

## THE STRATFIRE PROJECT

### No. 22 Chapel Street, Stratford-upon-Avon (Nash's House)

#### Documentary History (version 30.5.2024)

1. Surviving title deeds for the ownership of the site of No. 22 Chapel St do not begin until 1699 and an interpretation of the building's earlier history therefore depends on probate copies of wills, together with inferences gleaned from other surviving records. It is known today as Nash's House due to its ownership by Thomas Nash, from c. 1635 to 1647, and then his wife Elizabeth, from 1647 to-70, but is hereafter referred to simply as No. 22.
2. The earliest evidence of a building on the site dates from December 1545 when, as a tenement of William Phillips, it is described as a southerly abuttal to a tenement of the Guild of the Holy Cross (now No. 21 Chapel St) (BRT 1/2/608). In February 1563, the property again occurs as an abuttal, this time to New Place (to the south) and is described then as the tenement late of Thomas Phillips, in the tenure of Richard Wagstaff (Folger, Zc.36.100: copy at PR 79/2). With others, Wagstaff had been fined in 1561 for leaving muck outside the nearby Guild Chapel (*Minutes and Accounts*, i, p. 115).
3. At least three (if not four) members of the Phillips family were prominent members of the earlier Guild of the Holy Cross. The first was William Phillips, recruited in 1489/90, appointed proctor 1492, elected an alderman in 1498/9 and serving as master three times between 1504 and 1507 (*Guild Register*, p. 345, 352, 372, 471). He may have died in 1523 (*Guild Register*, 438). Thomas, perhaps his son, was proctor in 1521-2, was elected an alderman in 1524, and served as master in 1536/7 (*Guild Register*, pp. 433, 439, 472). What would appear to be a second William as an alderman from 1525 and may have been settled at No. 22 Chapel St in 1545 (Gild Register, p. 439; Para 2). There may also have been a second Richard who succeeded to No. 22 Chapel St (Para. 2). Later, in 1553, this Thomas was appointed a founding alderman of the Stratford Corporation (*Minutes and Accounts*, i, 6). He married Margaret, daughter of Thomas Dixon alias Waterman, the landlord of the Swan in Bridge St (*Stratford Inventories*, i, pp. 13, 219).
4. Thomas died late in 1556 leaving his entire estate to his two under-age daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, suggesting he was still fairly young. The will is badly damaged but the bequest was apparently subject only to the life interest of his wife Margaret in the jointure settled on her for life: 'I geve and be queth to to Marye Phyllpes & Elizabeth Phyllyppes my daygh[ters.....] wholly my wyfys joyntur resereved durying her naturale lyfe which have geve [.....] her lyfe to remayne to my ii chylderne (*Stratford Wills*, i, No. 37). Of Mary nothing further is known, but in January 1580 Elizabeth married Richard Quiney (*Marriages*, 9).
5. In the Inquisition Post Mortem of Ambrose earl of Warwick held in 1590, some thirteen chief rents across the town are listed as due from Richard Quiney in right of his wife (i.e. Elizabeth née Phillips). The survey is divided topographically by ward and one of these wards includes a row of properties clearly relating to the east side of Chapel St. It begins with an entry for William Underhill's New Place followed by one of these Quiney rents, due from property Quiney had inherited on his marriage to Phillips's daughter. Next in the sequence were two belonging to the Stratford Corporation which can be identified as today's Nos. 21 and 20 Chapel St (*Minutes and Accounts*, iv, 100-1; below, table in Para. 15).
6. Quite when Richard, through his wife Elizabeth, had inherited these properties, including No. 22 Chapel St, is currently uncertain as, under Thomas Phillips's will, the jointure settled on his wife Margaret may have given her a life interest in at least part of his estate. Margaret quickly took as a second husband Edward Walford of Evenlode whom she married in January 1557 (Gray,

*Shakespeare's Marriage*, 224). The date of her death has not yet been established but it would seem from the evidence of the 1590 Inquisition Post Mortem (Para. 5) that it had probably occurred by then.

