

OXFORD MASONS, 1370-1530

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

This paper aims to give an account of masons, carvers, paviours and masons' labourers employed at Oxford, or by Oxford Colleges, between 1370 and 1530. It begins with a general essay on the procedure and technique of medieval masoncraft and then gives a series of biographies of the more important craftsmen, in chronological order of their appearance at Oxford. The lives of masons of national importance are only described in detail as regards their Oxford work, but a sketch of their other activities is given. The first appendix lists the men in chronological order of their appearance at each College and the period at which they were working there. Whereas material given in the biographies is not repeated, full information about lesser men is included. The second one gives names in alphabetical order, showing the period and places at which each man was working.¹ The only extra material here is about masons who worked at Oxford but not at a College. No account of a medieval mason's work could cover his career fully, as he might be paid, unnamed, with a large group. Moreover, his name might vary. For instance, John Mason in the early fifteenth century could be John Sleaford, John Thacham, or any other John who was a mason.

The main sources are the Bursars' rolls of the various Colleges; called Expense and Account rolls at New College, Long Rolls at the Queen's College, and Treasurer's accounts at Oriel. The source of any statement in the paper can be deemed to be the Bursars' roll of that date, unless otherwise stated.² I have used transcriptions of the Oriel Treasurer's accounts kindly lent to me by Mr. E. Martyn Jope, M.A., F.S.A. The archives at University College and Corpus Christi College have not been seen.

THE FOUNDER, PATRON OR BENEFACTOR

The first move to initiate any new College was for someone to guarantee sufficient money to cover the cost. This was usually the Founder, but a Society might be virtually refounded, as at Lincoln, or a benefactor might leave money for a specific object. Later the College itself provided money for rebuilding or extension, or requested previous members to subscribe towards this end. There are not many recorded instances of control of the design by the Founder, and nothing like the instructions laid down by Henry VI and his advisers for the erection of Eton and King's College Chapel, Cambridge. On the other hand, at least two Founders, William Wykeham and William Waynflete, both Bishops of Winchester, and Founders of New College and Magdalen respectively, had been interested in the administrative side of building before they became ecclesiastics, and must have suggested what they wanted, perhaps in detail.

The Founder's Statutes for New College (1400)³ say that a representation of the Trinity, a crucifix, a statue of the Blessed Virgin and many other statues should be placed against the E. wall of the chapel, showing that Bishop Wykeham had an interest in the reredos, which was probably being completed then. He had also been informed of the progress of the new bell tower in 1396/7,⁴ for John Hulyn, Clerk of the Works, went to London and stayed there for two days in July to talk to the Founder about it.

In 1371/3 Thomas Bloxham, Clerk of the Works at Merton College Library, rode on three occasions to see the chief benefactor, William Rede, Bishop of Chichester, and the last time William Humberville, master mason, went with him.⁵

¹ Dates in the lists are the earliest and the latest, e.g. 1370/1-1400/1, will be given as 1370-1401.

² References to the building of the precinct walls (1466/72), the chapel and hall (1474), and rooms to the W. and E. of the bell tower (1507/8

and 1508/9) at Magdalen are from transcripts by Dr. J. R. Bloxam, kept in the College library.

³ Vallance, *The Old Colleges of Oxford*, 33-4.

⁴ *Oxford Historical Society* (afterwards abbreviated in footnotes to *O.H.S.*), xviii, 313.

⁵ Merton Archives No. 4102 B (b).

During the erection of All Souls College in 1437/43 John Druell, Clerk of the Works, and Roger Keys who succeeded him, both visited the Founder, Archbishop Chichele, many times; in 1438/9 Druell took the master mason, Richard Chevynton, and the master carpenter, John Branche, with him.¹ In the last two cases the presence of the master mason suggests that the Founder wished to know about the architectural side.

Bishop Waynflete, Founder of Magdalen, like William Wykeham before at New College, wanted the reredos of the chapel completed with suitable statuary and sent sixteen statues from Waltham for it in 1481/2.

THE MASTER MASON

The Founder may have intimated what features he desired to be represented in his College, but almost certainly the man who made the design and plan was the master mason. There are not many references in Oxford archives to actual plans and elevations. As a preliminary to the erection of All Souls College the masons came in 1437/8 to see the site and lay out the foundations,² presumably with the working drawings. On the 16th September, 1475, William Orchard, master mason, agreed to make a large window of seven lights for the W. end of Magdalen Chapel 'according to the portraiture made by the said William', for 20 marks.³ This is the only instance of an elevation so far found by me in the Oxford archives. In 1516 a contract was made by Richard Gyles of Winchester and Thomas Phelipp of Oxford, freemasons, to build a farm at Holywell, for Merton College, according to a plan.⁴ Henry Redman and John Lubyns, master masons of Cardinal College, together with the warden of the masons, William Johnson, had come one week after the Epiphany 'to see the platt with the ground and devising the building', and Johnson received his expenses for this visit in February, 1525.⁵ This situation is just the same as that at the beginning of the work at All Souls College, except that here a definite plan is mentioned.

There are more instances at Oxford of carpenters producing designs than of masons, but the total proves that the craftsmen had working drawings and did not rely on intuition. Another factor that proves this is the large number of references to the making of templates to test mouldings, usually themselves called 'moulds'; they were cut out of wood to the design of the chief mason and were essential to ensure uniformity. In the first building account for Merton library is the entry 'Item pro tabula empt. ad faciend. formas pro sculptura lapid. vd',⁶ and during the erection of All Souls College there are two references. One in 1437/8 is 'Et pro iij tabulis emptis latomis pro moldes fiend. prec. tabul. vjd—xviijd', and the other in 1439/40 says 'Et solut. pro j tabula de Waynscott empt. pro moldes fiendis'.⁷ During the building of Merton bell tower in 1448/50 a plank of 'Estryge Board' was bought for 15d., and Cloberry, a carpenter, made a template for 5d.; which was then carried to Burford.⁸ Eastland board at this time was Baltic oak, not deal or pine wood. The fact that the Burford masons had these 'moulds' shows that the Taynton stone arrived at Oxford already worked. 'Exemplaria scilicet molds' were made out of 3 planks of Baltic wood at the building of Magdalen Chapel and hall in 1474.⁹ When chambers were being built between the new bell tower and St. John's Chapel in the same College planks were bought for moulds,¹⁰ and during work on the bell tower Richard Hays, the mason who seems to have succeeded William Raynold, received 8d. 'pro exemplaribus vulgar. dict. le mowlde'. In 1524/5 Person, a mason, was employed at Hampton Court making moulds for Cardinal College,¹¹ and it is probably for these that William Johnson, warden of the masons, supplied a box.¹²

¹ Building Accounts, fo. 18.

² *Ibid.*, fo. 2.

³ Magdalen Archives Misc., 349.

⁴ Reg. Ann. Coll. Mert., *O.H.S.*, 161.

⁵ J. H. Harvey, *The Building Works and Architects of Cardinal Wolsey, J.B.A.A.*, 3rd series (1943), 53.

⁶ Merton Archives, No. 4102 B (b).

⁷ Building Accounts ff. 2, 50.

⁸ *O.H.S.*, xviii, 314-37.

⁹ *Magdalen College Register*, Bloxam, ii, 232.

¹⁰ Dr. Bloxam's Transcript.

¹¹ J. G. Milne and J. H. Harvey, *Building of Cardinal College, Oxoniensia*, viii and ix, 140.

¹² J. H. Harvey, *Building Works, ut supra*, 54.

In the medieval period an architectural design was often the synthesis of the best elements in one or two previous ones. The conception of Merton College library was evolved from features of at least four previously existing libraries. In 1371/3 Thomas Bloxham, Supervisor of the works, and William Humberville, the master mason, went to see the library of the Preaching Brothers (Black Friars) at London, and later Bloxham visited Sherborne, Winchester and Salisbury, probably for the same purpose. When Magdalen College was being built William Orchard made an agreement on 16th September, 1475,¹ to construct a W. window for the chapel, windows and doors for rooms, and windows for the library, all of which were to copy those of All Souls and, if possible, be better. Apart from these actual examples it is most probable that the plan of All Souls Chapel was based on that of New College, and that the top stage of Magdalen bell tower was copied from that at Merton.

The agreement to build for the patron was embodied in a form of contract. The most famous series are those of 1475, 1477/8 and 1479, made by William Orchard to build Magdalen College, which are dealt with fully in the account of his work. There are quite a few other references to contracts, although in most cases no details are given. William Brown was given 1d. as an 'ernest' when he contracted to build a new hall for the Queen's College in 1398/9, and in 1402/3 John Martyn, mason, finished work on the barn at New College and built a chimney there, according to an agreement. In 1490/1 Henry Multon and others completed the S. walk of Magdalen cloister, according to an agreement. In 1513, when Bishop Foxe was preparing to build Corpus Christi College, he made an agreement with William Vertue, freemason, and Humfrey Cooke, carpenter, for it to be erected 'after the manner of a double platt made for the over and the nether lodginge of the same buildings and houses'.² In 1516 Richard Gyles of Winchester and Thomas Phelipp of Oxford, freemasons, contracted to build a farmhouse at Holywell for Merton College,³ and in 1516/7 William East, master mason, was given an 'ernest' of 4d. on agreement to build the antechapel of the Queen's College. William East also contracted to build part of Balliol Chapel on 3rd April, 1522, and on 20th February, 1527/8, John Lubyns, master mason of Cardinal College, and William Johnson, warden there, contracted to finish Balliol Chapel, left incomplete, perhaps because of William East's death.⁴ Richard Hays contracted to build an extension to the President's lodge at Magdalen in 1524/5. In 1529/30 the President of Magdalen, Mr. Cartwryght, made a contract with carpenters and masons to build a house at Headington.

TECHNIQUE AND EQUIPMENT

Building technique at Oxford was the same as elsewhere and I will only comment on a few aspects of it.

It is noticeable that in earlier buildings rubble walling, with ashlar dressings was common, as in buildings at Merton. Late in the fourteenth century, while the face of New College hall and chapel to the quadrangle was of good ashlar, the N. wall, towards the town wall, was of rubble. Much rag-stone walling has disappeared at a later date, owing to a desire for uniformity, and there is a definite reference to the replacing of rubble by ashlar at Corpus Christi College.⁵

Methods of providing damp courses are interesting. The plinths of many of the medieval buildings at Oxford have a damp course of oyster shells beneath the over-sailing upper moulding; such damp courses can be seen at St. John's College and Brasenose. At St. John's College also, each joint of the pilasters which frame the main gate is formed of oyster shells, and the efficacy of this is shown when, at Brasenose, new stonework in a similar position has no such protection, and the damp has caused the stone to flake away at the mortar joint. All Souls had similar courses of shells, as is proved by the

¹ Magdalen Archives Misc., 349.

² Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi College, Oxford*, 61.

³ Reg. Ann. Merton, *O.H.S.*, 161.

⁴ Balliol College Register, 1514/1682, last folio.

⁵ Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi College*, 78.

following extracts from the accounts. In 1437/8 is a reference to a quantity 'de testis ostiorum ijd',¹ and in 1439/40 is an entry, 'Et pro testis conchilium empt'.² When the cloister at the same College was being built in 1509/10, 6s. was paid 'pro duobus bigat. ly schalls'. Perhaps the latest examples of the use of oyster shells as a damp course, apart from their use sometimes as a form of packing, is at All Souls cloister and in rooms adjoining the tower at Magdalen College (1507/9).

Another medium was also used for the same purpose. Bitumen was bought in large quantities at the building of the Queen's College Chapel in 1377/8, and at Cardinal College some of the cloister pilasters, against the ground floor of the hall, have bitumen used as a damp-proof joint.

The only reference to the use of centering for building a vault, which I have found, is in the Merton Library account for 1378/9,³ when 3 carpenters worked for two days 'ad faciendum cinterves pro volta ijs viijd'.

Chimney repairs, for some reason, needed salt, perhaps to help to harden or vitrify the back. Such an entry is in a Magdalen account for 1516/7; 'Custus aule, Solut. pro viij modijs de le baysalt pro reparacione cam'.

Cramps or dowels (cramponys) are mentioned during the repair of some pinnacles at New College in 1412/3.

There are not as many allusions to mason's tools as one would expect. During the building of Merton Library in 1371/3⁴ a plank was bought 'pro uno instrumento vocato livel iijid ob.', and in the first year of All Souls building accounts, 1437/8, various items are mentioned together with 'uno levello pro latomis empt'.⁵ Lines, perhaps for plumb bobs, were bought in 1439/40 at All Souls.⁶

Two large items in any building operation were the provision of scaffolding and of hoisting gear. C. F. Innocent's statement⁷ that in the Middle Ages the platforms of building scaffolding were made, not of planks, but of wattlework, which he points out was used as late as the middle of the nineteenth century, is amply borne out by Oxford archives.⁸ The main supports were of timber such as elm,⁹ and the hurdles, to act as platforms, were lashed to the framework with ropes or withies.¹⁰ The chief source of supply for hurdles was Stonesfield¹¹ which, despite its name, probably grew many willows suitable to provide wickerwork.

