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THE TOWNESENDS OF OXFORD: A FIRM OF GEORGIAN MASTER-MASONS AND ITS ACCOUNTS

HOWARD COLVIN

The place of the Townesends in Oxford's architectural history has been well-known since 1945, when W.G. Hiscock, the assistant librarian of Christ Church, published an article about them in the *Architectural Review*.[1] Though over anxious to see William Townesend as Hawksmoor's equal as an architectural designer, Hiscock established his importance as the great mason-contractor of Georgian Oxford, and, rather less clearly, as the architectural understudy of Dean Aldrich and Dr George Clarke. More came to light in the University volume of the *Victoria County History*, published in 1954, and the state of knowledge about the Townesends and their work was summarised in the successive editions of my *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600–1840*, first published in the same year. More recently David Sturdy has prefaced his study of the firm of Knowles,[2] who took over the Townesends' business in 1797, with an account of the latter which has the great merit of treating them primarily as builders rather than attempting, like Hiscock, to emphasise their role as architects. Architects, of course, they were from time to time, but building was their livelihood, and it was as mason-contractors that they made their fortunes during the great Oxford building boom of the early eighteenth century, in the course of which they were engaged in major works at twelve of the nineteen colleges then in existence, besides being joint mason-contractors for the Radcliffe Library and at Blenheim Palace, where they built the Kitchen Court.

Up to 1797, when the Knowles accounts start, what we know about the firm has hitherto been derived almost entirely from the archives of the Oxford colleges who were their principal clients, plus those of the Radcliffe Trustees and the first Duke of Marlborough.[3] At Cambridge too it is the college archives which reveal the Grumbolds as the leading builder-architects there from about 1625 until Robert Grumbold's death in 1720.[4] Elsewhere the records of government offices, municipal and ecclesiastical corporations and the aristocracy have provided most of the information that we have about the other great English master-builders of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, such as the Strongs of Taynton, the Bastards of Blandford, the Smiths of Warwick, the Fitchs of London, the Patys of Bristol. The only major family of Georgian builders whose own papers were known to have survived into the twentieth century were the Staffordshire Trubshaws, but theirs were unhappily dispersed in the 1940s, and only a few stray fragments of them have since come to light.[5]

A careful reader of Hiscock's article of 1945 might, however, have noticed that in modestly disclaiming any finality in his discoveries, he excused the 'shortcomings' of his paper by 'the present inaccessibility of certain archives and drawings'. The drawings were evidently those in Dr George Clarke's collection at Worcester College, where he may well have found the Librarian, Col Wilkinson, not as helpful in giving access to them as I and others were to find Wilkinson's successor Richard Sayce. As for the 'archives', there is reason to think that they were the Townesend family papers, of whose existence he became aware, though he never saw them. A substantial body of Townesend papers had, in fact, survived in the

possession of a family connected with the Townesends by marriage. Geoffrey Webb was given access to them in 1927, when he was editing Vanbrugh's letters, but found little in them to his purpose,[6] and since then no other architectural historian has seen them.

Essentially the collection, which is still in private hands,[7] consists of accounts. There are no drawings, letters or contracts. There is one pocket-book which contains a few jottings by John Townesend (1648–1728) in connection with a visit to London; there is a notebook that records that the same John Townesend has disclaimed any privilege as a member of the Oxford society of masons; and there are some papers relating to the executorship of William Ives (d.1764), an Oxford mercer whose wife was a Townesend. All the rest are accounts of one sort or another kept by John Townesend, his elder son William (1676–1739), his younger son George (1681–1719), and his grandson John (1709–1746). Of these there are some 20 volumes, extending in date from 1687 to 1746. Four of them are 'Day Books', which record miscellaneous jobs currently in hand. One of these was kept by John Townesend for the years 1693–1708, the other three by William for the years 1712–14, 1717–18 and 1721–25, those for the intermediate years being lost. Nearly all the other accounts belong to major undertakings such as Queen's College Library (1692–94), the Fellows' Building at Corpus Christi College (1706), Peckwater Quadrangle at Christ Church (1707–8), the Robinson building at Oriel (1718), and the Kitchen Court at Blenheim (1719–20). There are two accounts relating to stone from the Headington quarries, and several for the Radcliffe Library, which mostly duplicate the accounts kept by the Radcliffe Trustees, published by the Oxford Historical Society in 1958.[8] Some of these accounts are neither very neatly nor very systematically kept, both ends of the book being often used in a somewhat confusing manner not uncommon in the eighteenth century.

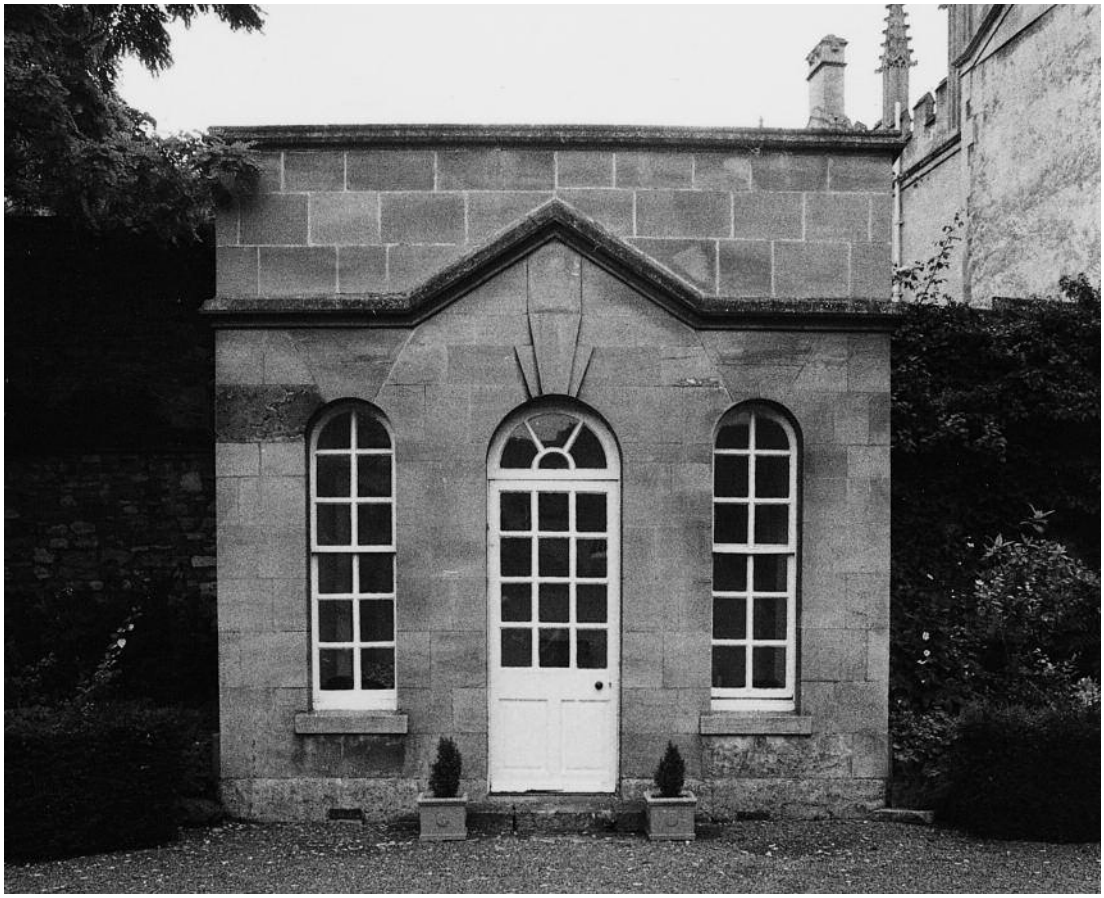
The accounts throw no light on the business relationship between John and his son and successor William. William had been apprenticed to his father in 1693,[9] and was still working under him at Exeter College in 1702–03,[10] but by 1706–07 he was undertaking substantial works at Corpus and Christ Church while his father was engaged at Blenheim, and he appears thereafter to have been running an independent business. John's engagement at Blenheim came to an end in 1711,[11] but he was still sufficiently active to take his last apprentice in 1714 at the age of 66,[12] and to serve as Mayor of Oxford in 1720–21. One account book bears the name of John's younger son George, who established himself at Bristol, but it is concerned exclusively with minor work done in Oxford early in his career.