7. Documentary evidence establishes that by 1624 the ownership of the building on the site of No. 22 had passed from the Quiney family to William Walford (Para. 10), descended from Edward Walford, the second husband of Margaret, Richard Quiney's mother.
8. Prior to this transfer of the property, there is evidence to indicate that this William Walford had occupied it as a tenant of the Quineys. On one occasion, c. December 1598, Richard Quiney had reminded himself in a note that he must write to his 'cousin' William Walford (ER 3/677), presumably in reply to one of two letters from Walford to Quiney in December of that year, in one of which he signs himself 'Willy Walford' (BRU 15/1/116-17).
9. On 29 October 1598, in a letter from Adrian Quiney to his son Richard, it is evident that the Quineys were thinking of selling 'Walford's house' (BRU 15/133). However, no transfer of the freehold took place at that point. Instead, Elizabeth, Richard Quiney's wife, had apparently persuaded her husband to sell a different property: or, as Adrian put it in his letter, 'for that your wife is not willing to sell William Walford's house but willing to sell the barn in Pages occupying'. Elizabeth's interest, of course, was derived from her father's will in which she had been made co-heir of the Phillips estate (Paras 4-5).
10. Later, however, a sale did take place, and to the 'sitting tenant', for in his will of 1624, William Walford, by now evidently in possession of the freehold, bequeathed it, then occupied by Henry Norman, to his son Richard Walford (*Stratford Wills*, i, pp. 352-3). In a parish levy, included in the churchwardens' accounts presented on 7 April 1618, Norman had been rated as liable to a charge of three shillings for a house in Chapel St ward, almost certainly the same house. Norman's entry in the levy is followed by one for John Hall, by then in the occupation of New Place next door, and the one before by the occupant of No. 21, Julius Shaw (*Vestry Minute Book*, p.3).
11. It is relevant to note here that Henry Norman was probably William Walford's brother-in-law. Walford had apparently taken as a second wife Ann daughter of William Ainge, a yeoman of Bishopton. In his will of 1619, Ainge included bequests to his married daughters Joan Norman and Ann Walford, and requested that 'William Walford and Henrie Norman my sonnes in law to be the overseers thereof' (*Stratford Wills*, i, No. 169). A record of the Walford/Ainge marriage has yet to be traced but a marriage of Joan Ainge took place at Wootton Wawen on 24 June 1608 to Henry Normansell (Cooper, *Wootton Wawen: its history and records*, 82). Given that by 1642 Nash's house was in the occupation of Henry Norman's widow (Para. 14), it therefore seems very likely that Walford had acquired the freehold by at least April 1618 and that he had let it to his brother-in-law Henry Norman by that date (Para. 10).
12. This raises the issue of the date of No. 22, or at least the front portion of it, which has been established by dendrochronology to have been built from timbers felled over the winter of 1617/18. This might still have provided time for its construction by April 1618, when Norman appears in the church levy. Alternatively, he may already have been in occupation of the property substantially rebuilt over the winter of 1617/18. At whose expense this new work was done is uncertain. Walford is known to have been involved in several building operations at the time at Nos 17/18 and Nos 19-21 High St, the Falcon Hotel and the Five Gables (now part of the Shakespeare Hotel). Work on No. 22 would therefore have been another. Surviving documentation of Henry Norman's presence in the town has not been traced before 1613 though he was in that year appointed one of the constables (*Minutes and Accounts*, vii, p. 289),

so a man of some means. However, he seems an unlikely candidate for bearing the costs unless Walford had granted him a generous rebuilding lease.

13. Under William Walford's will of 1624, the house, in Norman's tenure, passed to his son Richard Walford (Para. 10), duly described in November 1626 as his as the southerly abuttal of what is now No. 21 Chapel St (BRU 8/4/19). Richard died in 1635, apparently intestate (*Burials*, 127).
14. The property next features in the will of Thomas Nash, dated August 1642 (though he died five years later). Amongst other freehold property, he bequeathed it, as a house in the tenure of Joan Norman, Henry Norman's widow (Para. 11), to Elizabeth his wife (née Hall, Shakespeare's grand-daughter) for life, with remainder to his cousin, Edward Nash (*Stratford Wills*, i, No. 240).
15. How Nash had acquired the property is currently unclear but presumably he had bought it from Richard Walford or his family at some time after November 1626 (Para. 13). This is at odds with the evidence of a surviving chief rental of May 1637 which lists the tenants on this side of the street in the order given in the table below (Kent Archive Centre, U269/E249/5). This is here set against a run of entries in the Inquisition Post Mortem of 1590 (Para. 5). Given that other documents confirm these identifications, there is a remarkable consistency for all but the first three entries in the 1590 list.