Hoisting gear was generally rather expensive, and consisted of pulley, ropes and perhaps a cradle or container. The first reference to a windlass (verne) is during the Merton Library operations of 1377/8,¹² when Robert Carpenter provided wood and made a new head for one. A cooper repaired its axle, and later the cook supplied fat to grease ropes of the apparatus. A piece of mechanism for hauling up material at New College bell tower in 1396/7 is mentioned in the building account; William Willebury repaired a big wheel (14d.) and a large cable to run over the wheel for elevating stone and timber was bought for 17s. 4d. When put-log holes in the New College bell tower were being filled in 1402/3 two sawyers cut studs to make a cradle, which might have been intended to carry the mason. Two brass pulleys were bought for a windlass at All Souls in 1437/8 (17s. 2d.), together with pork fat and two ropes. Later, commons were given to the

¹ Building Accounts, fo. 9 dorso. More shells were bought in 1438/9 (fo. 28).

² *Ibid.*, fo. 51 dorso.

³ Merton Archives 4102 B (a).

⁴ *Ibid.*, 4102 B (b).

⁵ Building Accounts, fo. 2.

⁶ *Ibid.*, fo. 51 dorso.

⁷ *The Development of English Building Construction*, 125.

⁸ There are references to scaffolding at All Souls in 1437/43, Lincoln in 1477/8, 1487/8 and 1509/10, Magdalen in 1466/7, 1515/16, and 1520/1, Merton in 1371/8 and 1448/50, New College in 1396/7, and the Queen's College in

1400/1 and 1425/6.

⁹ At the Queen's College in 1425/6 elms to construct scaffolds cost 12d., and at All Souls in 1437/8 various elms for the scaffold cost 26s. 2d.

¹⁰ Withies were bought for All Souls scaffolding in 1437/8.

¹¹ At Merton bell tower in 1448/50, 60 hurdles for scaffolds were supplied, mostly from Stonesfield, by Thomas Hyclys and William Myllyn, and when Magdalen walls were being built in 1469/70 John Wat of Stonesfield supplied 24 hurdles.

¹² 4102 B (a).

carpenters who put the windlass in position.¹ When Merton bell tower was being built in 1448/50 3 conveyors of box form were used to lift stone. A large fitting for the 3 chests cost 2s. 6d. and 300 nails and a large wheel 10s. 6d. Thomas Smyth of Chipping Norton supplied bindings for the chests. In the second Merton bell tower account for 1450/1, 18d. was spent for nails to repair the big pulley wheel and a rope which ran over it was greased with lard.² A small crane cost Magdalen 3s. in 1468/9.

Perhaps the crane whose history is best known is one acquired by William Orchard, from the Abbot of Rewley, for Magdalen College (10s.) when the chapel and hall were being built in 1474.³ In a letter of 1478 to William Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester, the University requested the use of it 'for to provide such expensive things for ourselves would be a great drain on our resources and would seriously delay the completion of our new School' (the Divinity School).⁴

ORGANISATION, GRADES AND WAGES OF THE MASONS

There is no evidence of a masons' guild at Oxford as at York and elsewhere. A lodge was built at each building operation and acted as a centre and a workshop. A masons' lodge at Merton College, serving the men working on the new library, was repaired by the carpenters in 1377/8.⁵ In the first year of the building of All Souls, 1437/8, a lodge for the masons at Burford cost 4s.,⁶ and in April of the same year a carpenter repaired a lodge, probably at the College.⁷ A lodge was rented at Burford in 1438/9 (5s. 6d. a year), and straw and coarse hay was bought for one being built, perhaps at Oxford.⁸ John Hochons of Burford was paid a year's rent of 6s. 8d. in 1441/2, for a mason's lodge called 'Salamon's', hired from him.⁹ Much of the stone must have been shaped in the lodge at Merton, when the tower was being built in 1448/50 and men used it all the year round. One Wyner was paid 8d. for straw to thatch it in June, 1448. Later Richard Hyll supplied a load of straw (16d.), John Low two loads (4s.), and Elizabeth, wife of the master mason, Robert Janyns, combed straw (12d.) for Radley to thatch it. John Asche, carpenter, also repaired the lodge for 7 days.¹⁰ A new lodge was built for work not named at Merton in 1476/7 and thatch for it cost 2s. It is probable that the W. window of the chapel and the blocking walls were built at this time.

On the whole it can be said that wages, within the period 1370-1530, varied very little, and the basic wage for an ordinary mason was 6d. a day and 3s. a week, both at the end of the fourteenth century and at the beginning of the sixteenth century. On the other hand, it must be pointed out that wages must have risen *circa* 1380, for practically all the men receiving 6d. a day were fined under the Statute of Labourers, and even took the fine as a matter of course. The Statute of Labourers of 1360 had stated that masters should take 4d. a day and others 3d. or 4d. according to their worth.¹¹

There was a seasonal variation in wages, as is shown in the All Souls accounts. In 1437/8, for instance, the summer rate was 6d. a day for the average mason, but in the first week of November it dropped to 5d.¹² In the first week of February, 1438/9, it rose again.¹³ At the building of Merton tower the summer rate was likewise paid from the first week in February to the end of the last week in October.

The Oxford archives throw quite a lot of light on the categories of masons and their wage rates.

The most important mason at any building operation was the master, who made the design and controlled the work, subject to the wishes of the Patron and to the Clerk of the Works who administered the Patron's money. He usually received 4s. a week, plus a yearly fee and an allowance for a robe. Mr. Salzman, however, points out that important

¹ Accounts, fo. 2 dorso.

² Merton Archives, 4103 B.

³ Bloxam, *Register of Magdalen College*, ii, 234.

⁴ *Epis. Acad. Oxon.*, ii, 443.

⁵ Merton Archives, 4102 B (v).

⁶ Building Accounts, fo. 2.

⁷ *Ibid.*, fo. 5 dorso.

⁸ *Ibid.*, fo. 28.

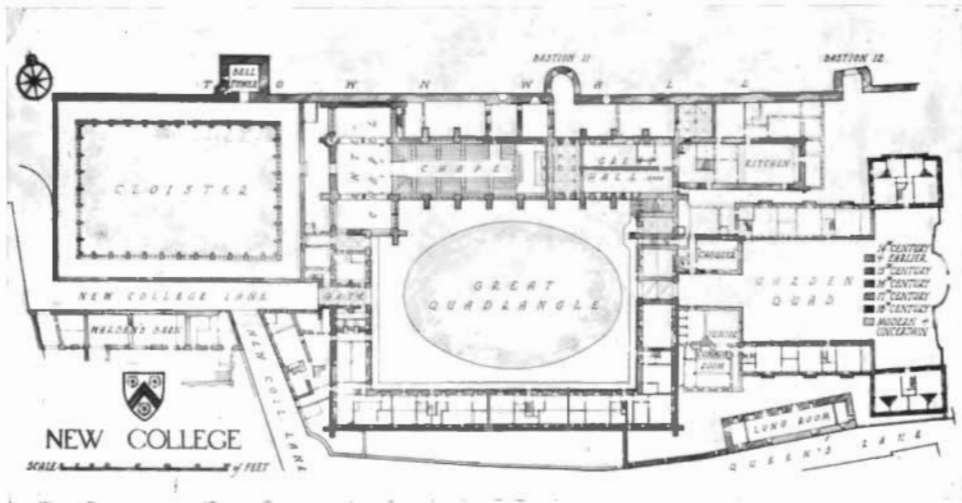
⁹ Building Accounts, fo. 91.

¹⁰ *O.H.S.*, xviii, 336.

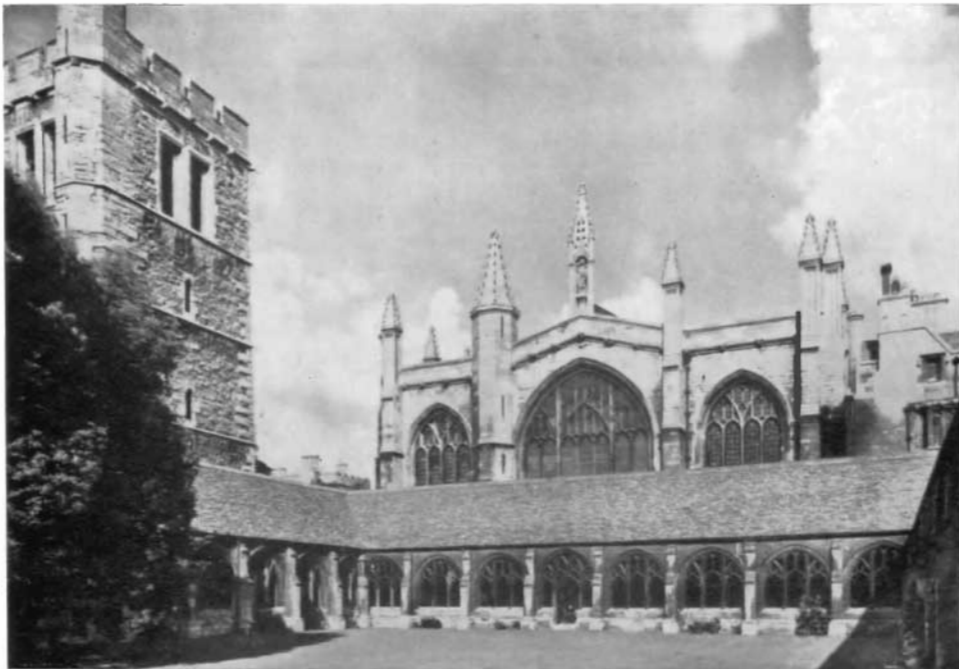
¹¹ L. F. Salzman, *Building in England*, 73.

¹² Building Accounts, fo. 8 dorso.

¹³ *Ibid.*, fo. 13.

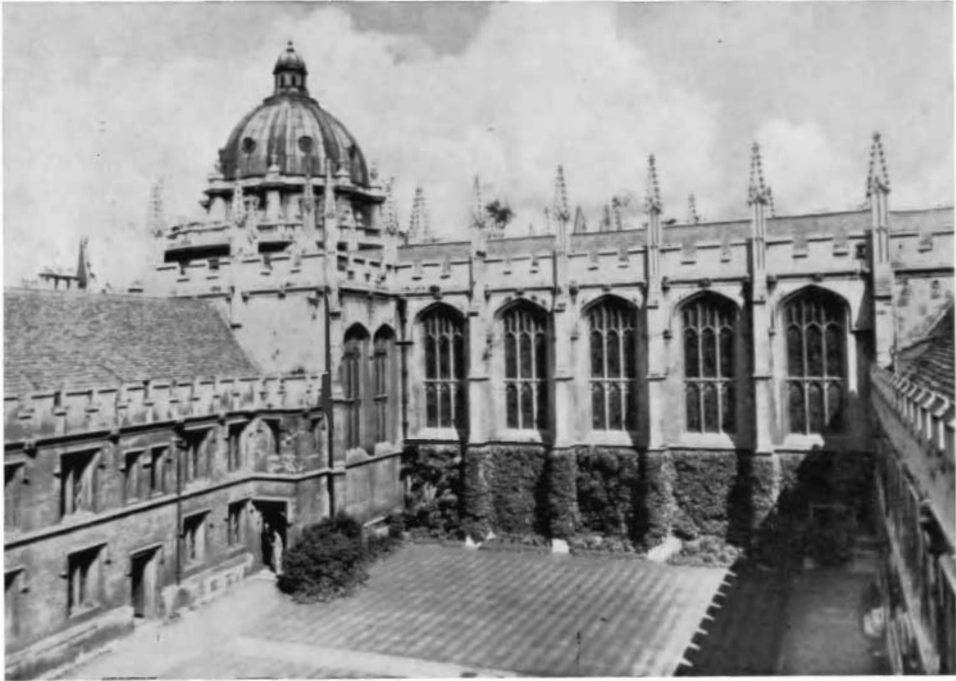


A. NEW COLLEGE PLAN



B. NEW COLLEGE. CHAPEL (1380/6) DESIGNED BY WILLIAM WYNFORD, TOWER (1395/1403) BUILT BY WILLIAM BROWN

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A. ALL SOULS COLLEGE (1437/43) DESIGNED BY RICHARD CHEVYNTON



B. THE QUEEN'S COLLEGE. CHAPEL (1364/82) BY ROBERT MASON, HALL (1388/1402) BY WILLIAM BROWN, ANTECHAPEL (1516/19) BY WILLIAM EAST

masters had received 1s. a day since the thirteenth century.¹ William Humberville, master mason at Merton Library, received 4s. a week in a preliminary account dated 1369/70, and his wage in the winter time was 3s. 4d. a week during the first building account of 1371/3. Although there is no other evidence, his rate was probably 4s. in the summer and 3s. 4d. in the winter; no fee is mentioned. William Brown, master mason of New College bell tower (1396/7) and the Queen's College hall (1388-1402), usually worked by contract, but received 3s. a week for ordinary jobs. Richard Winecombe agreed to become master mason of the Divinity School in 1429, with a fee of 40s. a year, and was to receive 4s. a week while in Oxford. Richard Cheynton, master mason of All Souls College in 1437/43 was not so well paid; his annual fee was 26s. 8d., and he received 3s. 8d. a week in the summer and 3s. 4d. in the winter. Robert Janyns, master mason of the bell tower at Merton in 1448/51, had a fee of 20s. a year and 8d. a day (4s. a week), winter and summer. He was better paid than Thomas Elkyn, who succeeded Richard Winchcombe as master mason of the Divinity School in 1439, who was to have a fee of 13s. 4d., and 4s. a week in the summer, and 3s. 4d. in the winter. The three last important local master masons, William Orchard, designer and builder of Magdalen College, the vault of the Divinity School, and many other Oxford structures, William Raynold, builder of Magdalen tower, and William East, master mason of Corpus Christi College, and the antechapel and Provost's bay window at the Queen's College, all worked by contract and no definite wages are cited; William Raynold earned 3s. to 3s. 4d. a week on small jobs. Henry Redman and John Lubyns, master masons of Cardinal College, earned 1s. a day.