From business records of this sort very little information of a personal kind can be expected to emerge. The costs incurred by John Townesend on his election as an Alderman of Oxford in 1699, and entered in his day-book, are perhaps worth noting: they amounted to £6 4s. 8d., and included payments to the 'the ringers', 'the musek' and 'the masebarer' and 14s. 'for a Gowne'. His term of office as Mayor in 1720–21 involved further expenditure on a traditional 'venison feast' and other customary obligations. There is, however, an intriguing entry in John Townesend's day-book that indicates that as a young man his son William went abroad to France: 'Recd. of Mr. Stevens for picktuer that Will wass to buie in France £2 8s. 6d.'[13] The entry is not dated but the journey is likely to have taken place after the Peace of Ryswick in September 1697 and before the outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession in 1701/2, by which time William was in any case back in Oxford working at Exeter College. Now in March 1699 Edward, son of Edward Strong, one of the chief master-masons engaged in building St Paul's Cathedral and an Oxfordshire quarry-owner well-known to the Townesends, was in France at the start of a continental tour with Sir Christopher Wren's son Christopher.[14] Then aged 22, Strong was William Townesend's exact contemporary, and it seems highly likely that in sending his own son to France, John Townesend was following the elder Strong's

example: indeed, it is conceivable that William may have accompanied the other two young men for part of their journey. What he saw or did in France we do not know. Bearing in mind the distinction made in the Queen's College accounts between John Townesend the mason ('Lapicida Townesend') and his architect son William ('Architectus Townesend'),[15] we may perhaps suppose that the visit played some part in the latter's education as an architect. The purchase of a picture does at least suggest that in France he had contacts with artists.

Most of the accounts relate to buildings with which the name of Townesend is already associated, and in Oxford itself they add only very minor works to the established list: summerhouses at Corpus (1702), Christ Church (1712–14) and New College (1722), of which only the last survives (Fig. 1)[16]; and the delightful hood over the door of the Principal's Lodgings at Jesus, made by John Townesend himself in 1698 (Fig. 2.).[17] To the vexed question of the authorship of the design of such buildings as Queen's College Library and the Fellows' Building at Corpus,

Fig. 1. Summerhouse in Warden's garden at New College, Oxford, built by William Townesend in 1722. *Howard Colvin.*



the Townesend papers contribute very little. Not once are the names of Aldrich, Clarke or Hawksmoor mentioned, and that of Vanbrugh only in a note to the effect that at Blenheim the funnels of the chimneys in the Kitchen Court were to be 'considered by Mr. Vanbrook for pargeting'.[18] To the making of architectural designs by the Townesends themselves there are very few references,[19] but it is of interest that in his accounts for building Queen's College Library, John Townesend should have charged £2 'for a ground plot of the Colleg as it now is' (December 1691), and £1 'for a ground plot of the Colleg if new modaled', a reminder that the idea of a general rebuilding of the college was in the air some time before it became a reality in the early years of the eighteenth century.[20] In connection with the same job John Townesend charged £2 for two journeys to London, and in August 1692 (by which time the building was in progress), £1 15s. 'for a Jorny to Cambridg'. It is idle to speculate about Townesend's purpose in visiting London, but his trip to Cambridge must surely have been to inspect Wren's recently completed Library at Trinity College, the grandest building of its kind in England, and one which (as Celia Fiennes was to note) was in some sense the model for the one at Queen's.[21]

Outside Oxford there are a few buildings which can be given to the Townesends for the first time on the evidence of their accounts. Only two of these are of any consequence: Compton Beauchamp House in Berkshire and Cirencester Park in Gloucestershire. Both have in fact been tentatively attributed to the Townesends in the past on stylistic grounds, Cirencester by Christopher Hussey in a *Country Life*

Fig. 2. Stone hood over the door of the Principal's lodgings at Jesus College, Oxford, carved by John Townesend, 1698. *Howard Colvin.*

Fig. 3. Compton Beauchamp House, Berkshire, the north front built in 1707–08 under the direction of John Townesend. *Howard Colvin.*

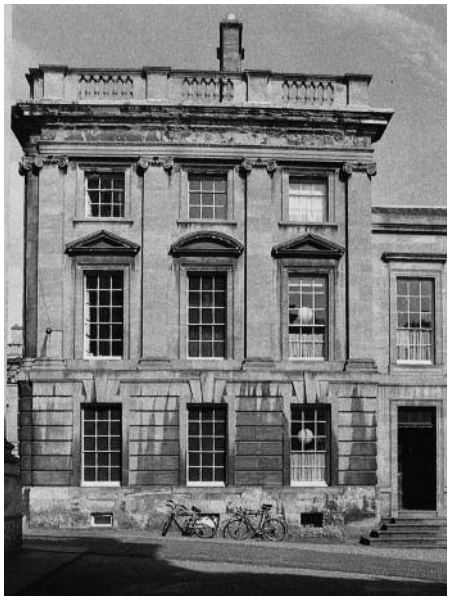


Fig. 4. Christ Church, Oxford, the south-east return of the Peckwater Quadrangle, built in 1707–14 by William Townesend to the design of Dean Aldrich. *Howard Colvin.*

article of 1950, and Compton Beauchamp by myself on the occasion of a visit by the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society in the 1960s.

Compton Beauchamp is a moated manor-house built round a small courtyard.[22] Brickwork of Tudor or Jacobean character is visible in several places, but the entrance-front was rebuilt in stone in 1707–08 by its owner, Edward Richards. The general resemblance of the front to the eastern of the two end elevations of the Peckwater Quadrangle, then under construction at Christ Church, is obvious, but the order is different, Ionic at Christ Church, Doric at Compton Beauchamp (Figs. 3 & 4). Peckwater was of course built by William Townesend to the designs of Dean Aldrich. The new front of Compton Beauchamp was built by a Gloucestershire mason called Nathaniel Newman[23] under the direction of William's father John. Between March 1707 and May 1708 John Townesend made over 50 journeys on business concerning Compton Beauchamp, many in visiting the site, others in arranging for the transport of timber, lead and glass.[24] The carpenter was his son-in-law Jeremiah Franklin. The total cost is not recorded as the mason was evidently paid direct by the owner. Townesend's accounts make no reference to drawings for Compton Beauchamp. If he did not make them, were they provided by his son, or by Aldrich himself? The owner, Edward Richards, was a gentleman commoner of Exeter College, where he took a B.C.L. in 1699, and when he died in 1729 he bequeathed to the college library 'a choice collection of Greek and Latin authors.'[25] He may well have been acquainted with Aldrich, and he would certainly have known the Townesends, for in 1700 he had given £50 towards the cost of the new Turl Street front of Exeter, which they built.[26] His arms appear in the vault of the gateway among those of the other principal subscribers. Even if the drawing was made by John or William Townesend, it could have been submitted to Aldrich for his approval. At any rate the front of Compton Beauchamp can be added to the very small number of buildings erected under Aldrich's influence if not actually designed by him.

