL INN, Romsey; the INDIA ARMS,

Particulars, &c.

The Whole EXONERATED from LAND-TAX.

LOT I.

Is peculiarly well adapted, both as to situation and commodious and suitable Apartments for

A Ladies Boarding School,

For which purpose, for many Years with high Celebrity, it has been occupied,

AND CONSISTS OF

A SPACIOUS SUBSTANTIAL BUILT

FREEHOLD RESIDENCE,

With a conveniently attached Three-Stall Stable, and double Coach-house, Garden, Yard and Offices.

THE DWELLING

CONTAINS

On the ATTIC STORY—Four Bed Rooms with Closets.

On the TWO PAIR STORY—Four good airy Chambers with Closets.

On the ONE PAIR STORY—An exceeding good Drawing Room, 20 Feet 9 Inches by 18 Feet, neatly papered and dadoed, with Marble Chimney Piece;

A Breakfast Room; a good Bed Chamber; and spacious Landing.

On the GROUND STORY—A good sized Dining Room; a Front Parlour; a Small Back Parlour. a handsome Hall and Staircase, and a Store or China Closet.

ALSO

A Room, 37 Feet long and 15 Feet 6 Inches wide, erected a few years since, and heretofore used as the School Room; and another Room adjoining.

On the BASEMENT STORY—A commodious Kitchen, a Pantry, a large Wash-house or Brewhouse, and good Wine, Beer and Coal Cellars;

A paved Yard, through which by separate Doorways is a communication from GLOUCESTER SQUARE to the LONG ROOM and BASEMENT STORY;

Behind the House, is a walled Garden, and communicating therewith as well as with the Back Street are the Three-stall Stable, double Coach-house and Loft.

Lot 1, for many Years, was in the occupation of Miss BARNOUN, at a moderate Rent of £99:0s. per Annum.

N. B. A few Fixtures to be taken at a Valuation, an Inventory of which may be seen at the time of Sale.

LOT II.

A Substantially-built FREEHOLD RESIDENCE,

No. 6, in GLOUCESTER-SQUARE; in the occupation of Mr. RALEIGH at £45 per Annum:

CONTAINING

Two Bed Rooms, on the THREE PAIR STORY:

A Front and Back Chamber, and a small room adjoining, on the TWO PAIR STORY;

A Drawing Room, a Back Chamber, and Sitting or Bed Room, on the ONE PAIR STORY;

A Front Parlour, and a Back Parlour, on the GROUND STORY;

A Front and Back Kitchen with suitable Conveniences on the BASEMENT STORY:

The Front Area inclosed with Iron Palisadoes.—Behind, a Garden or Yard, in which is a Wash-house.

LOT III.

A Substantially-built FREEHOLD RESIDENCE,

No. 5, in GLOUCESTER-SQUARE, in the Occupation of Mr. CORFE, at £38:10s. per Annum:

CONTAINING

Two Bed Rooms on the THREE PAIR STORY;

A Front and Back Chamber in the TWO PAIR STORY;

A Drawing-Room and Back Chamber, on the ONE PAIR STORY;

A Front and Back Parlour, on the GROUND STORY;

A Front and Back Kitchen, with suitable Conveniences, on the BASEMENT STORY;

The Front Area inclosed with Iron Palisadoes.

Behind, a Garden or Yard, in which is a Wash-house.

LOT IV.

A Substantially-built FREEHOLD RESIDENCE,

No. 4, in GLOUCESTER-SQUARE, in the Occupation of Mrs. PARR, at £38:10s. per Annum.—Of the same Description, and possessing the same Conveniences as Lot 3.

CONDITIONS OF SALE.