Although there was probably a warden of the masons, second in charge to the master, on all important building operations, only two are specifically mentioned. Robert Janyns, when warden at All Souls College in 1437/43 had an annual fee of 13s. 4d. and earned 3s. 4d. in the summer and 3s. in the winter, while William Johnson, warden at Cardinal College in 1524/9 earned 3s. 8d. a week.

Freemasons were the better qualified members of the craft, who prepared and dressed the freestone, and besides comprising the masters and wardens, also included a great number of men who never designed a building. In a list of wages at Cardinal College of 1528² setters are grouped with wardens and received 3s. 8d. a week, but as a rule freemasons received 6d. or more a day throughout the period. At Merton Library in 1371/3 the masons received 3s. a week and 2d. for 'elevenses'. At All Souls in 1437/43 the freemasons received 3s. 4d. a week in the summer and 2s. 10d. (5½d. a day) in the winter, and at Merton bell tower in 1448/51 masons of similar standing earned 7d. a day in the summer (3s. 4d. a week) and 5½d. (2s. 9d.) in the winter. At Cardinal College freemasons could earn 3s. 4d. a week.

The second class of masons were the layers, setters and wallers, who placed in position the stones shaped by the freemasons, and a lower class still, included the rough masons or 'hardhewers'.³ As shown above, there was little distinction between the freemasons and the setters at Oxford, and likewise rough masons earned little less than the freemasons and had an ordinary wage of 6d. a day in the summer and 5d. in the winter. At Cardinal College they received 6d. a day. The term rough seems to be applied loosely, however, as some rough masons working on the extension to the lodge at Magdalen College in 1520/1 received 7d. and 8d. a day.

The labourers' rate was universally 4d. a day. There are very few references to apprenticeship, bearing out the conclusion reached by D. Knoop and G. P. Jones⁴ that it was not a regular practice. They point out that a boy could begin in a quarry, then be a rough mason as he became skilled in handling stone and perhaps could be a freemason. Richard Winchcombe, master mason of Adderbury chancel (in Oxford-

¹ L. F. Salzman, *Building in England*, 77.

² *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, iv, Pt. II, No. 2528, Section 7.

³ L. F. Salzman, *Building in England*, 31.

⁴ *Masons and Apprenticeship in Medieval England*, *Economic History Review* (1932); see particularly, p. 347.

shire), had an apprentice, who received 2s. 4d. a week in 1412, but by 1414 was earning 2s. 9d.¹

Stone carvers received high rates and John Massyngham, master carver, at All Souls in 1437/43 was paid 4s. 8d. a week, a scale higher than anyone, except the King's own masons. Andrew and John Broynne earned 3s. 8d. a week as carvers at All Souls also.

MISCELLANEA

Throughout the period important masons found it convenient and remunerative to supply stone from their own quarries if possible. In 1370/9 William Humberville owned quarries at Taynton and sold stone to Merton College for the library which he was building. William Wynford, master mason of New College, probably owned no local quarries, but stone, perhaps surplus from New College, was sold by him for the Queen's College hall in 1399-1402. John Atkynnys, a master mason at Merton College tower, with a wage equal to that of the master of the works, Robert Janyns, was in 1448/51 also the chief supplier of Taynton stone. William Orchard was almost as important a supplier of stone as he was a mason, and a summary of his activities is given in the account of his work. In 1522, when contracting to build part of Balliol College Chapel, William East, who owned quarries in the Burford area (Taynton), and lived there, was to supply stone for his work.

A constant danger, throughout the period covered by this paper, was that masons could be impressed for the King's work. During the building of New College bell tower (1396/7), a payment of 3s. 4d. was made to John Bernard, master of the King's works at Westminster, so that masons, carpenters and other craftsmen should not be taken from the College to the King's works.² The building at All Souls coincided with architectural activity by the King and naturally suffered. In June, 1441, Robert Westerley, the chief mason of Eton, went to Burford and Oxford to find men,³ and it is possibly as a result of this that Archbishop Chichele obtained a Royal order to exempt his men from being taken away.⁴ However, in October, 1441, John Wynwyk, warden of the masons at Eton, was allowed to impress masons even if employed by the Church⁵; there is an entry in All Souls building accounts, dated 16th September, 1441, 'Pd. to John Chaunter hired to carry to Windsor the gear of seven masons, taken by mandate of the King for his works there 20d.', a month before this permission had been granted. In 1442 four All Souls masons, William Campyon, John Rydale, Andrew Broynne and John Plesance, were at Eton, Rydale and Plesance having arrived at All Souls from Norfolk only in the previous year.⁶ The first roll for the building of Merton bell tower (1448/50) also shows this danger to private enterprise, for the King had intended to impress some of the Merton masons into his service; 20d. was paid to the King's servant that he might not take away Robert Janyns, John Hawker, Thomas Wykes and Hunt, and the Warden paid 5s. for a licence to keep their services. In 1479 the University of Oxford requested that men who had just finished Magdalen College should be allowed to work for the University and not be impressed for work at Windsor.⁷ On the other hand, the King could grant powers of impressment to local authorities, and in 1370 masons were taken to repair the walls at Oxford.⁸

Although the majority of masons were local, many came long distances to Oxford, and some Oxford men worked out on remote College estates. Apart from the master masons, so many of whom came from London, John Plesance and John Rydale came to All Souls from Norfolk in 1440/1, a mason, unnamed, came from Fotheringay at the same time, and Nicholas Baseley came to work at Merton in 1448/51 from Gamlingay, a College estate in Cambridgeshire. Many Oxford masons came from the Cotswolds, a great source

¹ Rev. T. F. Hobson, *Adderbury Rectoria, Oxfordshire Record Society*, viii (1926).

² *O.H.S.*, xviii, 313.

³ D. Knoop and G. P. Jones, *Building of Eton College*, 34.

⁴ Maxwell Lyte, *History of Eton College*, 12.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 12 and 13.

⁶ *Building of Eton College*, 34.

⁷ *Epistolae Academicae Oxon.*, 448.

⁸ *Cal. of Patent Rolls, 1370/4*, pp. 38-9.

of stone and a fine training ground. Place names borne by the men would make an interesting study, if it could be proved that they represented a recent move, but as place names had been borne by many families consistently from the twelfth century onwards, one could not draw profitable conclusions from it otherwise.

RECORDED WORK OF SELECTED MASONS

(1) WILLIAM HUMBERVILLE, *master mason*, 1369/78

The master of the masons, and in all probability the designer, of the library at Merton College, was William Humberville, usually called master of the works. He first appeared at Oxford in an interesting small account in the Sub-Warden's roll for 1369/70,¹ which probably refers to preparatory work for the building of the library, the chief item being the provision of Taynton stone. Humberville worked at the quarry for 4 weeks at 4s. a week, a high rate for the period, and his servant received 14s. 8d. for 10 weeks. The only reference to any building operation was that three masons were paid 6s. and their servant 20d. for making the foundations of the new building (*nove domus*). In 1370/1² William Mason, most probably William Humberville, was paid 3s. 4d. for the rent of a quarry at Taynton, and he and a servant worked there for 9 weeks (17s.).

Four rolls of building accounts exist for the building of the library, *circa* 1371/9. The Supervisor of the works in the first roll (1371/3)³ was John Bloxham, who took William Humberville to see William Rede, the chief benefactor. The most interesting feature of the preliminary preparations was that the supervisor and master mason surveyed other important libraries before designing their own; Bloxham and Humberville were granted 10s. 6d. for riding to see the library of the Preaching Brothers (Black Friars) at London, and later Bloxham visited Sherborne, Winchester and Salisbury, presumably to see their libraries. The chief source of stone for Merton Library was Taynton, and Bloxham and Humberville twice visited the quarry (4s. 3d.). When work started at Oxford, Humberville worked partly at Taynton and partly at Oxford. Payments were usually to him and four mates and various quarrymen; he worked for 7 weeks, at 3s. 4d. a week, cutting freestone in 1372/3, and his axe was sharpened (6d.) at the College expense. In the second library account, which probably covers from the beginning of 1377 to February, 1377/8, William Humberville was the only mason paid, but the amount (£36 4s. 4d.) may include payments by him to others. Humberville is shown to be a 'mason-contractor' in the third account (February-May, 1377/8), for he supplied stone from Taynton quarry (12s. 8d.). He received £4 5s. 7½d. for work, and again no other masons are mentioned. In the fourth and final account (1378/9), he again supplied stone from Taynton. The pay roll for the masons is quite full, covers 23 weeks, and one freemason often mentioned, probably William, received 3s. 4d. a week.

The name is unusual; William Humberville was probably the mason named Umbrevill, working with 15 others on the Treasury at Windsor Castle in 1353/4,⁴ but is unlikely to have been William Umbervylle, labourer, who, with Agnes his wife living in the SE. ward of Oxford, paid 12d. at the Lay Subsidy of 1380.⁵

Merton Library's design is conservative in the use of simple, cusped lancets, but at the same time has a large two-light window in the gable, with a straight-sided reticulation in the tracery, showing that Humberville was in touch with current development.

(2) ROGER MERIOT, *mason*, 1371/1411

Roger Mason was working on Merton Library in 1371/3,⁶ and occurs in a list of free-masons working at the quarry (over 3 weeks—11s.). He was accused and fined under

¹ Merton Archives, No. 3972 B.

² *Ibid.*, No. 2704.

³ The numbers of the building accounts in Merton Archives are 4102 B (b), 4102 B (a), 4102 B (c), and 4102, if taken in chronological

sequence.

⁴ St. John Hope, *Windsor Castle*, i, 150.

⁵ *O.H.S.*, xviii, 13.

⁶ Merton Archives, No. 4102 B (b).

the Statute of Labourers in 1391/2,¹ and Richard Norton, a mason who worked at New College, and William Masone de Eynesham were among his sureties. His surname Meriot has been added above the entry in the MS. He worked on the hall being built at the Queen's College for over 9 weeks at 3s. a week in 1400/1, and for 1 week and 2 days in 1401/2 (3s. 4d.). In 1407/8 he was repairing and plastering a wall in the Queen's College, near St. Peter's in the East (over 15 weeks—18s. 5d.). He sold tables (mensis—probably the flat stones in walls used as string courses) to Oriel College in 1409/10, and in 1411 he built the S. wall of a new house at Holywell for Merton College and was paid for 'grounselynge' it (6s. 8d. plus servant 6s.).

(3) ROBERT (MASON), *master mason*, 1377/9

The master mason of the Queen's College Chapel (Pl. VIIIb) seems to have been Robert, who worked for 51 weeks in 1377/8, earning £7 17s. 11d. in all. He had a helper, Richard, with him for 4 weeks, whose pay is included in the above amount; 10d. was paid to someone to fetch Robert to the College, and his superior status is suggested by the fact that he received livery (liberate), valued at 8s. A second chapel building account exists, for 1378/9, and Robert Mason worked for 28 weeks (73s. 11d.) during the year.

It is interesting to note that the Queen's College Chapel was the only one to be built with flowing Decorated features, and what is more remarkable is that it was building at the same time that the great chapel at New College, which is a model of gridiron 'Perpendicular' work, was being erected. Either early plans were being used to keep the slow progression uniform, or else the workmen were conservative and would not adopt the innovations of a Wynford. One of Robert's colleagues, John Sleaford, might have received his training at the Lincolnshire church of Sleaford, which has similar components in its Decorated windows to those in the Queen's Chapel E. window.