Cirencester House was the seat of Allen, 1st Lord Bathurst, a Tory nobleman celebrated for the great landscape park which he created to the west of his house. Much less notable was the reconstruction of the Jacobean mansion which he had inherited in 1704. Its projecting wings were demolished and the main block was refronted in a vernacular classical style which, as Christopher Hussey pointed out, showed a certain 'resemblance to some Oxford college blocks', particularly at Queen's College, 'which was about then being erected … It is not inconceivable [he wrote] that Lord Bathurst may have gone to Oxford for a builder such as Townesend'.[27] A large bundle among the Townesend papers shows that he was quite right, and that the remodelling took place under William Townesend's direction between 1725 and 1727. Hitherto it has been thought, on the strength of a reference in Bathurst's correspondence to 'the noise of saw and hammer', that the reconstruction of the house had taken place a decade earlier.[28] However a mass of bills and accounts for masonry, carpentry and other trades, with references to 'altering and raising the walls of the House', 'taking downe the front wall att the top and making it fit to set upon', 'clearing out Rubbish occasioned by raising the floors of the Hall and pulling down other parts of the House, moving the old wainscot out of the hall', etc., makes it quite clear that it was in 1725–27 that the old house was reconstructed at a cost in masonry alone of some £2,000. So when, in May 1722, Bathurst's friend Alexander Pope wrote enthusiastically of 'the Palace that is to be built, the Pavilions that are to glitter, the Colonnades that are to adorn them',[29] he was presumably thinking (not, as hitherto supposed) of a pavilion in the woods, but of the new house which Bathurst was then contemplating. The reality was much less architecturally striking than Pope's vision (Fig. 5), and a subsequent remodelling of the house by Smirke in the early nineteenth century has merely substituted a bland neoclassical simplicity for Townesend's tame baroque.[30] No doubt it was the

decision to remodel the old house rather than to build an entirely new one that induced Bathurst to employ an Oxford master-builder rather than an architect from the Burlington circle frequented by Pope. He was probably unaware that in 1697, when he was only 13, the elder Townesend had been employed to design and build some gatepiers and a summerhouse at Cirencester Abbey, the seat of the Bathursts' neighbour Thomas Master.[31] But as a member of Trinity College, where he had matriculated in 1700,[32] he may well have seen some of the buildings in Oxford for which the Townesends had more recently been responsible.

These, and a few other minor jobs,[33] are all that the account-books yield in terms of newly identified architectural works. They confirm that in the first half of the eighteenth century the Townesends' business was overwhelmingly in Oxford and its immediate neighbourhood. Most of their commissions further afield were due to Oxford connections. The owner of Compton Beauchamp, as we have seen, was a gentleman commoner of Exeter; the rector of Middleton Cheney in Northamptonshire, whose house John Townesend altered in 1700, was the Principal of Brasenose.[34] The employment of the firm to carry out repairs at Winchester College in 1727–29 and 1741[35] must have been due to the link with New College, and it was the patronage of other Oxford colleges that led to William altering one farmhouse in Wiltshire in 1723–24 and designing another one in the Isle of Wight in 1737.[36]

But it is as the working records of a major firm of late Stuart and Georgian master-builders that the Townesend papers are uniquely valuable. They would repay analysis in strictly economic terms: wage-rates, work-forces, prices of materials, transport, and so forth. This is a task for some future economic historian working in the tradition of Knoop and Jones.[37] What I propose to discuss here are aspects of the Townesends' business that are important from the point of view of an architectural historian: their stake in the Headington quarries; their involvement in the maintenance of Oxford colleges; their contractual arrangements; and their profits as master-builders.

The documentary history of the Headington quarries on the north-eastern outskirts of Oxford begins in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, with the use of Headington stone for building at New College in the 1390s and at All Souls in *c.*1440.[38] In 1479, William Orchard, master of the works at Magdalen College, undertook to provide stone for building Eton College both from 'his great quarry that he farmeth of the king in the parish of Headington' and from his other quarry then 'pertaining unto his college'.[39] Orchard died in 1504 and in 1513 his son John sold the Magdalen quarry, having first 'called all the … men working in divers men's quarries together' to inform them of the transaction.[40] So in the early sixteenth century there were several quarries, and more were evidently opened as stone was required for different buildings. At the beginning of Elizabeth's reign the court rolls show that nine different colleges were in possession of quarries at Headington.[41] These would presumably have been for their own use rather than for commercial exploitation, but at the end of the seventeenth century, when stone was being procured from many sources for use at St Paul's Cathedral, the Headington quarries provided their quota. Two firms were involved, one headed by the Oxford master mason Bartholomew Peisley II (d.1715), the other by John Green. Green, a Headington mason, was in partnership with Robert Robinson, Peisley with Richard Piddington and John Townesend. The Peisleys and the Piddingtons were connected by marriage and John Townesend had been apprenticed to the elder Peisley.[42] Later, his son William would take his father's place as the Peisleys' partner in the quarrying business. The St Paul's accounts show that between 1686/7 and 1699/1700 stone to the value of £4,295 (including the cost of carriage by water down the Thames to London) was supplied by Peisley and partners, but that Green and Robinson outdid them, supplying stone worth £6,113 during

the same period. Thereafter, Green and Robinson continued to supply Headington stone for several more years, but Peisley and Townesend dropped out, probably because they needed the whole output of their quarry for their own purposes.[43]

In the 1720s the quarry, now worked by William Townesend and Bartholomew Peisley III (d.1727), was leased from a brickmaker and lime-burner called Henry North for £15 per annum.[44] It produced both ordinary freestone and the hardstone used for plinths, etc., and the partners kept a joint account of the cost of operating the quarry and of the amount of stone used by each of them.[45] A note in 1716 of 'ston delivered at All Souls College from our own pitt'[46] implies that the Townesends had a second pit of their own (for which no accounts are preserved). In the course of time others may have come under their control. Writing in 1730 to Dr George Clarke of All Souls about a proposed contract with William Townesend, Nicholas Hawksmoor reminded him that the latter had 'all the best quarrys of stone in his owne hands'.[47] Even so, the output of the Townesends' quarries was insufficient for their needs, especially during the busy years of the early eighteenth century, when they bought a good deal of stone from Green and Robinson and others. For instance, all or most of