- I. THE highest Bidders for each Lot shall be declared the Purchasers; and if any dispute arise between two or more Bidders, the Estate to be put up again and re-sold.
- II. No Person to advance less than £10 at each Bidding for Lot 1, and £5 on each of the other Lots.
- III. The Purchasers to pay down immediately into the Hands of Mr. PRICKETT, a Deposit of £20 per Cent. in Part of the Purchase Money, and sign an Agreement for Payment of the Remainder on or before the 29th of Sept. 1813, on having a good Title; up to which Time all Out-goings will be cleared; but should the Purchase not be completed by that time, the Purchaser or Purchasers to pay Interest at the rate of 5 per Cent. per Annum on the Remainder of the Purchase Money.
- IV. The Vendors will deliver Abstracts of the Title to the Estates to the Purchasers.
- V. The Purchasers shall have Conveyances of the Premises at their own Expence, on Payment of the Remainder of the Purchase-money, agreeably to the foregoing Conditions.
- VI. The largest Purchaser will be entitled to such of the Title Deeds as relate solely to this Property, and the other Purchasers will be furnished with attested Copies thereof at their own Expence; and the Purchaser of the largest Lot shall execute a Deed or Deeds of Covenant for the production of such Deeds, and to give such attested Copies when required. And the Purchasers shall have a Deed of Covenant for the production of such Title Deeds as relate to this and other Property, and attested Copies of such Deeds, if required, at their own Expence.
- VII. If through any Mistake, the Estate shall happen to be incorrectly described, or any Error or Mis-statement be inserted in the above Particulars, such incorrect Description, Error, or Mis-statement shall not invalidate the Sale thereof; but the Vendor or Purchaser, as the Case may happen, shall pay or allow a proportionate Value, according to the average of the whole Purchase Money, as a Compensation on such Account either way.
- VIII. The Excise Duty to be paid in equal Moieties by the Vendor and Purchaser.
- IX. The owner of this Property is under Covenant not to suffer the Trades of Butcher, Slaughterman, Tallow Chandler, Melter of Tallow, Soap Maker, Tobacco Pipe Maker, Fellmonger, Blacksmith, Farrier, or any Trade noxious in itself, or that may annoy any of the Tenants in Gloucester Square, to be carried on in the said Premises, without the consent of the rest of the owners in the said Square.
- LASTLY. If the Purchaser shall neglect or fail to comply with the above Conditions, his Deposit-Money shall be forfeited to the Vendor, who shall be at Liberty to resell the said Estate, and the Deficiency (if any) on such subsequent Sale, together with all Charges and Expences whatever attending the same, shall be paid to the Vendor by the Defaulter at this Sale.

PARTICULARS

AND

CONDITIONS of SALE

OF

A Spacious Elegant New-Built Freehold HOUSE,

With DOUBLE COACH HOUSE,

STABLING for EIGHT HORSES,

Numerous Attached and Detached OFFICES

Of every Description,

Suited to the *VILLA* and the *ORNAMENTED FARM*.

EXCELLENT KITCHEN GARDENS

Surrounded with Lofty Walls,

DIVIDED and SUBDIVIDED, richly CLOATHED with a SELECTION of
FRUIT TREES in FULL BEARING.

PLEASURE GROUND *Disposed with great Taste;*

AND

Beautiful Paddock of about Thirty Acres;

Together with, (at a SUITABLE DISTANCE from the House,)

A SMALL FARM HOUSE, BARN, GRANERY,

DOVE COTE, and RICH MEADOWS,

Making with the above, about FORTY-EIGHT ACRES,

Within a RING FENCE;

VALUABLE RIGHT on SHIRLEY COMMON, &c.

Called

SHIRLEY HOUSE;

Beautifully Situate within Two Miles of SOUTHAMPTON,

IN

The COUNTY of HANTS.

Which will be SOLD by AUCTION

BY

Mr. CHRISTIE,

At his Great Room in *Pall Mall*, on WEDNESDAY
the 6th of JUNE 1792, at One o'Clock.

THE PREMISES are Freehold; and distinguished in point of Beauty of Situation, looking over the Town and River of Southampton, New Forest, Isle of Wight, and surrounding Country, which is replete with Objects intersecting a Mass of prolific Richness—the Paddock is embellished with the Mansion, remarkable for its simple Elegance of Architectural Elevation; and internal Proportion of Apartments, correspondently finished. The Offices are fully competent and judiciously disposed, possessing every requisite Convenience suited to a large Family. The House seated on an Eminence from which the Grounds are beautifully sloped, and fringed with rich Plantations. The Kitchen Garden abundantly productive, and the Paddock and Meadows in high Cultivation and remarkably Rich. The Farm House is suitably placed, and possesses every Requisite—and its Locality to the capital Fish Market of Southampton renders the Whole, a most desirable Residence.

The House is planned, and consists as follows, viz.

A Flight of Steps with Circular Portico the Approach to the Hall Fifteen Feet square. Morning Room Nineteen Feet by Fifteen. Eating Room Twenty-six Feet by Nineteen Feet. Drawing Room Twenty-four Feet by Nineteen Feet. Principal and Back Staircase of Stone, and Patent Water Closet.

FIRST FLOOR—Four Capital Bed Chambers, and Two neat Dressing Rooms.

ATTICS—Five Neat Bed Chambers, and Two Dressing Rooms.

Under the Body of the House are most excellent Cellars for every Purpose.

ATTACHED OFFICES—Butler's Pantry—Housekeeper's Room, leading to a spacious well fitted up Kitchen—Scullery—Larders—Pantry, &c.

DETACHED OFFICES—A Neat Dairy, Wash House, Laundry, Brew and Bake House, with Servants Bed Chambers over them. Stabling for Eight Horses, Double Coach House, Lofts, &c. At a suitable Distance from the House, a neat FARM HOUSE, Farm Yard, Barn, Stable, Granery, Dove Cote, &c.