(4) LAWRENCE HENXEYE, *mason*, 1380/1418

Lawrence Henxeeye, also called Lawrence Mason, lived in the NE. ward and at the Lay Subsidy of 1380 paid 12d.² In 1381/2 he worked for 6 days at Merton (2s. 6d.), making a place in which to melt lead. On five occasions between 1390 and 1394 he was accused and fined under the Statute of Labourers, his sureties being men well known in the trade, including William Brown.³ In 1408/18 he was a mason at the building of Adderbury church chancel, and in 1411/12 he was working on the chapel pavement at New College.

(5) RICHARD NORTON, *mason*, 1380/97

Richard Norton was generally associated with another mason, William Brown, when working at New College. He lived in the Hundred outside the N. gate, and in the Lay Subsidy of 1380, he and his wife Alice, living in the parish of St. Mary Magdalene, paid 2s.⁴ He received commons at New College sometime in every year between 1389/93,⁵ was most probably one of the masons engaged on building the College, and was at both of the great Gaudies to which craftsmen were invited when the College was being completed. On the Saturday before Palm Sunday, 1391, he was a constable, whose duty it was to return the names of men accused by twelve jurors, under the Statute of Labourers, in the Hundred and Suburb outside the N. gate. He was himself one of the offenders on this occasion and was fined again in 1392 and 1394, with different men as sureties; he was at one time one of the jurors.⁶ He received commons in College in 1395/6 and 1396/7,⁷ and in the latter year he was paid 6d. for 9 pounds of lead for the door of the tower,⁸

¹ *Mediaeval Archives*, ii, 57, 58, 81 and 94.

² *O.H.S.*, xviii, 27.

³ *Mediaeval Archives*, ii, 3, 7, 23, 39, 44, 78, 85, 100 and 121.

⁴ *O.H.S.*, xviii, 36.

⁵ New College, Seneschall's book.

⁶ *Mediaeval Archives*, ii, 57, 61, 68, 81, 93, 102 and 124.

⁷ New College, Seneschall's book.

⁸ *O.H.S.*, xviii, 310.

probably for dowelling purposes. In 1388/9 a Norton in the Seneschall's book, amongst the scholars, may have been his son, for the names of a younger Wynford and Herlund are also found.

(6) WILLIAM BROWN, *master mason*, 1372/1415

There is no definite evidence as to who was the warden of the masons at New College; it could have been either John Sampson or William Brown, but the man who left his mark on Oxford was Brown, who is known to have been responsible for buildings of the first order in the University. He must have been a good mason, but strangely enough he is nowhere called a master mason, and one feels that the figure of William Wynford was always in the background as his supervisor, or in a position to give advice. His rates of pay also were always those of a freemason, about 3s. a week, but he never received the few pence extra which mark the master; on the other hand he was often paid in a lump sum, suggesting that he was a contractor, and it is very possible that his long career at New College means that he had an agreement with the College.

At the Lay Subsidy of 1380 William le Massone and Alice his wife, living in the NE. ward, paid 2s.¹ In 1385 a William Brown, mason, was paid for making a great fireplace, with two hearths, for the dancing room and King's Wardrobe at Clarendon Palace.² William Brown must have worked consistently on the new buildings rising at New College, for although the building accounts are lost, the Seneschall's book reveals that he received commons frequently in the first few years. He was at the College from 1388/9 to 1391/2, and was amongst the company of craftsmen at the great Gaudy on the Feast of the Assumption 1389/90, when Henry Yevele, William Wynford, Hugh Herland and others dined in Hall, and at the other Gaudy, on the night before Easter Day, when Wynford and others were present. During this period more is heard of him from the records of the courts, for on three occasions between 1390 and 1392 he was accused and fined under the Statute of Labourers. He had five different men as sureties, who were not masons. This seems to indicate that he was a fairly successful, well-known man.³ He received commons in New College in 1392/3, sometimes in the company of a William Hayward, who may have been a mate or assistant. Then there is quite a gap until 1395/6, when he was probably working elsewhere.

In 1396/7 William Brown first appears in New College accounts as the mason in charge of building the bell tower (Pl. VIIb). He constructed 33 feet of it (in height) at 20s. a foot, and was paid £33, of which J. Bouke, one of the Clerks of the Works, paid £13. Also he received £6 10s. for just over 9 perches of wall outside the great gate of the College (the part of the town wall demolished when the bell tower replaced one of the bastions), at 13s. 3d. a perch, including 9 perches and 7 feet of foundations. At the end of the roll is a note that the debt remaining consists partly of £2 6s. paid to William Brown by John Hulyng, the other Clerk of the Works (perhaps out of his own pocket), but William is still owed 4s.⁴ He was given commons in two weeks of this year and in two weeks of the next year.

The first definite moves for the building of a new hall at the Queen's College were made in the last decade of the fourteenth century, with William Brown in charge (Pl. VIIIb). The influence of William Wynford, who was Brown's 'chief' at New College, cannot be proved, though he was selling stone for this work. In 1398/9 'ernest money' was given to William Brown, when he contracted to build the hall (1d.) and in 1399-1400 he was paid in all £10 8s. 10d. As he was working on contract he paid his own men and no other masons are mentioned. His wife was mending Queen's Chapel vestments in this year. He was back at New College from 1399-1402⁵ and must have been completing the remainder of the tower, for in 1402/3 a reward of 70s. was paid to him by order of the Founder for finishing the tower on the Feast of St. Lawrence.

¹ *O.H.S.*, xviii, 26.

² L. F. Salzman, *Building in England*, 100.

³ *Mediaeval Archives*, ii, 3, 21, 39, 44, 100, 104.

⁴ Bell tower building account printed in *O.H.S.*, xviii, 310 *et seq.*

⁵ Seneschall's book.

William Brown was not mentioned in the account of 1400/1 for the building of the Queen's College hall, but his servant was paid 20d. and his men 2s. 4d. There is no other evidence that he still held a contract, but in the last account for 1401/2 he earned 3s. 6d. and supplied plaster of paris for the internal walls. His men worked for 4 weeks and earned 7s. 11d. It is possible that a short gap in Brown's activities at this time might mean that he was elsewhere. A William Brown, mason, was working for a short time at London Bridge after 1404.¹

He was given commons at New College twice in 1405/6, and there is no further record of his receiving any. In 1406/7 he spent four days paving outside New College E. gate (14d.). He was working at the Queen's College in 1407/8 and repaired a garden wall (14d.), built a stone wall 2 perches long (24s.), and a chimney for a College shop (21d.). In 1408/9 he was paid 3s. for mending the kitchen fireplace at New College and in the following year 3d. for similar work. These items show that he was versatile, and they also suggest that he had an agreement with the College, for otherwise he was very poorly paid. The theory of a contract is supported by the livery given to him in 1410/11 and 1411/12. In the latter year he was paid for four weeks' work on the paving of the chapel with Purbeck marble (12s.), while at the Queen's College he and his servant repaired a room (8d.).

According to the 1409/11 accounts of Oriel College he had done much work as principal mason, both on the hall, chapel, and probably on the gatehouse, and also at St. Bartholomew's at Cowley. In 1411/12 he modified Oriel College Chapel stonework to take new stalls made by William Roll, and he and his men worked for several weeks, earning £1 17s. 3d. in all. In 1412/13 he worked for four weeks and four days, at his usual rate of 3s., on repairs to pinnacles in New College, in association with Richard Winchcombe, the master mason of Adderbury chancel. No distinction is made in their description, so, although there is no proof, it seems that he could work on terms of equality with the man later to design the Divinity School. William's man, Thomas, is also paid for 4 days. In 1413/14 he stopped up some holes in the choir of the Queen's College Chapel and was paid for the foundation of a screen, made previously (8d.). The last entry referring to William Brown in the New College accounts is the payment of 6d. for covering the kitchen drain in 1414/15, and in the same year he was working in the hall of Oriel College (2s. 4d.).

William Brown might have been the William Mason who was working on Sparsholt rectory for the Queen's College in 1372/3, repaired a kitchen fireplace in the College (3s. 9d.) in 1373/4, repaired Sparsholt chancel in 1374/5, and prepared stone (30d.) in 1400/1. It is also probable that he was the William Mason paid by the Fellows of Canterbury College for help in speeding up the building of their chapel.²

The first completed bell tower at Oxford (for a College) was that built by William Brown at New College. It is well proportioned, designed on strictly functional lines, for it eschews decoration, and the square-headed windows are more akin to the domestic architecture of the period than to ecclesiastical design. This tower, like many other features of the College, is advanced and there are not many analogies for it. Henry Yevele built a tower of similar proportion at Westminster Palace *circa* 1365,³ but the windows of the belfry stage had traceried, pointed heads. There is a similar tower, with square-headed windows, to a parish church in Winchester, and the St. Albans clock tower falls into the same group of functional towers. The second important building erected by William Brown, the hall at the Queen's College, was of four bays resembling those at New College and at Balliol, which latter probably copied it. The fourth bay, which comprised the screens passage, was not lit by a window, and the other three bays, defined by two-stage buttresses, were lit by windows like those at New College, with two transomed lights, straight-sided reticulation with quatrefoil at the head, and a hood mould. The roof was steeply pitched, covered with stone slats, and had an octagonal louvre (of later date) over the second bay.

¹ D. Knoop and G. P. Jones, *London Bridge, and its Builders, Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, xlvii (1934), 16.

² W. A. Pantin, *Canterbury College*, 126.

³ J. H. Harvey, *Henry Yevele*, 29.

(7) JOHN SAMPSON, *master mason*, 1388/96

John Sampson was most probably a mason at the building of New College, for he was given commons there in 1388/9, 1389/90, 1391/2, and 1395/6.¹ The spasmodic nature of his visits suggests that they were of an advisory character, and that he was not really an Oxford man, for although charged under the Statute of Labourers as being in the NE. ward, in which the College stood, yet there is no further evidence that he lived in the town. The suggestion that he may have been an important mason at New College is based on the facts which arise from the charge, on 3rd September, 1390. When the cases came up for judgement on 15th March, 1391, unlike all the other craftsmen, who were duly fined, he was fully justified as a man who could take above the usual amount, because he was a skilled and clever master mason, both in building and sculpture, and was so much better than the other men in the same trade that he could not be judged by their standards.²

The mystery of John Sampson remains unsolved, for he does not appear in Oxford other than at New College, nor has he yet been found at any other great centre of work, and his reputation rests solely on this fine eulogy by the judges at the Oxford assizes.

(8) WILLIAM WYNFORD, *master mason*, 1360/1405

The first known references to William Wynford are with regard to work at Windsor Castle, between 1360 and 1366, where he begins as subordinate to John Sponle, the King's head mason, becomes his equal and finally probably succeeds him.³ If one can presume that John came from Sponley near Winchcombe in Gloucestershire, it is equally probable that William came from Winford in Somerset. This west country connection is interesting, for his two most important successors at Oxford, Richard Cheynton, mason of All Souls, and William Orchard, mason of Magdalen, were also possibly from the west. At Windsor he seems to have held a position equivalent to warden of the masons and probably took over from Sponle in 1365,⁴ for the latter was granted a corrody at Reading Abbey then.

William Wykeham (who had been Clerk of the Works at Windsor 1359/61) had been appointed Provost at Wells in 1363 and must have recommended Wynford to the Chapter, for the latter was appointed their chief mason on 1st February, 1364.⁵ The Chapter provided him with a house at a nominal rent, a retaining fee of 40s. a year and a wage of 6d. a day when working on the cathedral.⁶ There he designed and supervised the erection of the SW. tower, from which the other was copied at a later date. He was, in 1369, a member of the King's Household and seems to have been of much the same standing as Henry Yevele, the better-known King's mason.⁷ Abingdon Abbey was employing him in 1375/6, where he is said to have designed the gatehouse which still remains.⁸ In 1377/8 he was working at Corfe Castle, Dorset, and in the same year was taking masons to work at Southampton.⁹

In 1390 he received the important position of Surveyor of Winchester Castle, together with Henry Yevele and Hugh Herland,¹⁰ and continued in this appointment at least until 1401.¹¹ He was engaged at Bishop Wykeham's manor of Highclere in 1394, and possibly at about this time he designed Wardour Castle for John, Lord Lovell, who was a friend of Wykeham.¹² He was probably the master mason when Bishop Wykeham started to remodel Winchester Cathedral nave in 1394, and in the Bishop's will, dated 14th July, 1403,¹³ it is directed that the whole arrangement of the new work shall be made by Mr. William Winford and, if need be, by other sufficient and discreet persons skilled in that art, to be named by his executors.