House	1590		1637	Rent
New Place (No. 23)	William Underhill	12d.	Mrs Susanna Hall	2s.8d.
Chapel Lane barn	William Underhill	8d.		
No. 22	Richard Quiney	6d.		
No. 21	Corporation	6d.	John Bromley (Corporation)	6d.
No. 20	Corporation	6d.	Henry Tomlins (Corporation)	6d.
No. 19	Roger Bold	6d.	John Nason	6d.
Five Gables	Late College	12d.	John Loach	1s.
Four Gables	Thomas Reynolds	12d.	Thomas Taylor	1s.

16. However, a case can be made that these first three entries in the 1590 list correspond to a single combined holding in the 1637 list, in the tenure of Susanna Hall. She was the daughter of William Shakespeare who had bought New Place from William Underhill, holding it in 1590 for a chief rent of 12d. With New Place was a barn running back down Chapel Lane, rated in 1590 at 8d. However, as there is no corresponding entry in 1637 for the Quiney property from which in 1590 a rent of 6d. was due, it could be that Nos 22 and 23 (New Place) had been mistakenly combined in 1637 under the name of Susanna Hall, Shakespeare's daughter and widow of John Hall, whereas the 6d. was due from Thomas Nash in his own right (Para. 14). He had married Susanna's daughter Elizabeth in April 1626 and had taken up residence at New Place, perhaps after the death of Susanna's husband, John Hall, in November 1635. With both properties thought to be in single ownership, the compiler of the 1637 rental might then simply have made an error. The alternative would be that Susanna Hall would have had to buy No. 22 from Richard Walford after 1624 (Para. 14) and then convey it to Nash between May 1637 (the date of the chief rental) and August 1642 when Nash made his will.
17. Thereafter the descent of the property is clearer. Elizabeth, wife of Thomas Nash, lived until 1670 when, under the terms of her late husband's will, the property descended to his cousin, Edward Nash. Edward died in 1678/9 and, by an arrangement by his trustees the house was settled on his grand-daughter Jane, daughter of Mary Nash married to Reginald Forster. Jane married Franklyn Miller, who in 1699 sold the house in Chapel Street to Hugh Clopton, in trust for his son Edward Clopton (below, Para. 18, i). (Halliwell, *An Historical Account of the New Place*, London, 1864, p. 45)