The Paddock, Gardens, and Meadows, in the Whole about — A. R. P.
 Five Acres of which pay a Quit Rent of £7. 9s. which Quit Rent may be purchased on moderate Terms; also a Quit Rent of One Shilling per Annum for the Freehold. 48 0 0

All the usual Valuable Fixtures will be included in the Purchase; but the Fixed Ranges, Iron Oven, Smoak Jack, Coppers, Bath and Brodie Stoves, and Fixtures in the Brewhouse to be taken at a fair Valuation, as also the Growing Crops; and immediate Possession may be had.



CONDITIONS of SALE.

- I. THE highest Bidder to be the Buyer; and if any Dispute arise between Two or more Bidders, the Premises shall be immediately put up again.
- II. The Biddings to be Five Pounds advance.
- III. The Purchaser to pay down immediately into the Hands of Mr. CHRITIE, a Deposit of 20 Pounds per Cent. in Part of the Purchase Money, and sign an Agreement for Payment of the Remainder on or before Michaelmas-Day next; at which Time the Purchase is to be completed.
- IV. That upon Payment of the Remainder of the Purchase Money, on or before the Time above limited, the Vendor will convey the Premises, at the Expence of the Purchaser, with a good Title to the same.
- V. Whereas all Estates, Houses, &c. sold by Auction, are subject to the Payment of a certain Tax or Pound Rate of Three Pence Halfpenny in the Pound on the whole Amount of the Purchase Money for said Estate or Estates, Houses, &c. and whereas the Auctioneer is empowered to demand, collect and receive the said Tax from either the Vendor or the Purchaser: the Conditions of this Sale are, That the said Duty of Three Pence Halfpenny in the Pound, shall be equally borne by the Vendor and Purchaser; that is to say, one Moiety to be paid by the Vendor, and the other Moiety to be paid by the Purchaser.
- VI. Upon Failure of complying with the above Conditions, the Money deposited shall (at the Expiration of the Time before limited) become forfeited to the Vendor, and he shall then be at Liberty to re-sell the Premises; and if on such Re-sale there shall be any Deficiency, the Purchaser at this Sale, neglecting to comply with these Conditions, shall make good such Deficiency to the Vendor, and all Expences that shall attend such Re-sale.

EXAMPLES OF ADVERTISEMENTS OF
HOUSES FOR SALE OR RENT

July 2 1770

To be sold by auction by MR. CHRISTIE from PALL MALL
On the premises the latter end of this month
The following LEASEHOLD AND FREEHOLD ESTATES, in several
lots viz.

LOT 1. Consists of a capital spacious leasehold house,
with convenient Offices, most pleasingly situated, in the
POLYGON, SOUTHAMPTON, in the centre of the MANSIONS which
were erected by gentlemen of fortune, who will inhabit them
this summer, and contains on the principal story a drawing
room, a dining room, common parlour, study, vestibule, and
two staircases; on the chamber story 8 large bedchambers,
which may be subdivided to make more, and in the attic story
8 bedchambers; on each side of the house spacious court yards,
and in detached offices at each end, a six-stall stable,
double coachhouse, brewhouse, together with every requisite
office, sufficient for the convenience of a large family;
an exceeding good garden behind the same, and a small parcel
of land in front, to be rented for grazing cattle.
The above premises are held for a term of 99 years, subject
to a moderate ground rent ...

April 19 1773

To Be SOLD, by THO. RIDGEWAY,
in May next, A Capital FREEHOLD MANSION HOUSE 114 feet
in Front, late MRS. ROLLESTON'S, deceased, situate at Southampton
in the County of Hampshire, in the most desirable part of the
town, above the Bar, commanding a delightful Prospect of the
Rivers, New Forest, Isle of Wight, &c. The Premises are fit
for the immediate Reception of a genteel Family, and consist
of an Entrance Hall, five Parlours, eleven Bedchambers, with
a large light Closet, together with a Stove-Room, Butler's
Pantry, spacious Kitchen &c. on the Ground Floor, (over which

Examples of Advertisements

- II -

is a Laundry) a Wash-House, a Brew-House, most excellent Cellars and Wine Vaults, with the necessary Offices; a double Coachhouse, a Four Stall-Stable, and a Building that would contain four more. The House is remarkable for every domestic Convenience; behind is a paved Court; with a good Garden walled round, and clothed with Fruit Trees. The Premises may be viewed, by applying to Walter Taylor, at Southampton; and further particulars known of Mr. Ridgeway, No. 168, Fenchurch Street, London.