¹ New College, Seneschall's book.

² *Mediaeval Archives*, ii, 3 and 22.

³ *Windsor Castle*, i, 181-2, 218, 185, 198, 215.

⁴ J. H. Harvey, *Henry Yevele*, 69.

⁵ *Historical MSS. Commission, Wells MSS.*, i, 267.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Life and Records of Chaucer*, iv., 174.

⁸ *Accounts of the Obedientiars of Abingdon*

Abbey (Camden Society), 28, 33.

⁹ *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1377/81, 199.

¹⁰ *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1388/92, 237.

¹¹ Confirmations, Letters Patent, Oct. 20, 1391, 1399 and 1401.

¹² J. H. Harvey, *Mediaeval Office of Works*, 44.

¹³ Lowth, *Life of William Wykeham*, Appendix XVII.

Wynford began work on Colleges when he was already famous. It is certain that he designed Winchester College, built between 1388/94, for the figure of William Wynford, 'lathomus', was placed in the E. window of the chapel together with the figures of Simon Membury, the Treasurer, and the carpenter. The Winchester College rolls do not throw much light on this, apart from an entry under Expenses for Commons in 1394/5, 'and for ten strangers on All Saints' Day, viz., masons and carpenters making a contract with Master William Wynford for the outer tower to be constructed, 2s. 4d.'. The entry is struck through, as probably the Bishop bore the cost and not the College.¹ Wynford was a guest of the Bishop at Wolvesey Palace, Winchester, together with Hugh Herland and Simon Membury, on 31st July, 1393.² A roll of 1399/1400 also, under Expense forinsece, notes an expenditure of 2s. 2d. on gloves to William Wynford and other masons at the beginning of the year's work.³

Proof of William Wynford's presence at New College depends on very few references. In a roll of 1388/9 under 'Expense forinsece', the cost of food for Hugh Herland and himself, dining in the Warden's house, is noted on three occasions. The Seneschall's book of 1386/96 provides other references. He was at the great Gaudy of the 26th (bursarial) week in 1388/9, with Henry Yevele, Hugh Herland, and other craftsmen. In the year 1389/90 a Wynford, who appears in the lists of members of the College, is almost certainly William's son, and after the second Gaudy in the 19th (bursarial) week of 1390/1, when he sat at the High Table with Hugh Herland, it is difficult to say whether an entry is for the master mason or the scholar. Wynford's servant, Thomas Selby, came in 1397/8, and seems to have rented a large garden in St. Cross parish, belonging to St. John's Hospital.⁴ Thomas and his wife had been living in the NE. ward as early as 1380, when they paid 2s. at the Lay Subsidy.⁵ The only other known reference to William Wynford in Oxford records is that he sold stone to the Queen's College, where William Brown was building a new hall, which might well have been designed by Wynford himself. In 1399-1400 one of Wynford's servants received 10s. for 30 loads of stone, in 1400/1 'Wyndeforth' was paid an old debt of 20d. and received 3s. for 9 loads of stone, and in 1401/2 he provided 47 loads of stone for 15s. 8d.

There has been great controversy as to whom the credit for the New College plan was due (Pl. VIIA). At first Bishop William Wykeham was praised as the author of the design, and certainly he had been a very efficient Clerk of the Works. Later opinion tended to favour the Bishop's master mason, William Wynford, who was master mason at New College and Winchester College, and was a colleague of Henry Yevele. Both masons had been associated with Bishop Wykeham when he was Clerk of the Works at Windsor, and both dined many times with him in later life. Mr. John Harvey suggests that Yevele and Wynford evolved the quadrangular plan between them and points out similarities in their style. The truth may be found in a compromise, for Bishop Wykeham would indicate what was to be included in the design for a College, and William Wynford would put his ideas into effect and would be responsible for detail.

New College was in almost every way a tremendous innovation. It was the first College to be planned and finished as an entity, and also the first to include all the essential buildings in a quadrangle. It is the synthesis of previous attempts to find an ideal College plan. The chapel, hall, library, treasury, Warden's lodgings, chambers and other offices are all based on a large quadrangle, 150 feet by 125 feet, entered on the W. side by a gate tower, a new feature in Oxford, with chambers on either side belonging to the Warden, who also had rooms over the gate. On the N. side the chapel and hall formed a continuous range which also embodied new ideas, for the chapel had no E. window, but a blank wall covered by a rich reredos, and an antechapel consisting of a truncated nave of two bays: the hall was set on an undercroft. The E. side consisted of Bursars' rooms with library

¹ J. D. Le Couteur, *Ancient Glass in Winchester*, 77.

² *Henry Yevele*, Pl. XLII-V.

³ J. D. Le Couteur, *Ancient Glass in Winchester*, 77.

⁴ *Cartulary of St. John the Baptist*, iii, 252, and a New College roll of 1395/7.

⁵ *O.H.S.*, xviii, 24.

above, and the S. side was a range of chambers. Besides the complete quadrangle there was a cloister and quadrangle to the W. of the chapel, and the kitchen and butteries were housed in a range projecting eastwards from the hall.

The design of New College Chapel was perhaps modified while building was in progress (Pl. VIIВ), for there is a probability that the distinctive antechapel and the position of the cloister were determined by peculiar circumstances.

The plan of Wynford's chapel, as it stands, is the first example of its type in Oxford and was copied many times afterwards. In view of this it is important to find analogies and to discuss the reason for the long chancel and truncated nave. For a long time it was believed that the idea arose when it was seen that Merton's Chapel, without the projected nave, was quite adequate for College use. This suggestion has been nullified by the realisation that the New College Chapel had received its present form by 1400, while Merton transepts were still being built long afterwards (1424), and that a nave would probably have been built there if Merton College could have afforded it. This paper suggests that the plan of New College Chapel, as it exists, was no more intentional than that of Merton Chapel, but that although it had reached this form at an early date, it embodies at least two modifications.

It is necessary to stress that in the present antechapel there is no resemblance to a transept, but that the two bays are like those of a nave. The roofs of the side aisles always have been parallel to the central aisle, running E. to W., and there were never gables to the N. and S. walls of the antechapel. Moreover, the construction is similar to that of any 'Perpendicular' church in East Anglia or the Cotswolds, in which the windows of the chancel are of the same form as those in the nave aisles. A transept would have been planned separately and not assimilated to the choir and, moreover, no existing transept ever had two arches on either side in this position (except possibly that at Wadham College Chapel, which is a hybrid). There appear to be no analogies for such a truncated nave as an original design before this date, for though the chapel at Haddon Hall has the same arrangement, it is a fifteenth century building.¹ Henry VI's foundation at Eton is later also, but examination of his original design offers some interesting suggestions; the chapel there was not begun until 1441,² by which time All Souls had already been designed with an antechapel similar to that of New College, but at Eton the chapel was meant to have a nave 104 feet long, with aisles on either side,³ a project which was never finished. King Henry's will says that the nave should be six feet longer than the choir 'which demension is thought to be right a goode, convenient and due proportion'; later in the draft of the will New College is expressly noticed as a model to be bettered—'And so the seid quere is larger than the Quere of Wynchestre College at Oxenford by iij fete, Brodder by ij fete and the walles heyer by xx fete. The pennacles larger by x fete'.⁴ It appears therefore that the will considers New College a good model as far as it went, but that a large nave was also necessary. If the New College Chapel is 'sui generis' as it seems to be, and if contemporary opinion expected a long nave, why is it of two bays only? The answer seems to be that a long nave was intended, but that the College was at first unable to purchase the land on which the western bays would stand, and therefore the plan was modified; when the messuages were acquired later the modified chapel had already proved adequate, so the cloisters were added to the West instead of the long nave. There is both documentary and architectural evidence to support this theory.

Until 1388 a road called St. John's Street ran from the back of Black Hall, through the northern half of the site of New College cloisters until the present chapel W. wall was reached, then, turning S., ran close to the chapel and the College gateway to join the present lane near the NW. angle of the Queen's College. Any plan for building in this area could not proceed until this road was closed, and if a full nave was projected it could be completed only to the E. side of the lane (its present extent). In November, 1388,

¹ Willis and Clark, *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, iii, 271.

² *Ibid.*, i, 383.

³ *Ibid.*, i, 354-7.

⁴ 'Wynchester College' was the original name of New College.

the Mayor and Aldermen of Oxford confirmed to the Lord Bishop of Winchester, the Warden and Scholars and their successors, 'a certain lane or common way which extends from Hart Hall eastwards towards the enclosure of the said College, and thence to a corner of the said College towards the south near the enclosure of Queen's Hall, that they may block up the said way, destroy it and include the site with other lands of the College, and for ever have and hold it as their own; instead thereof the Bishop shall make another lane and so apportion it for ever in a suitable place on their own soil, for the greater reputation and quiet of the College and for the convenience of the entire town'. £100 was paid to the Mayor.¹ In an earlier arrangement of 1379 this lane had not been included, and the College was responsible, among other things, for the construction and perpetual maintenance of 18 perches of the town wall W. of the great chapel towards Smithgate; the chapel had reached its present form by then. Now, in 1388, the College could also throw down a bastion and 12 perches of wall, that is from the W. face of the chapel to the E. edge of the house near the imperfect bastion in St. Helen's Place.² The cloister was still not mentioned.

It would appear that the cloister and tower were not part of the original plan, but were constructed after the closing of this lane, and perhaps the distance between the chapel W. wall and the cloister E. wall represents its width; in any case, it was open to the present road until new rooms for the Warden's house were inserted. The cloister is not aligned with the chapel as one would expect if it were part of a common plan. Moreover, it appears possible that the bell tower was intended, even after 1388, to flank an aisled nave, for it was built just where it would fit against the angle of a nave of seven bays. If a seven bay nave had been contemplated, the idea had been abandoned by the 26th March, 1387, when the first stone at Winchester College, also by Wynford, was laid,³ for there, although there were no such limitations to the site as there were in the crowded town of Oxford, the chapel was designed from the first without a proper nave and with the tower at the W. end of the N. wall. Also the chapel and hall, while included in the same range, were reversed so that the chapel, being placed to the E. could have a fine E. window. The cloister and bell tower were now properly incorporated in the plan.

Architectural features in New College Chapel prove that the original plan was modified. In the first place, if a long nave were intended the W. wall would show signs of after-thought, and in fact the walls, from top to bottom, are not bonded in at the NW. and SW. angles of the antechapel, although as one would expect, the SE. and NE. angles are perfectly bonded. There are further complications in the vicinity of the W. window, for inside the two-centred head of the window fits awkwardly under a flattened, four-centred arch, and the wall below the window, containing the W. door, is definitely inserted between the jambs of the window, which are prolonged to the ground. The sequence might therefore be: (1) a chancel and two bays of an aisled nave built, (2) a wall built across the second bay of the nave, pierced in the middle by an arch with a four-centred head, to allow for the building of an aisleless nave, or some other building to the W., (3) the W. end was finally closed by the modification of the archway to take a W. window which utilises its jambs, but has a head, tracery and mullions and transome inserted; the bottom of the archway was walled up and the W. doorway inserted probably at the same time as the construction of the window.

William Wynford can perhaps therefore be credited with the design of the first typical Oxford antechapel, which is also a monument to an adaptable genius, confronted by adverse circumstances.

¹ Wood's MSS., F 28, 16, quoted in 'Oxford Topography', Hurst, *O.H.S.*, xxxix, 144-5.

² *Ibid.* Hurst gives careful measurements of the wall in feet.

³ Willis and Clark, *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, i, 53.

(9) SIMON CERLE, *mason*, 1390/1418

Simon Cerle, also called Simon Mason, is first heard of in the NE. ward, when in 1390 and 1391 he was accused and fined under the Statute of Labourers.¹ He was given commons in New College in 1395/6, with William Brown and others, and again in 1401/2.² In 1402/3 he was working on the bell tower windows for 4 days at 5d. a day, and received commons in this year and 1403/4. In 1406 Simon Cerle was paid a bill for building work for Merton College at Holywell Church; perhaps the N. arcade and aisle. He was building a new shop for the Queen's College in 1407/8 and in 1411/12 he was helping to fit new stalls into Oriel College Chapel. He was employed quite a few times by New College in 1411/12 also; he was paid 8d. for 3 days' work paving under the W. gate, and 7s. for over 2 weeks paving the chapel and also built a house at Drayton. The last reference to Cerle is in 1417/18, when he received commons at New College.