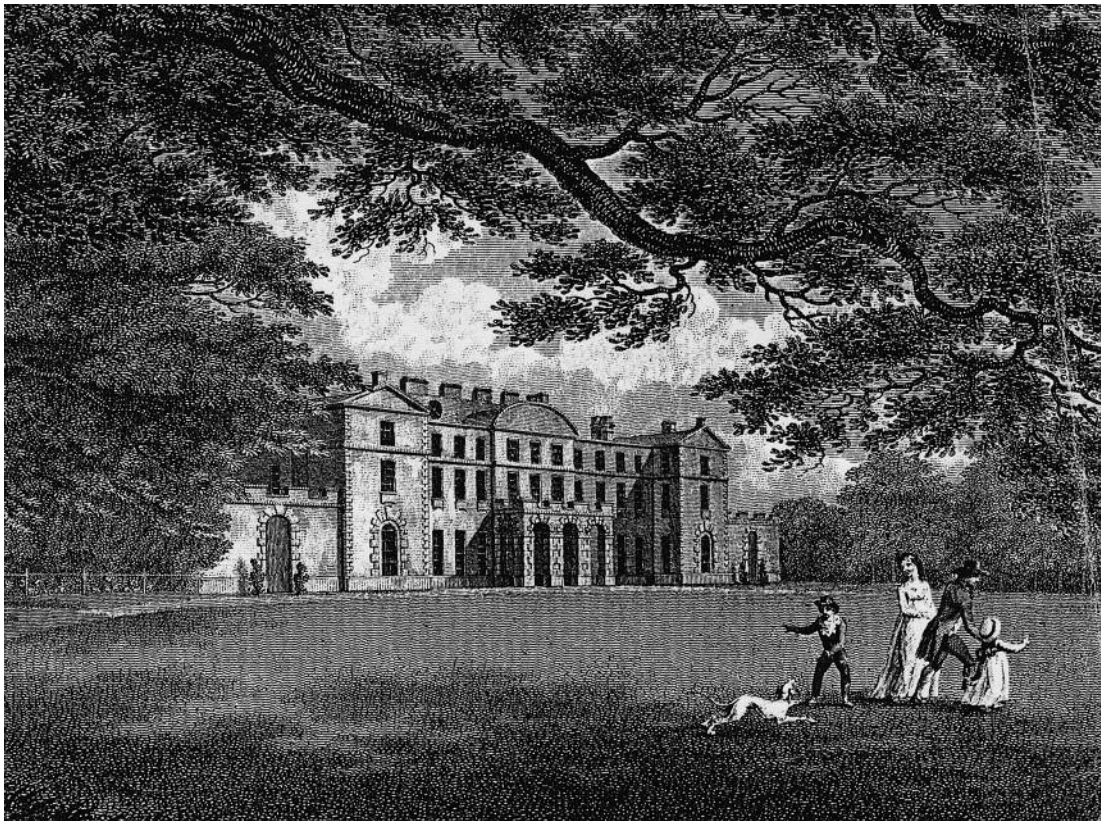


Fig. 5. Cirencester Park, Gloucestershire, as remodelled in 1725–27 by William Townesend; engraving by W. Angus, 1796.

the stone for the Column of Victory at Blenheim which William Townesend built in 1727–31 was supplied by Green and another quarryman called Stanley.[48] Most of the stone for the gatehouse and Turl Street front of Exeter College was also procured from Green and Robinson.[49] Bibury stone was used for fine carved detail in such places as the Exeter gateway vault, the saucer dome under the cupola at Queen's, the vaulted ceiling of the Buttery at All Souls, and the Ionic capitals of Pembroke College Chapel.[50] The plain stone chimneypieces often found in Townesend buildings appear generally to have been made of Burford or Bibury stone.

Although the Townesends had no monopoly of Headington stone, their ownership, joint or sole, of some of the best quarries, and their ability to obtain more stone from other quarrymen, was vital to their business. But for the Headington quarries one can be fairly certain that there would have been no Townesends of Oxford. Their place might well have been taken by the Strongs of Taynton or the Kempsters of Burford, just as at Cambridge, were there was no freestone quarry, it was not a local family, but the Grumbolds from Raunds, a quarrying village in Northamptonshire, who became the leading mason-architects in that university.

David Sturdy has shown how from 1797 onwards the backbone of the business which Thomas Knowles took over from the last of the Townesends (Stephen, who died in 1800) was the maintenance of Oxford colleges. This continued to be the case until the 1850s, when the firm began to lose its college associations to other more enterprising firms.[51] The colleges in question were All Souls, Corpus, Exeter, Jesus, Lincoln, Magdalen and New College. From the Townesends' day books one can see that in the case of All Souls, Corpus, Exeter, Jesus and New College the connection went back to the early years of the eighteenth century, and that Brasenose, Christ Church and Queen's were also regular employers during the first quarter of that century. Of those colleges that did not employ the Townesends, at least three, Wadham, Trinity and St John's, employed Bartholomew Peisley[52], with whom the Townesends shared their quarry, and with whom they were joint contractors for several major jobs such as the Radcliffe Quadrangle at University College and the Codrington Library at All Souls.[53] One can therefore see the force of the Oxford diarist Thomas Hearne's statement that 'Peisley and one Townesend carried (as it were) all the business in masonry before them, both in Oxford and all the Parts about it'.[54] In addition the Townesends were the university masons, an employment in which William Townesend succeeded one of the Robinsons in 1712/13.[55] It was in this capacity that William repaired or rebuilt the piers of the gateway to St Mary's Church in 1712–13[56], and that in 1758–59 John Townsend III was to rebuild in stone the fan-vault in the Convocation House.[57]

Precisely which masons were employed by which college at any given time is perhaps of less importance than the fact that in the early eighteenth century, as in the early nineteenth, the firm had a regular university clientele to provide it with the kind of work that filled William Townesend's day-books: altering doorcases, cutting down windows, rebuilding chimneys, inserting chimneypieces, making 'pissing places', paving with the black and white squares known as 'michells', repairing the dial at Corpus, fixing 'antickitys' against the staircase of the Old Ashmolean Museum. Anyone who is familiar with the rooms in the older Oxford colleges will know that in the course of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries the existing medieval and Tudor accommodation, designed for sharing by poor scholars, was largely rearranged to provide spacious sets of two or three rooms for single occupation.[58] Much of this, of course, was employment for carpenters and joiners, but the alteration of doorways and the removal of mullions and transoms from windows to make way for sashes was work for masons, as was the insertion of stone or marble chimneypieces, sometimes with surrounds of blue and white Dutch tiles. On top of this routine work were the new

Fig. 6. Monument to John Townesend (d.1728) in St Giles' churchyard, Oxford. *Howard Colvin.*

buildings for which the Townesends were nearly always the sole or joint master-masons, as they were at All Souls, Balliol, Christ Church, Corpus, Exeter, New College, Oriel, Pembroke, Queen's, Trinity, University College, Worcester and the Clarendon Building. At the Radcliffe Library they shared the masonry contract, not with any Oxford mason, but with Francis Smith of Warwick: for by then, Peisley having died in 1727, there was no other major firm of masons in Oxford who could be associated with them in so great a task.[59]

That the profits of so extensive a business must have been substantial is obvious. Of the house that John Townesend built in Broad Street in 1702 (roughly on the site of Boswell's shop) there seems to be no visual record[60], but the surviving house of his partner Peisley in St Michael's Street shows how fine a dwelling an eighteenth-century Oxford master-mason could aspire to,[61] while in St Giles' churchyard John's monument (Fig. 6) is as eloquent in stone in proclaiming his status as the Latin inscription is in words.[62] 'Mr. Townesend's' reputation as a 'great man' who could not be hurried over an order for a monument is attested by Thomas Rowney, Oxford's MP, himself a man of considerable standing in the city,[63] and the 'vast deal of money' that William made is commented on by Hearne.[64] There is no means of estimating the Townesends' annual income, but their accounts do provide some information about the profits of a mason's business that is not easily forthcoming for any other Georgian master-builder.