Monday, July 12 1773

To be LETT at Michaelmas next, SOUTHAMPTON, a large commodious new Brick DWELLING-HOUSE, now in the occupation of MRS. WHITEMORE, situate in the High Street, near Bar-Gate; consisting of two Rooms and a large light Closet on the first and second Floors, three Rooms and a light Closet on each of the third and fourth Floors, a Laundry, Kitchen, and convenient Offices, a very large Vault under the said Dwelling-House, and another under the Kitchen, with Wine Cellars, Coachhouse for two Carriages, and Stabling for four Horses, with a Court and walled Garden behind the same.

For further Particulars, enquire of MR. ATHERLEY, or MR. DE VIC.

Monday, November 29 1773

To be SOLD by AUCTION

by T. ELDRIDGE,

On Monday the 29th Instant, between the Hours of four and seven o'Clock, at the George Inn, a new well-built BRICK HOUSE, situated at the Corner of Orchard Street, above Bar, held by a Lease under the Corporation subject to a small Quit-Rent of 3s 6d per Annum. The House consists of four good Bedchambers, a large Dining-Room, Parlour, and a large spacious Shop in Front, with Kitchen, Cellar, and other Conveniences.

Examples of Advertisements

- III -

The above is very well worthy the Notice of a Person in Trade, who requires a large Shop and good Situation.

N.B. Further Particulars will be mentioned in the Conditions of Sale.

April 10 1775

To be SOLD, a handsome modern-built FREEHOLD DWELLING-HOUSE lately occupied, and belonging to CHARLES GORE, Esq. Consisting of a large Octagon Parlour and Dining Room over the same, highly finished with Entrance Hall and Stairs case, four best Bed Chambers, Drawing Room, and Dressing Room, five Garretts, and Study on the Ground Floor, Housekeeper's Room and Butler's Pantry, a large Parlour fronting the Garden, an exceeding good Kitchen and Larders, Servants Hall, and other Offices; two very good Cellars and Vaults, Coachhouses and Stabling for six Horses, with a large yard adjoining; a Pleasure Garden, about One Acre of Ground behind the House, well-planted with Shurbbery on each Side, and Bowling Green in the centre; a good Kitchen Garden of an Acre of Ground, well stock'd with all the necessaries, and a good Well and plenty of Water in the same; together with Two Acres of Arable, and One Acre of Meadow Land. The Whole being most desirably and pleasantly situated above the Bar, and commands the most delightful Prospect of the River, the Isle of Wight, New Forest &c. &c. Further Particulars may be had by applying to the Servant in the House, who will shew the Premises.

Monday, June 12 1775

To be SOLD by AUCTION at the Star Inn, on Wednesday, 21st of June, at Four o'Clock in the Afternoon.

A FREEHOLD DWELLING-HOUSE, situate on the North Side of Castle Lane, in the Parish of All Saints, in Southampton, now in the Occupation of Mr. Grantham Knight, junior, consisting (on the ground floor) of a Parlour, Kitchen, Shop, Wash-House, Pantry, and Coat-House; up Stairs three Bedchambers, Closet over the Porch, and a Garret; with a Garden 55 Feet on the East Side, 83 Feet on the West, 51 Feet on the North, and 36 on the South.

Examples of Advertisements

- IV -

The above premises are near the Bath.

Particulars may be had of Mr. Lejeune, Upholsterer and Auctioneer, in the High Street, Southampton, who will shew the Premises.

Monday, July 3 1775

To be SOLD, and entered upon immediately, All That elegant and convenient MANSION HOUSE, fronting the High Street, fit for a large Family; consisting of an handsome Hall, a very good dining Parlour, a large elegant Drawing Room, Butler's Pantry, Kitchen and Offices on the Ground Floor; a very handsome mahogany Stair-case, with four excellent Chambers on the first Floor, and four on the second Floor, with good Closets to most of them; a Laundry and Servants Rooms over the Kitchen and Occies, with a very good Back Stair-Case; excellent Stables for six Horses, and a large Coach-house; with an extensive Garden, containing about two Acres, running back to the Town Walls, in very good Order, and the Walls well covered with healthy Fruit Trees. The Garden commands a most delightful view of the Sea, the Polygon, Millbrook, Eling, the New Forest &c.

The Premises are all in exceeding good Repair, and were late in the Possession of General RUFANE.

Also to be SOLD with the said House and Gardens, four tenements close adjoining to the same.

All which Premises are Freehold, except a little Piece of Garden Ground, held under the Corporation of Southampton.

The Premises may be seen by applying for a Ticket to Mr. Ridding, Attorney, in Southampton, of whom further Particulars may be known there; and of Mr. Nicholls, Printer, at his Office in Red Lion Passage, Fleet Street, London.

February 2 1778.