(10) JOHN LAMBETH, *rough mason*, 1398/1426

John Lambeth, rough mason and handyman at the Queen's College, first occurs there when the hall was being built. He worked consistently at the quarry in 1398/9 for 11 weeks in all, at a rate of 2s. a week, and was paid 1d. for repairing his tools. In 1399/1400 he earned 56s. during the year, but the sum includes two periods when he was working with another man. In 1400/1 he worked for 25 days (9s. 2d.) piling up stone, and for over 18 weeks up at the quarry (£2 7s.), sometimes digging stone and sometimes cleaning the quarry. There is also an entry 'Item pro emendacione bidentis Lambeth iiii d'. In the last building account of the Queen's hall in 1401/2 John Lambeth earned 2s. 8d.

In 1403/4 he repaired a wall in the Queen's College (6½ days-2s. 2d.), and worked for 5 days in the small house by the kitchen (23d.). He was serving Roger Mason for nearly 3 weeks on a wall near St. Peter's Church (5s. 10d.) in 1407/8, and in 1411/12 he was paid 3s. 4d. for 10 days' work on the paving of the chapel at New College. John Lambeth was working at the Queen's College (fodienti pro canabo) in 1418/19, and he last occurs at the same College in 1425/6, when he helped the slaters working on roofs for 32 days (10s. 10d.).

In 1390 John Lambeth was being paid too much by his master, John White, who was fined under the Statute of Labourers.³

(11) RICHARD WINCHCOMBE, *master mason*, 1398/1439

Richard Winchcombe was working at Porchester Castle, in Hampshire, in 1398/9,⁴ and may have been impressed for that work from Winchester College.⁵ He was master mason at the building of the chancel of Adderbury Church, Oxfordshire, appropriated to New College, in 1408/18, and was given livery by the College in 1410, 1411, 1412, 1414 and 1417. In 1412/13 he was paid 3s. 3d. for a week's work on the pinnacles of the College.

In 1429 Richard Winchcombe became master mason of the Divinity School at Oxford and his salary as superintendent of the building was 40s. a year, with a gentleman's gown or the value in money (13s. 4d.), 4s. a week while living in Oxford, a house for himself and wife, fodder for a horse and travelling expenses.⁶ He may have been dead by 1439, when Thomas Elkyn became master mason of the Divinity School.

At Balliol College a doorway now set between the library and the chapel as an entrance to the latter originally stood just to the N. of the oriel window of the Master's Lodge, as an entrance to the screens passage. The mouldings are very refined, and it is a smaller edition of the one forming the entrance to the Divinity School. It was probably erected in Dr. Thomas Chace's time, whose arms occur on the buttresses of the Divinity School,

¹ *Mediaeval Archives*, ii, 3, 7, 23, 39 and 44.

² New College, Seneschall's book.

³ *Mediaeval Archives*, ii, 4.

⁴ D. Knoop and G. P. Jones, *Introduction to Freemasonry*, 86.

⁵ J. H. Harvey, *The Architects of English Parish Churches*, A.J., cv, 21.

⁶ *Epis. Acad. Oxon.*, i, 46-7.

and it is probable that he, as Chancellor (1426/31) could acquire the services of Richard Winchcombe, master mason of the Divinity School, for his own College, to build an entrance to the hall.

(12) JOHN BORDE, *marbler*, 1411/47

John Borde was paid £13 13s. 4d. for Purbeck marble for New College Chapel pavement in 1411/12. He was the carver of the Beauchamp tomb at Warwick in 1447/53, and a Corfe marbler.¹ The tomb was made by John Essex, a London marbler, who let the greater part of the working to Borde. The latter covenanted to make a tomb of marble, for which he was to be paid £45, and he would receive £4 13s. 4d. carriage from Corfe to Warwick.²

(13) RICHARD CHEVYNTON, *master mason*, 1437/43

The master mason of All Souls College was Richard Chevynton (Pl. VIII A). He is not known otherwise, though he may have been chief mason at Abingdon Abbey, for in an account of 1440/1, during his 4th year at All Souls, he was given livery there in company with other craftsmen.³ This would suggest that, like other master masons of the fifteenth century, he supervised more than one building operation at a time. He lived in Abingdon with his wife Matilda, had died by 1443, and had arranged for obits at St. Nicholas Church by the gate of Abingdon Abbey.⁴

Chevynton's work for All Souls between 1437/43 was almost certainly of a supervisory character. He attended the two centres of activity, Oxford and Burford, intermittently, and with decreasing frequency during the five years of building. The building accounts simply state that he was paid for so many days' or weeks' work, at 3s. 4d. a week, and that he also received an annual fee of 26s. 8d. The work at Burford received most of his attention; this, together with the fact that Taynton stone was nearly always carted to Burford and thence to Oxford, indicates that the stone was shaped in the yards there and arrived at the College ready to lay.⁵

He must have copied the New College plan very closely, but with two differences, as All Souls is much smaller than New College; the hall was placed at right angles to the chapel and the library was made smaller to fit into the smaller quadrangle. The chapel is the first in Oxford to copy that of New College as completed *circa* 1400, but it has the refinement of windows with four-centred heads. Original features are a lobby leading to the entrance at the SW., covered with four bays of fan vaulting, and a buttery cellar

¹ J. H. Harvey, *Gothic England*, 104.

² Dugdale's *Warwickshire* (1730), 446.

³ *Accounts of the Obedientians of Abingdon Abbey*, 121.

⁴ A. E. Preston, *St. Nicholas, Abingdon*, *O.H.S.* (1935), 195-6.

⁵ *Details of attendance and pay*. In the first year 1437/8 he was paid 20s. for 3 terms, in part payment of his fee of 26s. 8d. In the second year 1438/9 he was paid 3s. 4d. a week for work at Burford in the second and third weeks of January, and was at Oxford for the fourth and fifth weeks. (It is unfortunate that his rate of pay is not stated in the summer months, but it is certain that the mason who receives 3s. 8d. then must be Chevynton.) In June, 1438/9, he worked for half a week at Burford in the first week and again in the fourth week (20d.). He was probably back at Oxford for half the first week of July (20d.) and for 2 days of the first week of August, at 6½d. a day. He was at Burford again for 4 days of the fourth week of August (2s. 2d.), and the first week of

September he worked for 2 days at the usual rate. He was paid for a week and a half in the third week of November at 3s. 4d. a week and for the fourth week. He was present at Burford for the first 2 weeks of December. The third year records much the same kind of attendance at the same rates. He was at Burford all January and the first week of February, and then did not work apparently until the last 3 weeks of April, and then only for a few days each week. He did 2 days at Burford in the first week of May and then occurred again during the first and third weeks of November. In the fourth year, 1440/1, he worked 3 weeks of January, one of February, one in March, one in September, all at Burford, and in the third week of September he was paid for 3 weeks' work at Oxford and Burford. In the fifth year, 1441/2, he appeared in the fourth week of January, in the third week of December, and was paid for 4 other weeks.

under the E. end of the chapel, roofed with four bays of quadripartite vaulting. The hall was like that at New College, but on the ground floor. The gate tower at Merton had improved on that of New College by putting the richer stage, with the niches, in the middle. Now a further development which sets the fashion for the next 80 years is seen at All Souls College, where the centre niche was put in a stage above the side ones. It is just possible that the change in design was due to a probable Somerset origin of the master mason, Richard Chevynton.

(14) JOHN MASSYNGHAM, *carver*, 1409/50

Probably the most specialised mason at the building of All Souls was John Massyngham, a London citizen and carver, who was one of the best sculptors of his day. He may have been John Massyngham, carver, who had been imprisoned in 1409 because he had left the service of John Dobson, a London carpenter, before the proper term,¹ and in 1448/9 he made an image of the Virgin for the parish church of Eton.² In 1447/9 he received more than £66 for work at the Beauchamp Chapel at Warwick, and was commissioned in 1450 to make a wooden model of the effigy of the Earl of Warwick, to be cast in latten. A man named Messyngham was paid £7 13s. 4d. for painting statues of a reredos in Winchester College Chapel in 1470/1.³ This was perhaps John Massyngham, junior, who was servant to his father at All Souls.

John Massyngham first appears in the All Souls accounts as a maker of statues in the 1st year, 1437/8,⁴ and was paid for 15 weeks and 4 days' work at 4s. 8d. a week, plus food and bed, in all £3 12s. 4d. He and two servants received 7s. 3d. for the expense of riding from Oxford to London, and John Massyngham and his servant were given a reward of 4s. 4d. by the Founder, Archbishop Chichele, at Croydon. He was first paid regular wages in July, and in the third and fifth weeks received 9s. 4d. for himself, Thomas Whitlock and a boy; in the first and fourth weeks 6s. 8d., Whitlock being away. After this he, Thomas Whitlock and the boy worked regularly from August to the third week of November, at an inclusive rate of 9s. 4d. Massyngham and his boy reappeared in the fourth week of April, 1439/40, and then worked regularly again, less one week in July and two weeks in August, until the third week of November, again at a rate of 6s. 8d. This year some plaster was bought for him. Massyngham did no work in the fourth year, but in the fifth year, 1441/2, he and a servant were paid 8s. in January, 'faciendo magnas ymagines lapideos situat. super summum altare dicti Collegij', in other words, for the statuary of the reredos. In the first week of February he and Thomas Whitlock and 2 servants received 11s. 4d. and continued to work steadily until the third week of September at the same rate.

It is fairly certain that John Massyngham was responsible for the statues in the niches of the gate tower, and for the reredos, but all that now remain are fragments of the gate tower ones. The carving of the tabernacle work of the reredos was singularly delicate and graceful, and Flaxman much admired Massyngham's figure of Henry VI which stood in one of the gate tower niches.⁵ John Massyngham, junior, was servant to his father in 1437/8 and worked for 17 weeks at 2s. a week, plus food and bed.

(15) THOMAS WHITLOCK, *carver*, 1437/42

John Massyngham's assistant carver at All Souls College was Thomas Whitlock. He received 2s. 8d., plus food and bed, for 17 weeks in 1437/8, 2s. 8d. for the first week in July, and after that his pay was included in a lump sum paid to John Massyngham and his assistants. He was not at the College in the fourth week of July. He was again mentioned in the first week of February, 1441/2, but it can be presumed that he was usually present with his master.

¹ J. H. Harvey, *Gothic England*, 82.

² Willis and Clark, i, 684.

³ *Gothic England*, 99.

⁴ Building Accounts, fo. 10.

⁵ Vallance, *The Old Colleges of Oxford*, 47.

(16) ROBERT JANYNYS, *master mason, 1438/64*

The warden of the masons at the building of All Souls College was Robert Janyns, a man well connected with Oxford and district, who first appears there as a skilled mason in 1438, capable of taking over from Richard Chevynton, receiving 6d. a day, and an annual fee of 13s. 4d. He worked there during the second, third and fourth years of the building period.¹ Like Chevynton, he seems to have been employed in an advisory capacity, and divided his time between Oxford and Burford.

The building in Oxford which was designed by Robert Janyns, as master mason, was the tower at Merton College, for which the building accounts exist (Pl. IXA). The first roll covers from 20th May, 1448, to 9th May, 1450, and the tower, erected on an already existing fourteenth-century crossing, was completed as far as the windows. The second roll covers from 14th March, 1450/1, to 24th November, 1451, and follows directly on the other. It is not complete, and it is difficult to see what part of the tower was being built, the only definite hint being the same as that in the previous roll, namely, that the windows were being fitted with ironwork. No roof was made. Janyns' name occurs in the first roll as late as the first week of February, 1448/9, when he was paid for a day's work. He then seems to have become warden of the masons at Eton College, where he first occurs in the wage list of the fortnight 10th-22nd of February, 1448/9, and was paid 8s. in part payment of his wages of £10 a year.² It will be seen, however, that he was still master mason of the Merton tower in the second roll, where he is called 'Master of the Works'.

Robert Janyns was connected with Burford and Abingdon, as well as with Oxford; on 12th July, 1448, he was paid 6s. 8d. by Merton College for riding from Burford to Oxford at different times. He might have lived there like William East later, and might have had trade connections with the Taynton quarries, or perhaps he merely stayed there to supervise the masons shaping stone as it came to Burford from the quarries. On 8th March, 1448/9, he was paid 4d. for journeys from Abingdon to the College: Richard Chevynton, the master mason of All Souls, was probably master mason at Abingdon Abbey, and it is logical to suppose that his warden, Janyns, may have worked there also. Robert Janyns' servant was also paid 4d. for coming from Abingdon to Oxford. Janyns was in receipt of a regular fee from Merton, and on 4th February, 1448/9, received 6s. 8d. in part payment, and another 13s. 4d. before Pentecost. He received at various times a truss of hay for his horse (2s. 8d.), was associated with two other masons, John Atkynns and John Reynold, in a small expense of 6d., and rode to Sydeley to fetch a mason, John Hawker, to work at the College. The Warden of Merton College received a licence that Robert Janyns should not be impressed into the King's service. His regular rate when working was 8d. a day winter or summer, for it did not drop in the winter like the pay of other masons. His work was chiefly supervisory as is shown by the few weeks that he is recorded as working.³

¹ *Details of attendance and pay at All Souls College.* In the second year, 1438/9, he was paid for 2½ days before Christmas in 1437/8, at 6d. a day. He was at Burford for 5 weeks of January at a rate of 3s. a week, and then is next mentioned in the fourth week of June, when Robert Janyns, 'gardianus lath.' was given 3s. 4d. in part payment of his fee of 13s. 4d. a year. In November and December he was at Oxford, and worked for 2 days after Christmas, at Burford. In the third year, 1439/40, he was at Oxford for the first week of January, at Burford for the next 2 weeks, returning to Oxford for the last week. He worked a week in February, and then is not mentioned until November and December. In the fourth year, 1440/1, the first week of

January was spent at Burford, the third and fourth weeks of January and the first week of February at Oxford. Afterwards he was at Burford from the third week of April, and at Oxford for the first week of March, and then is not mentioned again.