Here it is necessary to outline the principal forms

of engagement between an eighteenth-century master-builder and his employer. At one end of the scale was the contract 'by the great', whereby a master-craftsman, be he mason, carpenter or bricklayer, undertook to erect an entire building, walls, roof, floors and all, for a specified sum. This might be appropriate for a moderate-sized building on a vacant site, but not for a complicated remodelling job where the amount of materials and workmanship would be difficult to predict. If the contractor was a mason, he would normally sub-contract the carpentry and joinery, if a carpenter, he would sub-contract the masonry, and so forth. Alternatively the owner could contract separately with a representative of each trade, employing an architect, if there was one, or one of the contractors, if there was not, to oversee the work of the others and thus avoid confusion on the site. Smaller contracts, sometimes made by word of mouth rather than in writing, were known as 'task-work', and were often used for specialist jobs such as ornamental ironwork or plasterwork which was outside the competence of the principal contractors.

At the opposite extreme was the owner who had stone and timber at his disposal and who employed masons, carpenters and other craftsmen by the day to work under the direction of an architect, clerk of works or master-builder, whose role was that of an agent. The latter would keep a nominal roll of workmen, with the record of their pay, and reclaim this from the owner. For his trouble he might be paid either a percentage or a round sum at the conclusion of the work.

In between was the contract for prices, otherwise known as work 'by measure', whereby the owner undertook to pay the workmen at specified rates: so much per foot for masonry of different sorts, so much per 'square' (100 feet) for flooring and so forth. For the owner this had the advantage of being payment by results, for the builder of requiring less capital than the contract 'by the great', though employers might sometimes be dilatory in payment, as notoriously was the Office of the King's Works, to such an extent that it had to submit to higher prices in consequence.[65] This, too, might sometimes be known as 'task-work'.[66]

Of these three forms of engagement, work by the great or by measure seems to have been regarded as the most profitable. At any rate Richard Jenings, the master carpenter at St Paul's Cathedral, who was paid by the day, stated in 1710 that he had not been 'near so great … a Gainer … as Masters that have been employed by Task Work', but that he 'could never obtain the Privilege of working by Task, or by the Great', though he had 'very often desired it of Sir Chr. Wren', and Wren confirmed that, although Jenings had often pressed him to be employed 'by Measure, Valuation or Task-work', he had always insisted that he should work 'by the Day, as finding it to be a much cheaper and better way for the Church than the other'.[67]

Deprived of the no doubt substantial margin of profit which contracting by the great or taskwork offered, Jenings made a hidden profit by claiming to have paid his workmen at a higher rate than was in fact the case, and being reimbursed accordingly. Nominally he paid them 2s. 6d. a day, actually 2s. or less. As there were a hundred or more of them, the difference amounted to a considerable sum. When challenged, Jenings claimed that what he had done was normal practice, that 'masters and undertakers in other trades as well as mine have an advantage by their men', and that his employees received the full rate that he had agreed with them, even if it was less than the St Paul's Commissioners had been led to suppose. Ninety of them signed an affidavit to this effect, and Wren certified that Jenings' work had been of a high standard. Nevertheless in 1711 he was dismissed from the cathedral works.[68] He had, after all, defrauded the Commissioners, even if he had paid his workmen what they expected.

Jenings' claim is borne out by other evidence, particularly Campbell's book *The London Tradesman* of 1747, where he writes of joiners who commonly pay their workmen 2s. 6d. per day but charge their

customers 3s.[69] But there was one eminent Georgian master-builder who did not take any 'advantage from his workmen' in this way: that was Francis Smith of Warwick, whose reputation for honesty and fair dealing is well attested. He rarely if ever contracted 'by the great', but preferred to operate on a 'cost plus' basis, providing his client with a detailed estimate of the cost of workmanship and materials and charging a 5 per cent commission on the actual outlay. 'One shilling in the pound' was, he told Sir Justinian Isham, 'my usuall Pay from other Gentlemen', and at Ditchley he asked 'five pounds for every Hundred I have paid, & for my own trouble, Journeys, profits out of my workmen, & measuring the work'.[70]

Did the Townesends follow Smith's example of probity in his business dealings, or did they make a hidden profit like Jenings? The survival (in part) both of their own accounts and those of their collegiate employers may provide a unique opportunity to answer this question. At one time or another they undertook work on all the differing terms outlined above. Thus William Townesend entered into at least five contracts to build 'by the great': for the Radcliffe Quadrangle at University College in 1716 (jointly with Peisley), for the Robinson Building at Oriel in 1719, for the hall at All Souls in 1730, and for two sections of Queen's College, one in 1733, the other in 1738. For the University College, All Souls and Queen's contacts, worth £3,600, £2,600, £100 and £678, respectively[71], his own accounts are lacking, but for the Oriel building we have both the original contract, preserved in the college archives, and Townesend's record of his expenditure in performance of it.[72] In 1718 William Robinson, Bishop of London, offered to pay for a new building at Oriel, and on 11 February 1719 Townesend undertook to build it 'by the great' for £750. It was to stand on the east side of Garden Quadrangle, and was designed in a traditional Oxford style to conform to the rest of the college, that is to say with mullioned windows and shaped gables. It was to be completed by February 1720. Townesend was duly paid £750 in four instalments, the last in July 1720. His own accounts show that he subcontracted the carpentry to his brother-in-law Jeremiah Franklin, who received £123 10s. for his workmanship. Other sub-contractors were a smith called Fossett (£64 3s. 0d.) and 'Mr. Taylor', evidently the Oxford plumber and glazier John Taylor[73] (£38 1s. 11d.). Townesend's total recorded outlay, including stone charged to the Headington quarry account, was £615 9s. 7d., leaving him with a balance of £134 10s. 5d.[74] This would represent a profit of over 20 per cent, well above the 15 per cent that was stated to be the standard rate of builders' profit at the end of the eighteenth century.[75]

At Christ Church Peckwater Quadrangle was built in three stages, first the north side (1707–08), then the west side (1708–10), and finally the east side (1711–14). For all three sides Townesend was the master mason and George Smith the master carpenter. The north side was built by direct labour under their joint direction, the west and east sides by separate contracts for the masonry and carpentry, respectively. For the west side, with its bigger return elevation, Townesend received £1,700, for the east side £1,000.[76] Only for part of the north side do any of Townesend's own accounts survive, none for his performance of the two masonry contracts.