To be LETT, and entered on immediately, or at Lady Day next, a Capital DWELLING house, situated in the High Street; consisting of three Parlours on the Ground Floor, one of which measures 20 feet by 17, the other two 20 by 16, and 10 feet in height; the Entrance and Stair-case are noble, with a paved Court, and handsome iron pallisades before the premises; the first Floor consists of four large Bedchambers and one small, and the second, of four large and two small ditto; the whole Roof is flat and leaded, from which, as well as from the Back Rooms, the eye commands a most delightful and extensive Prospect of the River, New Forest, Calshot Castle, Isle of Wight etc. The Offices are spacious and convenient, consisting of Servants Hall, Kitchen, Larder and good Cellaring, with Bedchambers for servants at the back of the House, also a small but neat Garden walled round. The Whole of the Premises is in the most perfect repair, and fit for the immediate reception of a Family. The Furniture, which was all new but a few months since, may be taken at a fair appraisement.

A running Lease will be granted for six, nine or a long term of years.

For further Particulars, apply to Mr. George Miller, Auctioneer, Southampton.

June 29 1778 - No. 306

To be SOLD by PRIVATE CONTRACT, a substantial Brick Freehold DWELLING-HOUSE, situated in the High Street, in the best area of the town, being No. 6 from Bargate, late in the Occupation of David Palairret Esq., deceased, consisting of, on the Ground Floor, a front Parlour 19 feet 9 inches by 17 feet 6 inches; a back Parlour 18 feet 9 inches by 16 feet; a light Closet, 7 feet 6 inches by 6 feet. On the second Floor, a Drawing Room 23 feet by 20 feet 6 inches; with a Bedchamber and a light Closet adjoining, and a large light Stair-case. On the Attic Story, three Bedchambers, and a small dressing-room. The Whole neatly finished with marble chimney pieces. Also good Kitchen and Offices detached from the House, with Lodging over the same for servants.

Vaults and light Cellars under the Whole Building. A neat Garden, walled round, and planted with Fruit Trees.

N.B. The Walls of the House are of sufficient strength to support another Floor, at a small expence, if wanted.

For further Particulars enquire of the Reverend Mr. Barnouin, at Southampton.

September 28 1778 - No. 319

To be SOLD by AUCTION, by T. ELDRIDGE, On the Premises, on Tuesday the 6th of October, 1779, and the following days (Household goods)...

On the first day's sale, between 11 and 12 o'Clock, will be out up to auction (if not disposed of before by private contract) All that large and commodious FREEHOLD DWELLING-HOUSE, and its appurtenances, late in the Occupation (deceased) of the said Robert Sadleir Esq.; very advantageously situated in the broadest part of the High Street, being in front 30 feet 4 inches, and having the peculiar advantage of extending to the back street, (called French Street) where it is 45 feet and a half wide. The House consists of exceeding good Cellars, three Parlours, a large Hall, a small Housekeeper's Room, a Kitchen, Wash-House, Pantries etc. On the First Floor are three good Bedchambers, one small Chamber or Store Room, and a very convenient Laundry. On the Upper Floor are five Chambers, of inferior sort. In most of the Rooms are good Closets; on part of the garden at a proper distance from the house are sheds for coals, bottles &c. and a large Coachhouse giving into French Street, which (at a small expence) may be made a Stable also for four or more Horses. There is a Well and Pump in the Court, and another in the Garden, of excellent water and in plenty.

Part of the Purchase Money may be secured on the Premises, if required.

The House may be seen, by any persons who really incline to become Purchasers, at any time after Monday morning, the 28th September, 1778.

January 25 1779

To be LETT and entered on immediately, a New genteel and very convenient DWELLING-HOUSE; consisting of a Dining-Room 20 feet by 15, Breakfast Parlour, and Dressing Room on the First Floor; a Drawing-Room 23 feet by 15 and a half, and two Bedchambers, on the Second Floor; four Chambers on the Third Floor; and four Bedrooms for servants in the Attic Story - With or Without a Coachhouse, and Stables for three or more Horses - situated in Hanover Buildings, and commanding a pleasant view of the River, and Country round.
Enquire of Mr. Walter Taylor, West Quay.

July 3 1780

To be SOLD by AUCTION, either Entire or in Lots, Dolphin Inn, 11 August, 4 p.m. unless by Private Contract.
A large and convenient Freehold DWELLING-HOUSE, No. 89, well situated at the lower end of the High Street, having a handsome front with iron pallsades. Three good Parlours, large Dining Hall, Butler's Pantry, Drawing Room 20 feet by 18, with a spacious and elegant Staircase leading thereto, exceeding good Cellarage, and several useful Offices; Garden walled in and well planted. Also large Coachhouse and Stabling for six Horses, and good Lofts over the same, with a Yard adjoining and a Granary and several small Outbuildings, which communicate with the Dwelling-House. The Whole containing in length 142 feet and in breadth about 22 feet. Premises front the lower part of French Street, are well situated and are held under Corporation Lease for 40 years renewable fourteen yearly, Quit Rent of 18s and a couple of capons.
Enquire John Mullins, Soton.