18. The following deeds bring the story down to conveyance of the property to J.O. Halliwell in 1862. Nos i-viii are fully transcribed, and the later ones abstracted, in Halliwell's *New Place*.
- i) 20 May 1699: conveyance from Franklyn Miller and Jane (née Nash) his wife to Hugh Clopton: occupant, his eldest son Edward Clopton (Halliwell, 46-50).
  - ii) 23 October 1699: declaration by Hugh Clopton that the conveyance of 20 May 1699 had been made to him in trust for his son Edward Clopton (Halliwell, 50-1).
  - iii) 28 January 1705: articles of agreement for sale by Edward Clopton to Aston Ingram who had married Edward's sister Barbara: occupant, Edward Clopton (Halliwell, 56-7).
  - iv) 22 March 1705: conveyance by Hugh and Edward Clopton to Aston Ingram: occupant, Edward Clopton (Halliwell, 51-5).
  - v) December 1710: will of Aston Ingram (proved 15 January 1711) bequeathing his house in Chapel Street (occupant, Robert Fawdon) to his wife Barbara, subject to payments to his younger sons John and Edward Ingram (Halliwell, 58-9).
  - vi) 21 March 1729: conveyance from Barbara Ingram to Frances Rose, widow (Halliwell, 60-5).
  - vii) 24 March 1729: release from John and Edward Ingram of any claim on the property (Halliwell, 65-7).
  - viii) 2 November 1738: conveyance from Frances Rose to Philip Hatton, a Stratford mercer: occupant, Frances Rose (Halliwell, 68-71).
  - ix) 28 February 1740: will of Philip Hatton, with bequest of his house in Chapel Street to his wife Grace for life with remainder in severalty to his two sons, Philip and Joseph, and his son-in-law, Thomas Mortiboys (TR 46/2/54).
  - x) July 1760: conveyance by Philip Hatton to Thomas Mortiboys of a two-thirds share in the property (having inherited a third share by bequest of his brother Joseph in 1745) thereby making Mortiboys sole owner (TR 46/2/55-6).
  - xi) 1779: will of Thomas Mortiboys whereby he devised the property to his daughter Susanna Mortiboys (DR 295/1). On her death it then passed to her sister, Fanny Mortiboys, as her heir at law.
  - xii) March 1785: conveyance from Fanny Mortiboys to Charles Henry Hunt: occupant, Reverend Edmund Rawlins (TR 46/2/52).
  - xiii) May 1807: conveyance from Charles Henry Hunt and others to Edmund Battersbee and William George Morris, bankers: occupant, William Morris (TR 46/2/58-60).
  - xiv) Jan 1827: conveyance from the assigns in bankruptcy of George Morris to Miss Lucy Smith of Coventry (TR 46/2/68-9).
  - xv) February 1835: death of Lucy Smith.
  - xvi) January 1836: conveyance by the trustees of Lucy Smith to David Rice, surgeon (TR 46/2/73-4).
  - xvii) 1860: death of David Rice.
  - xviii) March 1861: conveyance from the surviving mortgagee of David Rice to James O. Halliwell (TR 46/2/88).
18. With reference to the physical appearance of the property, it remains to consider the two, if not three, re-frontings which took place in the 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. No reliable drawing or engraving survives until the 1830s but the appearance of the house before that date may survive in an early 1820s water colour by James Saunders (**Fig.1**). It shows Nash's House as the last house in a general view of the east side of Chapel Street. This distant prospect depicts a two-storey building with two dormers set back from the eaves line and very possibly with a simple brick facade representing an initial re-fronting.
19. However, later in the century this frontage was replaced with a grander three-storey one with a stuccoed finish complete with a porch projecting out onto the pavement, shown on the Board of Health plan of 1851 (**Fig. 2**). In the 1820s or '30s the licensee of the Shakespeare Hotel,

issued an advertising card showing not only his improved premises but a prospect, at the end of the street, of Nash's house with its new frontage (**Fig. 3**). David Rice, a wealthy surgeon, who bought the house in 1836 may have been responsible for this upgrading. Later photographs, specifically of the building, provide more details as to its appearance (e.g. **Fig. 4**). In his *Historical Account of New Place*, Halliwell included a drawing by John Blight of the rear of the premises bordering on the Great Garden (**Fig. 5**).

20. However, within sixty or seventy years, it was thought that the exterior view of the building, by then owned by the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, should match the timber frame which had survived internally. In 1911/12 the stuccoed frontage was therefore removed and replaced by the present timber-framed one. Good building plans survive to show the extent of the alterations, drawn up by local architects Osborn, Pemberton and White of 20 Henley Street (BRR 49/1/407). These retain some evidence of the previous appearance of the building.

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Fig. 1: James Saunders' view, early 1820s, of the east side of Chapel St with a distant prospect of No. 22 as the final house in the street.



Fig 2: extract from the Board of Health plan, 1851



Fig 3: Advertising card, 1820s, showing Nash's House with its new frontage, at the end of the street



Fig. 4: Nash's House, c. 1910

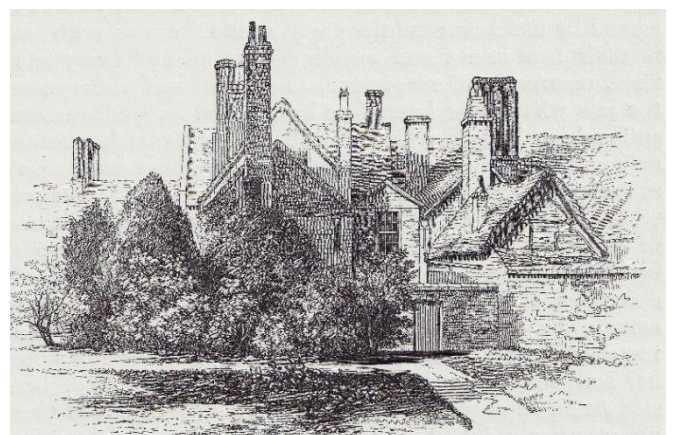


Fig. 5: Nash's House from the New Place Great Garden (Halliwell, *Historical Account of New Place*, 1864, p. 56)