Other contracts, like those for Blenheim Palace, the Fellows' Building at Corpus (1706), the Codrington Library at All Souls (1716), Christ Church Library (1717), Radley House (1721) and the Radcliffe Library (1737), being for prices, do not enable any calculation of profits to be made.[77] When, as at Compton Beauchamp, the function of the master workman was supervisory only, there may have been a small element of profit in John Townesend's charges for journeys, and he no doubt received some payment at the end as a fee or gratuity. In 1681 a London master-carpenter undertaking to supervise the building of a house in Somerset, besides himself contracting for the carpenter's, mason's, bricklayer's and plasterer's work at prices specified in the contract, was to be paid £100 for supervising the building as a whole.[78]

We do not know the terms of William Townesend's engagement to supervise the reconstruction of Cirencester House for Lord Bathurst in 1726–27, but, besides being himself responsible for the mason's work, which was paid for by measure, he directed the other workmen and passed their bills for payment by the owner. Apart from whatever profit he may have made on the masonry, he will have expected some remuneration for his supervisory role and this may be represented by a payment of £200 to 'Mr. Townesend' recorded in Bathurst's account at Hoare's Bank on 31 January 1730.[79]

Finally there was the day-work option favoured by Wren at St Paul's and sometimes by Oxford bursars, for instance at Exeter College in 1700.[80] There is one day-work job where the Townesend's private accounts and those of their employers coincide sufficiently closely to determine whether there was any sharp practice on the part of the former. This was at Queen's College in 1719, when William Townesend undertook to build part of the main quadrangle on a day-work basis. We have both his own record of the wages paid weekly to his men and the statement that he submitted to the Provost.[81] The two are identical except that in the Provost's copy there has been a mark-up (see Appendix). In every week the total has been increased, apparently on an arbitrary basis, so that, for instance, £9 9s. 5d. in the first week of June becomes £11 0s. 5d., whereas £9 9s. 2d. in the third week becomes £10 16s. 8d. Over the whole year (January to December 1719) the increment comes to £69 1s. 4d. on a total of £456 15s. 10d. So Jenings' claim that masters in other trades took a hidden profit in the same way as himself is borne out by the Townesends' accounts. What they did at Queen's they no doubt did elsewhere when undertaking work to be paid for by the day. Why otherwise would Hearne record (in 1720) that the elder Townesend was known as 'Old Pincher, from his pinching of the workmen'?[82]

So much for the nature of the Townesend's profits as master-builders. Although no estimate of their income is possible from the evidence available, it is easy to credit Hearne's statement, made in 1721, that William Townesend's extensive employment in the university 'had procur'd [him] a vast sum of Money'.[83] Some of this was invested in property in Oxford, which included a public house in St Aldate's called 'the Anchor and Wheatsheaf';[84] some was used to set up a profitable sideline in malt;[85] and some was let out at interest.[86] How they spent the rest we do not know, for none of the surviving account-books is of a personal character.

When William Townesend died in 1739 his son John took over his contract for the masonry of the Radcliffe Library. Some accounts in the family papers relate to this job, but, as already mentioned, they do not appear to add anything significant to the accounts preserved in the archives of the Radcliffe Trustees. The completion of the Library in 1748 marks the end of the early eighteenth-century building boom in Oxford. Although building went on throughout the second half of the century, there was less work for masons than there had been earlier, and for such of it as there was the Townesends found themselves increasingly in competition with other builders.[87] Still, John Townesend's successor, another John (probably, as Sturdy has suggested, a son of William's London-based brother John), continued to find work in Oxford and its neighbourhood, although none of his accounts have been preserved to document it. He had two major contracts for bridges over the Thames, at Maidenhead and Henley, but lost heavily over the former,[88] and failed in 1772 to win the contract for Magdalen Bridge, which went to a man called John Randall, who underbid him by a substantial margin.[89] He died in 1784, leaving the business to his son Stephen. In 1797 Stephen sold it to his foreman Thomas Knowles, in the hands of whose successors it still flourishes today.[90]

APPENDIX

William Townesend's accounts for wages paid to workmen at The Queen's College, 1719

	Townesend's private account[1]			Account submitted to Provost[2]		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
[10] Jan.		17	04		18	00
17 Jan.	03	16	00	04	07	06
24 Jan.	04	10	01	05	02	10
31 Jan.	04	00	05	04	13	02
7 Feb.	06	12	07	07	16	01
14 Feb.	03	18	04	04	08	11
21 Feb.	05	02	08	05	19	00
28 Feb.	07	19	05	09	00	11
7 March	09	13	02	12	02	09
14 March	09	07	05	10	18	04
21 March	10	17	03	12	19	01
28 March	11	09	02	13	11	02
4 April	06	13	08	08	00	10
11 April	11	10	09	13	14	09
18 April	11	14	00	14	16	01
25 April	09	18	09	11	08	06
2 May	10	16	03	12	09	10
9 May	08	13	11	10	15	11
16 May	09	15	06	11	08	07
23 May	06	05	11	07	06	11
30 May	09	18	08	13	04	11
6 June	09	09	05	11	00	05
13 June	09	05	10	10	03	04
20 June	09	09	02	10	16	08
27 June	09	19	04	11	06	08
4 July	09	00	02	10	05	02
11 July	10	00	00	11	05	03
18 July	11	15	09	13	02	08
	01	09	08	01	09	08
	(overtime)			(overtime)		
25 July	12	06	08	13	12	06
1 Aug.	12	11	01	14	04	04
8 Aug.	10	05	08	11	15	04
15 Aug.	12	12	01	14	02	11
22 Aug.	13	02	08	14	19	07
29 Aug.	14	09	11	16	16	04
5 Sep.	13	19	08	15	14	04
12 Sept.	15	09	04	17	10	11
19 Sept.	17	02	06	19	16	01
26 Sept.	11	07	02	13	02	08
3 Oct.	13	15	11	15	13	05
10 Oct.	14	07	05	16	04	08
17 Oct.	10	09	01	12	02	04
24 Oct.	09	00	10	10	03	08
31 Oct.	09	19	01	10	13	09
7 Nov.	07	02	00	07	18	04
14 Nov.	08	15	07	09	15	11
21 Nov.	04	14	00	05	10	11
28 Nov.	04	15	11	05	09	11
5 Dec.	05	18	08	06	13	04

Wages paid since the Account given in to the Provost:
£6 08 06

[1] Townesend family papers
[2] Queen's College archives

NOTES

1 W.G. Hiscock, 'William Townesend, mason and architect of Oxford', *Architectural Review*, XCVIII, Oct 1945, 99–107. H. Avray Tipping had already introduced the Townesends in a well-informed paper about Hawksmoor published in the *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, XXXIV, 17 Sept. 1927, 647–54, and in the Vanbrugh volume of his *English Homes*, London, 1928, 41. Hiscock incorporated a version of his article in his *Christ Church Miscellany*, Oxford, 1946, 38–62.

2 David Sturdy, *A History of Knowles & Son*, British Archaeological Reports, British series 254, Oxford, 1997.

3 Now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford (hereafter Bodleian), and the British Library, London, respectively.

4 Robert Willis & John Willis Clark, *Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, Cambridge, 1886, III, 532–3.