July 31 1780

To be LETT or SOLD, All that substantial well-built DWELLING-HOUSE, in the Castle, fronting the High Street. On the Ground Floor, an Entrance Hall, 2 Parlours, Butler's Pantry, Kitchen, Wash-House and other Offices. One pair of Stairs, a large

elegant Drawing-Room and three Bedchambers. On two pair of stairs, four bedchambers. Sundry underground Offices, Vault Cellar, etc. Stabling for six Horses and Coachhouse for 2 Carriages etc. a large Garden Well Planted with Fruit Trees; extensive view of New Forest, Southampton River, Millbrook, Redbridge etc.

Apply Peter Watts, junior, Upholsterer, High Street.

February 3 1800

AN AUCTION on the Premises - No. 56, HIGH STREET
Substantial and well-built DWELLING HOUSE, near the centre of the High Street; fit for the reception of a genteel Family.
Accommodation:

Two large Parlours. Library and Drawing Room. Seven good Bedrooms and two Garrets. Closets and every requisite. Best and Back Staircases. Vaults and good Cellaring. Kitchen, Wash-House and Butler's Pantry, with Larders, Pantries and every Office necessary for a large Family. Large paved Court at the back. Good Garden in high cultivation, well-stocked with Fruit Trees. At the bottom of the Garden, a Pleasure-House, under which is a Way to the Southampton and Salisbury Canal. Convenient for a gentleman in the mercantile line.

November 7 1803

To be SOLD by PRIVATE CONTRACT - A substantial and well-built Brick DWELLING-HOUSE, fitted up in the modern style, and fit for the immediate reception of a genteel Family, being situate in the most desirable and airy part of the High Street; comprising the following rooms &c two Parlours, Drawing and Tea Rooms, Entrance and Staircase, and five Bedrooms; Housekeepers Room, Butler's Pantry, Dressing Room and Water Closet; Kitchen, Wash-House, Scullery, Larder and Pantry; good Vaults and Cellaring under the House; rain-water rank, lead cistern and pump, being all well supplied with soft and hard water; a Garden at

the back of the said Premises.

Further Particulars may be known by applying to Mr. Watts,
Auctioneer, No. 54, Above-Bar Street.

February 13 1804

AN AUCTION on the Premises, No. 9, ABOVE BAR STREET
Valuable Freehold DWELLING HOUSE, with Garden behind, enclosed
with lofty Brick-Wall, at the Bottom of which is a Summer House
and communication with Houndwell Common.

Ground Floor : Entrance Hall, Parlour, Kitchen and Offices.

First Floor : Drawing Room and three Bedchambers.

Second Floor : Two Bedrooms.

Servants' Rooms in the Attic.

Extensive Cellaring.

Situation - Eligible, Airy, Pleasant.

April 30 1810

AUCTION by J. STURDY (unless sold by Private Contract)

No. 7 ALBION PLACE - A Capital Freehold DWELLING HOUSE

Fit for a genteel Family, with immediate possession;

a few yards distance from the High Street.

Delightful view of the New Forest, Redbridge and

adjacent Country.

ADVERTISEMENTS FOR HOUSES :

A Selection to Show Interior Design Features over the Decade
1770 - 1780

1770

Sit : Polygon.

Principal story : drawing room, dining room, common parlour, study, vestibule, two staircases.

Chamber story : five bedchambers (may be subdivided)

Attic : eight bedchambers.

Courtyards on each side of the house, detached offices at end, six stalled stable, double coachhouse, brewhouse + offices.

Garden behind, small parcel of land in front (to be rented for grazing cattle).

Sit : French Street.

2 parlours, study, hall, dining room, 5 bedchambers, 5 garrets, kitchen, pantry, butler's pantry, wash-house, scullery, cellars, vaults, 2 gardens, coachhouse, stables, courtyard.

1771

Sit : East Street.

Parlour and kitchen on ground floor; dining room and 2 chambers lodging rooms over them. Wash-house, garden.

Sit : High Street.

3 Parlours, 10 chambers, entrance hall, servants hall, kitchen, scullery, laundry, butler's pantry, vault, cellars, garden behind, courtyard in front with iron pallisades, coachhouse and stabling.

Sit : Simnel Street.

2 Parlours, dining room, 3 bedchambers, small garden.

1772

Sit : High Street - 155

New stone and bricks, large kitchen underground, pantries etc.
2 parlours, 2 chambers over them, attic story, garrets, wash-
house, cellar, garden.