² D. Knoop and G. P. Jones, *The Building of Eton College, 1442/60*, 38.

³ *Details of work in 1448/50.* He was paid for three days in the fourth week of July, 1448, then missed two weeks, and then put in a moderate number of days each week from the third week of August to the fourth week of October. Following that he dropped in for odd days in December, and January, 1448/9, and then appeared for the last time in this roll in the first week of February.

In the second account roll Robert Janyns, who was called 'Magister operis', earned 8d. a day as before. His visits were infrequent¹; on 12th June, 1451, he received 10s. in part payment of his pension and later was paid another 5s. There were expenses to the value of 16d. on his account, and he was given a reward of 2d. There is no definite record that the tower was finished in 1451, and in 1455/6 Merton College paid the master of the tower building works 2s. 6d. for his advice.

In the meanwhile Robert Janyns had been engaged on various small jobs for All Souls and Merton. He was given 10d. as a reward by All Souls in 1448/9, and in 1449/50 3s. was spent to buy two pullets for a meal given to Robert Janyns by the Warden of All Souls in his own room. In 1452 Robert Mason was given 8d. by Merton College for repairing the chancel arch at St. Peter's in the East. Robert Janyns assisted an old colleague, Thomas Smyth of Chipping Norton, to fix some ironwork in All Souls College in 1457/8, and was given a reward of 12d. in July for advice about white-washing the chapel. He also received 3s. 4d. for supervising the building of a chimney for the Warden of All Souls, provided stone for it and hired masons. He is called Master Robert in this roll, and in 1463/4 Master Robert and his son made and fitted the St. John the Baptist carving above the gate of Merton College, and also made a carving of the Trinity and other things.

The Merton bell tower is a fine design; the pierced parapet became characteristic of Somerset towers, but there is also here a reminiscence of the great towers of the N., and it is interesting to find that a John Janyns was a farmer holding land from Merton College in Northumberland, and that the land was held by a John Janyns at least as late as 1469. The top stage of Magdalen bell tower is so similar to that at Merton that it must have been copied, a tribute to Robert Janyns' design.

Henry Janyns, who was an apprentice of John Clerk, the Warden of the masons at Eton College in the winter of 1453/4, and who was master mason at the erection of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, from 1475/83, was probably Robert's son.² His wife, Elizabeth, helped to thatch the mason's lodge at Merton, and a John Janyns, perhaps another son, was listed among the labourers and also occurs in 1469/71 at All Souls College. A younger Robert, perhaps Henry's son, was one of Henry VII's principal masons, and in 1506 submitted an estimate (together with Robert Vertue and John Lubyns) for Henry VII's tomb.³ He had built Henry VII's tower at Windsor in 1498-1500⁴ and was later joint master mason of Henry VII's chapel at Westminster. In 1511 he began Thornbury in Gloucestershire, and apparently rebuilt the King's Palace at Sheen, after its destruction by fire in 1497.⁵

(17) JOHN GOOD, *mason*, 1438/77

John Good was an ordinary mason who had a long working life, and although he cannot be said to have designed a building, he had a share in many of those which still stand in Oxford.

He first appeared at the building of All Souls in 1438/9, when he worked at Headington quarry and squared 720 feet of rag in February and March at 10s. a hundred feet (72s.), and trimmed stone in the fourth week of February; he was also squaring rag stone in the third week of November (3s. 4d.). He worked as a mason at the College for the last week of March and all April at a rate of 6d. a day, and for 2½ days in December at 5d. a day. He also appears in the January of 1439/40 and the August of 1440/1 at the same rates, and in 1457/8 he constructed a wall in an All Souls house inhabited by Nicholas Herne.

He was next occupied on the building of the large precinct walls of Magdalen College. In 1467/8 he and John Sevall built the foundations of the great wall for a distance of

¹ *Details of work in 1450/1*. He was at College during the third week of March, 1450/1, the third week of April, 1451, the second and third weeks of May, the first week of June, the last two weeks of July, the first and third weeks of August and the second week of September.

² Knoop and Jones, *The Building of Eton College*, 38.

³ J. H. Harvey, *Gothic England*, 130.

⁴ *Windsor Castle*, i, 247.

⁵ *Ibid.*

20 perches (53s. 4d.) and were paid a further £10 for the same work. They next made foundations and erected a garden wall, 23 perches long and 16 feet high (£5 4s.), and then constructed another wall from the W. end of the College hall down to the water and thence to the N., in all 18 perches long and 16 feet high with foundations (£9 17s. 4d.). He was setting stone for 18 weeks during 1468/9, though he seems to have lost some time owing to foggy weather.

John Good was first employed at New College in 1469/70, when he was working with William Cuttbert on repairs to walls and towers, for 8 days at 4d. a day and was given commons. Later he worked with John Madsay on the same job for 6½ days at 4d., plus 2s. 9d. for commons. In 1470 he repaired the pavement by the High Table in the hall and the pavement in the library. He also repaired the 'reyrdose' to a room, the door to the latrines and pavements to the High Table in the Warden's house, the choir, and at the top of the hall steps. In 1474 during the erection of Magdalen Chapel and hall, he squared and polished rag ashlar at Headington quarry (300 feet at 1d. a foot), and in 1476 he repaired New College cloister and supplied lime. John Good held a tenement in St. Giles, which had belonged to John Morys in 1477.¹

(18) THOMAS ELKYN, *master mason, 1439/45*

Thomas Elkyn is first mentioned when on the 16th January, 1439, an agreement was made between the University and himself to settle his wages and instructions as master mason of the Divinity School, Oxford. He succeeded Richard Winchcombe in that office, who had offended public opinion or had possibly spent too much money, for the University said that magnates of the realm and other people had disapproved of his work; Thomas was instructed to simplify the decoration of the statue niches, the over-elaboration of the casements and fillets, and other frivolities, as he had already started to do. His salary was to be 4s. a week in the summer and 3s. 4d. in the winter, and he was to have an annual fee of one mark. He was allowed to employ other good masons, subject to the approval of the Supervisor of the Works.²

Thomas Elkyns, mason, was witness to a Balliol deed of 20th June, 1445,³ but otherwise nothing is known of him, except that he perhaps came from Barrington in the Cotswolds.⁴

(19 and 20) ANDREW and JOHN BROYNE, *stone carvers, 1440/1*

Andrew Broyne and John, his brother, stone carvers, worked at the building of All Souls College for the third and fourth weeks of September, 1440/1, at 3s. 8d. a week each.⁵ Andrew Broyne is among the freemasons at Eton College in 1442, and for a short time in 1446, and was also a mason at Windsor for 131 days in 1439/40 and 89 days in 1440/1 at 6d. a day⁶; at Eton in 1442/3 he was penalised half a day for coming late to work.⁷

(21) THOMAS WOODWARD, *master mason, 1440/1*

Thomas Woodward deserves mention solely because he was the only man, other than Richard Chevynton and Robert Janyns, at the building of All Souls College, who might have been a master mason. He worked for the first week of August in 1440/1 at Burford, at a rate of 3s. 8d. a week, the same rate as the mason in charge, and had been given 20d. as a reward in July.

(22) WILLIAM LANE, *mason, 1440/56*

William Lane worked for 5 days in 1440/1 at the building of All Souls College at the rate of 6d. a day. He continued at the College afterwards, and in 1452/3 he and his

¹ *Oseney Cartulary*, i, 266.

² *Epistolae Academicæ Oxon.*, i, 191-3.

³ *Balliol Deeds*, 39.

⁴ J. H. Harvey, *Gothic England*, 80.

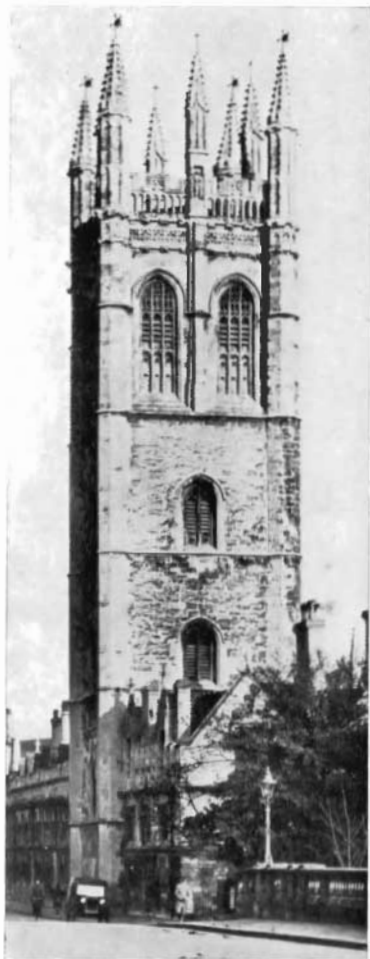
⁵ *Building Accounts to. 68 dorso.*

⁶ Knoop and Jones, *The Building of Eton College*, 34 and 39.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 26.



A. MERTON TOWER (1448/51) DESIGNED BY ROBERT
JANYS



B. MAGDALEN TOWER
(1494/1509) BUILT BY
WILLIAM RAYNOLD



A. MAGDALEN COLLEGE, THE FOUNDER'S TOWER (1474/80)
DESIGNED BY WILLIAM ORCHARD.



B. MAGDALEN COLLEGE, WEST DOORWAY OF CHAPEL
(1474/8) DESIGNED BY WILLIAM ORCHARD

servant John Moore were working at Michael and James Halls. In 1455/6 he and Richard froste constructed a chimney at Michael Hall and were served by Thomas Prentis. The next year he and Richard Frost were repairing Nicholas Robyns' house. In 1455/6 he was paid 3s. for a week's work in the kitchen at Canterbury College.¹

(23) JOHN BECKLEY, *mason*, 1442/55

John Beckley could turn his hand to almost any job within the mason's trade. In 1442 he and John Este, carpenter, built a transept and roof at Thame Church, Oxfordshire,² and in the same year he and three other men were repairing kitchen fireplaces at New College. In 1452/3 he was working for 6 days on the kitchen drain and the hall gutter, at a rate of 6d. a day. He also supplied 26 feet of 'metestone' (5s. 5d.) and a 'talystone' (9d.) for the drain. In the same year he, his man, and a labourer made a 'penon' on the wall of the town at the E. end of the cloister of New College, and was paid 7s. 2d. in all. In 1454/5 he and another man rehung tapestries in the hall.

(24) THOMAS WYKES, *mason*, 1448/74

Thomas Wykes might have been the Warden of the masons at Merton, for he worked very consistently on the bell tower there, and the Warden of the College obtained a licence that he might not be impressed for the King's work. He earned 7d. a day in the summer and 5½d. in the winter, but in the latter season he received 1d. a week more than the others. He did not appear in the second week of June, 1448, the first week of January, 1449/50, and the third week of April, 1450, but otherwise he worked every week. In the second Merton bell tower building account he was again the most consistent mason and only missed the second week of April (Easter week) and the fourth week of June. His rate was 3s. 4d. for a full week in summer and 2s. 10d. in the winter.

During the building of Magdalen College Chapel and hall in 1474 Thomas Wyke was paid £4 9s. by William Orchard, the master mason, for making corbel tables in the quarry at Wheatley (540 feet at 2d. a foot). He also received £3 for 18 weeks' work at 3s. 4d. a week placing tables, laying ashlar, and building doors and windows in the vestry and various chambers.

(25) WILLIAM ORCHARD, *master mason*, 1468/1504

Dr. Salter has already suggested that William Orchard was not only the most important local mason of his time, but that he was largely responsible for nearly every new Oxford building of the late fifteenth century. There is documentary evidence that he was working at Magdalen College and the Divinity School, and it is also possible that he was responsible for buildings at St. Bernard's and Balliol Colleges and for a vault at St. Frideswide's priory.