5 A pocket-book of Charles Cope Trubshaw for the years 1754–55 is in the National Library of Wales, MS. 16635 B, and some drawings were in the collection of the late Mr Astell Hohler. Some ledgers, pocket-books, etc of Christopher Kempster (d.1715), the Burford master-mason, are preserved in the Public Record Office, C 106/145, and St Paul's Cathedral Library [see W.D. Caroe, *Wren and Tom Tower*, Oxford, 1923, 89–94]. The letter-book of the master-mason Andrews Jelfe (d.1759) in the British Library, Add.MS 24327, should also be mentioned. Mr Charles Powell is about to publish in *Construction History* a study of a small firm of Devonshire builders called Prawle whose accounts and day books survive from 1793 onwards.

6 A polite letter from Webb among the Townesend papers refers to a 'very cursory inspection', in the course of which he 'did not discover a lot of information'.

7 I am very grateful to their present owner, who wishes to remain anonymous, for allowing me to study them. For access to college archives I have to thank Prof Ian Maclean and Dr Norma Potter at All Souls, Mrs Judith Curthoys at Christ Church, Dr John Maddicott at Exeter, Dr Jeremy Catto at Oriel, and Prof John Kaye and Mr Jonathan Bengtson at The Queen's College.

8 S.G. Gillam (ed.), *The Building Accounts of the Radcliffe Camera*, Oxford Historical Society, NS, XIII, 1958.

9 Oxford, Oxford City Council, Archives, L.5.4., Hannisters' Book 1662–69, p.466, 28 April 1693.

10 Building accounts in Oxford, Exeter College archives, C II (5).

11 David Green, *Blenheim Palace*, London, 1951, 330.

12 Sturdy, *op.cit.*, 3

13 Entered in index under letter S.

14 *Wren Society*, XIX, 119. For the Strongs, see my *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600–1840*, New Haven and London, 1995, 934–5.

15 Hiscock, *op.cit.*, 99–100.

16 The New College summerhouse (in the Warden's garden) was correctly attributed to Townesend on stylistic grounds by Gervase Jackson-Stops, in John Buxton and Penry Williams (eds.), *New College Oxford 1379–1979*, Oxford, 1979, 227. The attribution to Townesend of the doorcase to the Library (*ibid.*) is also confirmed by one of Townesend's day books [1721–5, f.29v, entry dated 1721/2].

17 John Townesend's Day Book 1693–1708, f.3. It was made of Bibury stone.

18 John Townesend's pocket book (dated 1705 on cover). In another book is an account for work at Blenheim, dated 1706, which includes an item of £30 'for pargeting 24 funells at 15s. each'.

19 In fact only two, both by the elder Townesend, the other (besides the plans of Queen's mentioned here) being for garden buildings at Cirencester Abbey, for which see below, n.31.

20 *Cf. Victoria County History* (hereafter *VCH*), *Oxfordshire,* III, 1954, 140.

21 Christopher Morris (ed.), *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes*, London, 1949, 36.

22 Illustrated in *Country Life*, XLIV, 30 Nov. 1918, 484–91, with text by H. Avray Tipping. I am much indebted to the present owners, Mr and Mrs Eric Penson, for kindly allowing me to study and photograph their house.

23 Probably the Nathaniel Newman buried in Windrush churchyard under a very fine baroque tomb similar in character to John Townesend's in St. Giles churchyard, Oxford. He died on 27 December 1741, 'in advanced Age' [R. Bigland, *Gloucestershire Collections*, Gloucestershire Record Series, VIII, 1995, 1480]. The front of Compton Beauchamp may well be built of Windrush stone.

24 See entries in his Day book for 1693–1707, ff.154, 161–2, 170.

25 C.W. Boase, *An Alphabetical Register of the Commoners of Exeter College, Oxford*, Oxford, 1894,

272; *ibid.*, *Register of … Exeter College, Oxford*, Oxford Historical Society, XXVII, 1894, 270.

26 Oxford, Exeter College Archives, C II (5), list of benefactors to the New Building, 1700.

27 Christopher Hussey, 'Cirencester House, Gloucestershire – I', *Country Life*, CVII, June 16, 1950, 1799.

28 James Lees-Milne, *Earls of Creation*, London, 1962, 35.

29 George Sherburn (ed.), *The Correspondence of Alexander Pope*, Oxford, 1956, II, 116.

30 Nicholas Kinglsey, *The Country Houses of Gloucestershire*, II, *1660–1830*, Chichester, 1992, 102.

31 John Townesend's Day Book 1693–1707, f.45v, where his 'draughts' for Mr Master's 'somer hous & greenhous' and for 'pears for the garding and a dore ceas' are itemised, as well as '2 draughts of his hous'.

32 Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, Oxford, 1888, I, 86.

33 *E.g.* extensive alterations by John Townesend to a house in Broad Street, Oxford (on the site of Exeter's north front) for William Wright, Recorder of Oxford, in 1702, and a chimney built at Adderbury House for the Duke of Argyll in 1723–24 [for Adderbury, see Richard Hewlings, 'Adderbury House', in Malcolm Airs (ed.), *Baroque and Palladian: The Early Eighteenth Century Great House*, Oxford, 1996, 123–72]. At Shotover William Townesend built the octagonal temple designed by William Kent, whose date is established by his accounts as 1724–25, but there is no reference to the building of the Gothic temple there, which probably took place at a date not covered by any of the surviving account-books [for Shotover, see James Lees-Milne, *English Country Houses: Baroque 1685–1715*, London, 1970, 253–56].

34 Dr John Meare, Rector of Middleton Cheney, 1693–1710 [Foster, *op.cit.*, III, 1892, 998].

35 J.H. Harvey, 'Winchester College', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3rd ser., XXVIII, 1965, 124.

36 Hiscock, *op.cit.*, 106; *VCH*, *Wiltshire*, IX, 31.

37 Douglas Knoop & G. P. Jones, *The London Mason in the Seventeenth Century*, Manchester, 1935 and other works.

38 Buxton & Williams, *op.cit.*, 155; Howard Colvin & J.S.G. Simmons, *All Souls. An Oxford College and its Buildings*, Oxford, 1989, 5.

39 Willis & Clark, *op.cit.*, I, 410.

40 J. H. Harvey, *English Mediaeval Architects. A Biographical Dictionary to 1540*, Gloucester, 1984, 222.

41 Bodleian, MS. Rolls Oxon. 127 (Headington Court Roll for 3 Elizabeth). For a map of the quarries see W.J. Arkell., *Oxford Stone*, London, 1947, 43.

42 Sturdy, *op.cit.*, 10–11.

43 London, Guildhall Library, MSS. 25, 471/28-41; *Wren Society*, XV, 121, etc.. In addition John Townesend sent stone worth £449 to the works at Hampton Court in 1689 [Account-book 1687–1703 marked 'V'].

44 Marbled book marked 'Quarry', 1716–19. In John Townesend's day-book North is referred to as 'Mr North the Lime man', and there are payments to him for bricks and lime.

45 Marbled quarry-books, 1716–19 and 1719–22.

46 Quarry-book, 1716–19, p.1.

47 Bodleian, MS. All Souls c.255, 8b, no.9.

48 Account for building the Column in Townesend's papers.

49 Oxford, Exeter College archives, C II (5); see also Christ Church and Exeter account book in Townesend's papers marked '1707' on cover.