Sit : High Street.

Kitchen, brewhouse, garden, coachhouse, stable.

Sit : Castle. Fine prospect over the sea and New Forest.

Large and small parlours, hall, another room, kitchen and wash-
house - ground floor.

First floor : drawing room and 3 good lodging rooms,

Outside : 2 gardens, coachhouse and stabling for 3 horses.

Sit : High Street.

Kitchen, brewhouse, garden, coachhouse, stable all behind.

Sit : Orchard Street.

Finished with plaster cornices.

Sit : Simnel Street.

First Floor : 2 parlours, small room and kitchen

Second Floor : 4 good bedchambers.

Third floor : 1 good chamber and 3 garrets.

Closets in most rooms.

O/S wash-house, laundry, stabling and other offices.

Large garden, large cellar.

1773

Sit : Above Bar. Good prospect ...

Entrance Hall, 5 parlours, 11 bedchambers, stove room, butler's
pantry, spacious kitchen on the first floor (over which is a
laundry). Wash-house, brewhouse, excellent cellars, wine vault
double coachhouse and 4 stall stable "and a Building that would
contain 4 more". O/S paved court, walled garden, fruit trees.

Apply Walter Taylor.

Sit : St. Mary's - New built.

3 stories high + vault and cellars under.

4 rooms each storey - viz. 3 parlours and kitchen, dining room and 7 bedchambers. Garden.

Sit : East Street.

3 parlours, 4 chambers, 4 garrets. 30' in front, 66' x 20' Garden behind.

Sit : High Street.

Dining room, 2 parlours, 3 bedchambers, servants bedrooms, vault, cellar, kitchen, wash-house etc. Garden.

Special features : Bow window to one bedchamber + "a most delightful Prospect from almost one end of the Street to the other".

Sit : High Street, near Bargate.

2 rooms and closet on ground and first floors,

3 rooms and closet on second and third floors,

laundry, kitchen, vault, wine cellars, coachhouse for 2 carriages, stabling for 4 horses; Court and walled garden behind.

Sit : High Street, near Gloucester Square.

3 parlours, entrance hall, 4 chambers, garrets, kitchen, pantry, garden and cellars.

Sit : High Street.

2 parlours, 2 kitchens, brewhouse, pantry - on ground floor.

Dining room and 3 bedchambers with closets - on first floor, and a servants room. Bedchamber and closets and 2 servants rooms on the second floor. Cellar and pump.

Sit : Polygon.

Brick. In front upwards of 170'. House = 50' x 45' garden behind of 200' length + offices.

Sit : Near Castle Hill.

Entrance Hall, handsome large parlour, small ditto, china room, kitchen - on ground floor. Drawing room and 3 bedchambers on first floor. 4 Chambers in the attic. Vaults, 2 gardens, coachhouse and stabling for 3 horses.

Sit : Orchard Street.

Brick. New. 4 Bedchambers, dining room, parlour, shop, kitchen and cellar.

Sit : High Street (25)

5 Bedchambers, 4 for servants, dining room fronting the street, kitchen, wash-house, pantries and cellars.

1774

Sit : 17 Butcher Row.

Shop, cellar, kitchen, 4 bedchambers.

Sit : Above Bar.

Brick, vaults, cellars, an exceeding good kitchen, laundry, offices, 4 stalled stable, woodhouse, walled garden.

Sit : French Street.

Brick, 2 parlours, dining room, 3 chambers, 2 garrets, kitchen, wash-house, court, cellar, large vault.

Sit : Above Bar.

3 parlours, 2 halls, kitchen, brewhouse, laundry, cellars, pantry, 4 chambers, 4 garrets. Large Garden + fruit trees, which opens into agreeable fields.

Sit : High Street.

Dining room (will dine 30 people) + a transcendant bow window that commands the High Street from one end to the other, 4 bedchambers, 2 rooms below stairs, butler's pantry, kitchen, servants offices.

Advertisements for Houses

- V -

Sit : 11 Simnel Street.

2 parlours, kitchen, wash-house on first floor.

3 bedchambers and closets on second floor.

3 bedchambers in attic; 2 large cellars.

1775

Sit : Above Bar.

Octagon parlour and dining room over, entrance hall, feature staircase, 4 bedchambers, drawing room, dressing room, 5 garrets, study, housekeepers room, butler's pantry, large parlour fronting the garden, kitchen, servants hall, larders and other offices, 2 cellars, vaults, coachhouses and stabling for 6 horses, large yard, pleasure garden, kitchen garden.

Sit : Simnel Street.

Brick. 21' in front, 142' in depth. 2 Parlours, kitchen, wash-house, dining room, 7 bedchambers, 2 garrets, garden.