50 *Idem*, C II (5); for Queen's cupola, see account in Bodleian, MS. Rawlinson D, 913, f.528; for All Souls Buttery, *VCH.*, *Oxfordshire*, III, 193; for Pembroke Chapel, note by Edmund Esdaile in *Pembroke College Record*, 1934/5, 25–7. Later, Bibury stone was specified by James Wyatt for the Ionic capitals of Oriel College Library, built to his designs in 1788–89 by Edward Edge, mason of Oxford [W.J. Arkell, *Oxford Stone*, London 1947, 80].

51 Sturdy, *op.cit.*, 19, 33, 36, 51.

52 The joint quarry account shows that in 1721–23 Bartholomew Peisley signed for small quantities of stone for use at St John's, Trinity and Wadham. From the summer of 1720 Peisley was also using a good deal of stone at Worcester College, where he, rather than Townesend, was evidently the original mason-contractor, the latter taking over after Peisley's death in 1727 [cf. *VCH.*, *Oxfordshire*, III, 307]. At Trinity Peisley covenanted in 1693 to maintain the marble pavement which he was to lay in the chapel, and in 1713 he built the gateway at the end of the garden [Oxford, Trinity College archives, Misc. vol.1, ff.99, 105].

53 Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, *cit.*, 747

54 H.E. Salter (ed.), *Remarks and Collections of Thomas Hearne*, Oxford Historical Society, LXV, 1914, 343.

55 Bodleian, Oxford University Archives, Vice-Chancellor's Accounts, 1712/13.

56 *Ibid.*, and William Townesend's 1712–1714 day book, f.51v.

57 I.G. Philip, in *Bodleian Library Record*, VI, 1958, 415–21.

58 L.S. Sutherland and L.G. Mitchell (eds.), *History of the University of Oxford*, V, *The Eighteenth Century*, Oxford, 1986, 843–5.

59 Gillam, *op.cit.*, xv-xvi and passim.

60 An account-book marked 'V' (1687–1703) shows that the total cost was £321 3s. 4d., of which the acquisition of the site accounted for £115.

61 Refronted by Peisley *c.*1721 with a façade in the style of Vanbrugh, and now known as 'Vanbrugh House' [Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, *cit.*, 747].

62 According to the Latin inscription he was *in architectonica magister peritissimus exactis demum pluribus et ad scientiam et ad universitatis hujusce ornamentum aedificiis* ('a most skilfull master of architecture who had carried out many buildings both for the advancement of knowledge and the adornment of this university').

63 Bodleian, MS. Top Oxon. b.82, f.1, letter dated 17 Feb. 1725/6.

64 F.M. (ed.), *Remarks and Collections of Thomas Hearne*, Oxford Historical Society, XLVIII, 1906, 171.

65 H.M. Colvin (ed.), *History of the King's Works*, V, London, 1976, 45-6.

66 Thus John Townesend described his agreement in 1696 to perform the masonry of part of the Inner Quadrangle at Jesus College at the rate of 7s. per perch as 'taskwork' in his Day Book, f.36.

67 *Wren Society*, XVI, 151.

68 *Ibid.*, 150–1. He was also accused of embezzling materials.

69 Jeremy Boulton, 'Wage Labour in seventeenth century London', *Economic History Review*, XLIX(2), 1996.

70 Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, *cit.*, 883.

71 Bodleian, MS. dd.Radcl. c.56 (Radcliffe Trustees' account-book 1714–50); Bodleian, MS. All Souls c.255, 8b, no.52; Queen's College archives ZW 60 and Bodleian, MS. Rawlinson D.912, f.538 for the 1733 contract; *ibid.*, f.532 for a report on Townesend's performance of the 1738 contract.

72 Oxford, Oriel College archives, 1238; Townesend papers, book with marbled cover marked 'Queen's' and 'Oriel'.

73 Malcolm Graham (ed.), *Oxford City Apprentices 1697–1800*, Oxford Historical Society, NS, XXXI, 1987, 88, no.1156.

74 Townesend's account is in two parts. One is headed 'The Account of Time in building at Oriel College' and records wages paid weekly and totalling £137 3s. 3d. The other is headed 'moneys paid at Oriall College for Materialls & Cariage 1718/9' and totals £465 13s. 3d. The largest item is £123 10s. in three instalments to 'My Brother Franklin on Account of Carpenters Work'. Stone separately charged to the Headington quarry account as for use at Oriel cost £12 13s. 1d., but there are payments on the main account for stone amounting to £10 13s. 1d and further unspecified payments amounting to £17 12s. 0d. to John Bostall, who appears to have been the man in charge of the jointly-owned quarry. Except for the payment to 'Mr Fossett for smith's work & materials' all the other items are for unspecified services or materials. Townesend himself drew up no balance of receipt and expenditure.

75 *Fourth Commission of Military Inquiry* (Parliamentary Papers, 1807), Appendix, 177, 180. The Oriel contract was, however, regarded as a good bargain for the college by Dr George Clarke, who in 1728 recalled 'Every body remembers the dearness of Sir N. Lloyd's buildings [at All Souls], and how much cheaper the Bishop of London built, at Oriel' [Bodleian, MS. All Souls c.255, no.29].

76 Oxford, Christ Church archives, Chapter Acts 1689–1719, 20 Oct 1706, xxxiii, b. 15–17: Peckwater building accounts, III, nos. 118, 121.

77 For Blenheim see David Green, *op.cit.*: for Corpus, Bodleian, MS. Rawl. Letters 98, f.232; for the Codrington Library, All Souls archives, *Acta in Capitulis* 1707–53, f.55 (a schedule of prices); for Christ Church Library, Jean Cook & John Mason (eds.), *The Building Accounts of Christ Church Library*, Roxburghe Club, 1988; for Radley House, see Reading, Berkshire Record Office, D/EP.1 L.2/1; for the Radcliffe Library, n.8 above.

78 Taunton, Somerset Record Office, DD/SF 3732: contract between Edward Clarke and William Taylor of London, carpenter, to build Chipley House, Somerset; *cf.* Bridget Clarke, 'William Taylor: new Discoveries', *Georgian Group Journal*, VIII, 1998, 2–3.

79 London, Hoare's Bank, Ledger 31, p.264. I owe this reference to Prof. Andor Gomme.

80 Oxford, Exeter College archives, C II (5).

81 Townesend papers, book with marbled covers marked '1718'; Queen's college archives, account book 1719–20.

82 F.M., *loc.cit.*.

83 *Ibid.*, 247.

84 Bought in 1713 and mentioned in Townesend's will [P.R.O., PCC 219 HENCHMAN]

85 Account-book in parchment cover marked '1705'. This is largely devoted to the purchase of barley and the sale of malt, but also includes details of the wages paid to masons employed at Blenheim in 1705.

86 Day book 1693–1708, at end. The rate charged was 6 per cent.

87 Particularly James Pears, the master-carpenter who was employed by James Wyatt for several of the buildings designed by him in Oxford [see Geoffrey Tyack, "The Making of the Radcliffe Observatory", in this volume]. Others were William Osborn, the mason who built the Canterbury Quadrangle at Christ Church, 1775–78, and Edward Edge, the mason for Oriel Library, 1788–89 [Sutherland and Mitchell, *op.cit.*, 854–55].

88 Sturdy, *op.cit.*, 8.

89 T.W.M. Jaine, 'The Building of Magdalen Bridge', *Oxoniensia*, XXXVI, 1971.

90 Sturdy, *op.cit.*, 9.