Sit : Castle Lane. (Built by Grantham Knight)

Ground floor : parlour, kitchen, shop, wash-house, pantry, coachhouse.

Upstairs : 3 bedchambers, closet, garret.

Garden : 55' x 83' x 51' x 36'.

Sit : High Street.

Mansion - dining parlour, drawing room, butler's pantry, kitchen, office on ground floor. Mahogany staircase.

First floor - 4 bedchambers.

Second floor - 4 bedchambers, most with closets.

Over kitchen - laundry and servants rooms (back staircase) stables for 6 horses, large coachhouse. Garden running back to the Town Walls - about 2 acres plus view of sea etc.

Sit : Orchard Street.

New. Brick. Parlour, 2 chambers, 2 garrets, kitchen, wash-house, Currier's shop and loft, stable.

Sit : Above Bar.

Four rooms to a floor. Walled garden, river views.

Sit : Polygon.

Ground floor - kitchen, parlour

First floor - dining parlour, drawing room, china closet.

Second floor - 2 bedchambers.

Attic - 2 square bedchambers.

Cellars, walled garden, stable yard. Stable and coachhouse if required.

1776

Sit : French Street.

2 Parlours, kitchen, cellar, 2 bedchambers, 2 garrets, small garden.

Sit : 148 High Street.

2 Parlours, a drawing room, 7 bedchambers, 5 rooms for servants, 2 kitchens, servants hall, wash-house, 3 cellars, walled garden.

Sit : High Street.

2 Parlours, study, kitchen, scullery, wash-house and other outhouses. 8 Bedchambers, garden and summerhouse..

Sit : High Street

2 Brick houses each : shop, parlour, dining room, 4 bedchambers 2 garrets, kitchen, wash-house, courtyard, small garden.

Sit : 2 Fronting Broad Lane and 2 Fronting the High Street (all are adjoining).

4 houses each : brick and sashed fronts, 3 rooms on a floor, vaults, cellars, wash-house and garden.

Also 1 house adjoining + 2 rooms on a floor, kitchen, brewhouse, cellars, walled garden.

Advertisements for Houses

1777

Sit : French Street.

Parlour, 2 bedchambers, servants room, kitchen.

Sit : High Street.

Ground floor : 3 Parlours, dining room,

First floor : Dining room, 3 bedchambers, closet,

Second Floor : bedchamber, several bedrooms for servants in attic.

Kitchen, brewhouse, wash-house, cellars, wine vault, small garden, 5 stall stable, coachhouse, granary and other out-buildings.

1778

Sit : St. Mary's.

Brick. Roomy entrance and staircase. 2 Parlours, house-keeper's room, servants hall, kitchen, pantry, pump, 3 cellars, drawing room, dressing or card room, 2 bedchambers; attic: 4 bedchambers. Coachhouse for 2 carriages, stable for 4 horses, back entrance for servants. Sea views.

Sit : High Street.

3 Parlours, entrance hall, noble staircase, paved court and iron pallisades. 5 Bedchambers on First floor, 6 on the Second, leaded flat roof, sea views. Office includes servants hall, kitchen, larder, cellar, servants bedchambers, small walled garden.

Sit : Polygon.

4 Rooms to a floor, 4 stories high (can be altered to liking of tenant). Coachhouse and stabling to be added.

+ Adjoining house + same number of rooms. Either of the houses will be made larger or smaller viz houses 5, 4, 3, 2 rooms on a floor. Acre of ground to each house.

Advertisements for Houses

- VIII -

Sit : High Street.

Ground floor - 2 Parlours.

First floor - Drawing room, bedchamber.

Attic - 3 Bedchambers and dressing room.

Marble chimney pieces. Kitchen and offices detached from house, with servants room over. Vaults and cellars. Walled garden. Another floor could be added.

Sit : High Street.

Drawing room. 2 Parlours. Number of bedchambers and lodging rooms, kitchen, wine vault and cellars.

Sit : High Street - Adjoining Above.

Shop, dining room, parlour, several bedchambers, kitchen, wash-house, courtyard, back buildings, garden, wine vault.

Sit : High Street.

2 Parlours, drawing room, 4 bedchambers, dressing room, 5 servants bedrooms, servants hall, kitchen, wash-house, cellar, wine vault, walled garden with pleasure house and sea views.

Sit : Hanover Buildings.

Dining room, breakfast parlour, dressing room, on First floor.

Drawing room and 2 bedchambers on Second floor.

4 chambers on the Third floor.

4 Bedrooms for servants in Attic.

With or without coachhouse and stable for 3 horses (or more).

River view.

1780

Source : Salisbury Journal; Hampshire Chronicle.

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