It was essential that the site of Magdalen College should be properly enclosed as it was outside the town, and the first building work there, between the years 1466/72, was the construction of a high wall, for which the building accounts remain. William Orchard was the master mason, and he is first mentioned in 1468/9; he cut 2,200 feet of freestone called 'perpoynt krest et tabule' for £6 15s. 8d. and was allowed 10s. for a robe. In 1469/70 the master mason prepared freestone (49s. 4d.) and also received £6 17s. 4d. for preparing stone and building a battlemented wall 24 perches long at 3s. 4d. a perch and for pointing the wall with mortar. In 1470/1 William Orchard prepared 3,900 feet of freestone (£12 0s. 6d.) and received £5 8s. 4d. for building 32½ perches of battlemented wall 5 feet high; his robe cost 10s. In 1471/2 Orchard prepared 11,025 feet of stone (£3 9s. 4d.) and built a wall 9 perches long and 5 feet high (30s.), and a lesser battlemented wall 48 perches long and 3 feet high (£9 12s.).

¹ W. A. Pantin, *Canterbury College*, 170.

² J. H. Harvey, *The Architects of English Parish Churches*, *Arch. Journ.*, cv., 25.

Orchard's first great work, therefore, was the supervision of the erection of a precinct wall for the College whose buildings were to constitute his most lasting contribution to architecture, but at this time he might also have been the master mason at Balliol College, for on the 10th October, 1472, that College granted him the lease of the Pike Inn.¹

On the 5th May, 1474, the first stone of Magdalen Chapel was laid and the chapel and hall were thereafter built as one entity and finished *circa* 1480. William Orchard was the master mason who probably designed the College and certainly controlled the building. The first payment to Orchard by the Supervisor of the Works, Richard Berne, was of £30, being part of £40, for ten windows of the chapel; another £10 was later paid for five chapel windows in part payment of £20, the balance being covered by the Founder, who next paid William Orchard two sums totalling £32 for constructing eight windows in the nave of the chapel. The Founder also paid £10 to Orchard for a 'clausura' (small oratory), and two doorways to be constructed in the E. wall near the High Altar and for two doors for the vestry. (The doorways in the E. wall were removed by Cottingham in 1831 because they did not suit the colour of the new stone inserted by him, and they are still preserved at Theale Church near Reading.) William Orchard received 20s. for his good work and conscientious supervision of the building operations, even to the point of delaying his own work (*ad impedimentum operis sui proprii*). He also received a fee of 20s. and 10s. for livery. There is an entry of expenses (3s. 2d.) for Robert Baron, a fellow, and William Orchard, riding to speak with the Founder and from London to Waltham. Throughout the account the Supervisor often gave William Orchard a lump sum with which to pay other masons, suggesting that Orchard had contracted to find men for the work.

By 16th September, 1475, the chapel was nearly completed, for by an agreement signed then William Orchard, freemason of Oxford, contracted to make a great window of seven lights in the W. wall of the chapel, according to an elevation drawn by him, for the sum of £13 6s. 8d., to be like the W. window of All Souls Chapel. Other parts of the College were also being built, and in the same agreement William contracted to make 22 cloister windows with buttresses, and to have for each window and buttress 48s. 4d.; he was to prepare freestone for twelve doors and one hundred and two windows for chambers, the windows to be as good as, or better than, those at All Souls College, and he would be paid 6s. 8d. for each window and door. He was also to receive 13s. 4d. each for windows of the library, each of which was to have two lights and to be as good as, or better than, the All Souls ones.²

William Orchard received a retaining fee from Magdalen College, and by a grant of the 2nd October, 1475, he obtained the rent of a corner house in St. Aldates, originally inhabited by John Barbour, as part of it; a grant of 26th March, 1477, gave him the rent of an adjoining house also, and the College Rentals show that his fee consisted of the rent of three adjoining houses in St. Aldates worth £4 a year.³ The implication of these grants was that he could repair or rebuild the houses, for in the 1475 grant of the house at the E. end of Penyerthyng Strete and abutting on Fysshestrete on the E. and Bullehalle on the W., he was to be allowed stone from Headington and wood from Shotover for building purposes. The grant also says that he was to have a robe worth 10s. and 8d. annually for life. The other grant (1477) of an adjoining house says that he can have 30 oaks from Shotover and 20 elms for building purposes, and also laths and nails. It is possible, therefore, that William was also skilled in the erection of timber framed buildings. In 1477/8 he sent receipts for sums of money received under the agreement of 1475.⁴

He was by far the most important mason in Oxford at this time, and in 1478 he evidently became master mason of the Divinity School to build the vaulting, for the Proctors' accounts contain an item of 12d. given for the hire of two horses for men visiting the Chancellor, who was probably out of Oxford because of the plague, to arrange for the oath of William Orchard (to observe a contract).⁵

¹ *Balliol Deeds*, 126-7.

² *Magdalen Archives Misc.*, 265.

³ *Cartulary of St. John the Baptist*, ii, 161-2;

iii, 269, 275, 277, 282.

⁴ *Magdalen Archives Misc.*, 265.

⁵ *Mediaeval Archives*, ii, 324.

In 1478 Magdalen College leased land at Burton in the parish of Headington to him for 59 years,¹ and in the same year he bought a house on the N. side of Waterhall from Robert Fisher.²

William Orchard made an agreement on 8th January, 1479, with Bishop Waynflete, Founder of Magdalen, to provide stone for Magdalen College, and he also promised that he, or Richard Berne for him, would see that as many quarrymen, masons or labourers worked in the quarry which Orchard farmed from the King as in his own quarry at Headington belonging to the College, to raise and prepare the best stone for Magdalen College and the College of Eton.³ At the same time Orchard made an agreement to construct buttresses and battlements of ashlar for the chapel, hall and library, two towers and cloister chambers at 1d. and 2d. a foot, the stone to be drawn from the King's quarry and the College quarry at Headington. He also contracted to make a newel stair (vyse) for the Founder's tower, with a door opening on to the roof, at 6s. a foot, and to make a spire for the top of it 16 feet high, for 9 marks. Pinnacles were to be provided, 11 feet 6 inches high, for the chapel, hall and two towers at 11s. 1d. each.⁴

In the meanwhile work was probably proceeding on the vaulting of the Divinity School, and in 1482/3 William Orchard rode to see the Bishop of London about it (13s. 9d.). The coats of arms in the vault show that it was set up about then and the Bishop as chief benefactor would be consulted about it.⁵ In the same year William was paid £5 3s. 4d. for supplying stone for the vault, and his servant received 5s. for another 10 loads, and William Orchard was paid a further £5 2s. 4d. for Headington stone.⁶

In 1484/5 it appears that William Orchard's son, John, was a member of Magdalen College, for there are references to the son of William Mason in the lists of men receiving commons as students. In this year also William Orchard of Oxford, armiger, leased all his lands, arable and otherwise in Burton field in Headington parish, to John Atkyns of Headington for 10 years; the rent was to be 3 quarters of wheat, 1 quarter of rye, and 4½ quarters of malt, but the amounts would vary slightly from year to year. William Orchard also leased to John Atkyns a cart and equipment; the witnesses were Headington quarrymen.⁷

The land at Burton, which Magdalen College had leased to Orchard for 59 years in 1478, was regranted on a lease of 20 years, or for life, at the nominal rent of a red rose yearly on the feast of St. John the Baptist. The working of College quarries on the land was reserved for them, except for two acres which William had acquired.⁸ (The indenture also mentions a messuage and land called 'Townsendys', and another messuage and a place where lime was made.) There are further references to his land in a deed dated 9th June, 1490, which refers to the dower of Katherine, widow of Sir Edmund Rede, in Headington. Some of her land lay to the S. of William Mason's land, and two other acres were on the E. of his land in 'Longefurbage'.⁹

William Orchard made his first will in 1490,¹⁰ which gives some interesting details both about his family and his property. He is called esquire, a social position already indicated by the use of the term armiger in another document. (No shield of arms has yet been found for the Oxford mason, but it might well have been a variant of Orchard of Devon, azure, a chevron between three pears pendant or.) He wished to be buried in St. Frideswide's Priory, a fact which suggests that he had worked there, and it is most probable that the choir vault, so similar in construction to that in the Divinity School, was also by him. He made a provision for an obit, to be paid out of proceeds from his house, bought from Robert Fisher, outside the S. gate in Grampound, and from an acre of quarry in Headington. He also provided for an obit at Magdalen College to be paid out of his property at Headington, once called Jenyns Place. Both obits were to cost

¹ Magdalen Archives, Ledger A 1480/1531, fo. 50 dorso.

² Snappes Formulary, *O.H.S.*, lxxx, 253.

³ Magdalen Archives Misc., 349 (3).

⁴ Magdalen Archives Misc., 349 (4).

⁵ *Mediaeval Archives*, ii, 338.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 339.

⁷ Snappes Formulary, *O.H.S.*, lxxx, 231.

⁸ Magdalen Archives, Ledger A 1480/1531, fo. 50 dorso.

⁹ *Boarstall Cartulary*, 269.

¹⁰ *O.H.S.*, lxxx, 253-4.

6s. 8d. a year, one to be said at All Saints and the other at the Annunciation. His son, John the younger, was to inherit Jenyns Place, with $11\frac{1}{2}$ acres of quarry, after the death of his wife Agnes; his daughter Elizabeth was to receive Robert Fisher's house, and another daughter Anne was to have a house and property in Headington called Hil's House. Agnes, his wife, was to be residuary legatee and to be his executor.

In 1490 also, William Orchard, esquire, leased the messuage called Jenyns Place, lately belonging to John Jenyns, with all lands, pasture and meadows, except a grove called Hasyll Grove, to William Fermour, for 5 years at a rent of 40s., and Fermour was to have the carriage of stone from the quarry at a rent of 13s. 4d.¹

By 15th February, 1503, an agreement had been made by Master William Orchard, mason, with the Abbot of Fountains, of the Cistercian Order, to supply stone for the building of St. Bernard's College,² for $2\frac{1}{2}$ years from Pentecost, 1502. The abbot was to arrange for the removal of the top soil over a large enough area for the stone required by the College and by William Orchard to be easily obtainable. The implication of this agreement is that William Orchard was master mason of St. Bernard's College (now St. John's College), and it is interesting to note that Mr. Ralph Davis has found a mason's mark, common to the entrance tower of St. John's College and to Magdalen.

The master mason was very near to the end of his life now, however, and on 21st January, 1503/4, he made his last will³ when on a sick bed. By now it appears that his first wife was dead and that he had married a second wife, Katherine, but it is possible that his marriage had estranged his children, for they are not mentioned, although his son John was almost certainly living long after this date. The provisions of the will are much the same as before. He wished to be buried in St. Frideswide's, and left a tenement at Grampound (Robert Fisher's house) to the Priory on condition that his wife Katherine could continue to dwell there on the payment of 20s. a year, and the Priory was to keep it in repair. Katherine was to pay 3s. 4d. for an obit at St. Frideswide's and a similar sum to Magdalen College. After Katherine's death the Priory should pay for his obit at the College. Katherine was also to have a grove at Headington and a garden in Oxford by Jury Lane. She could dispose of these tenements as she wished and was to have all movable property. In this year William Orchard died, and the Vice-President of Magdalen ordered that oblations should be made in the College for him (Mr. William Mason).

It appears that William's son John, who had been a chorister at Magdalen in 1484/5, took the degree of B.C.L. there, and by 1505 was a brewer in Oxford. He sold some Headington property in 1513.⁴ In 1498/9 a John Orchard had worked for a day on the wall of Mr. Flemyng's room at Magdalen, and in 1523/4 was paid for work at All Souls College.

Many examples of William Orchard's style still exist in Oxford, but his greatest contribution is perhaps the major part of Magdalen College. The plan of the College is based on that of New College, but the development was to make the cloister an integral part of the design so that all parts of the College could be reached under cover. Orchard showed ingenuity in fitting a College of the New College type into a site complicated by the existence of earlier buildings. The Magdalen Chapel is like those at New College and All Souls, the windows reverting to the type with two-centred head as at New College. The capitals of the arcade piers have lily ornament in addition to the mouldings, and in general there is more ornamentation. A noteworthy feature is the W. door, with a four-centred head within a square label and coats of arms in the spandrels, and with two peculiar flying ribs forming an arch in front of the door head (Pl. XV). There are five statuettes in the decoration. This is in strong contrast to the severely functional doorway at New College. The design of the hall at Magdalen copies that of New College, but again Orchard made little differences. It had an embattled parapet instead of a plain one, and William Orchard may be given credit for introducing the oriel window to light the High Table in Oxford halls; a feature regularly used thenceforward.

¹ *O.H.S.*, lxxx, 257.

² *Early History of St. John's College*, 83.

³ *O.H.S.*, lxxx, 216-8.

⁴ D. Knoop and G. P. Jones, *Introduction to Freemasonry*, 88-9.

In the midst of a homogeneous group of Oxford gate towers, the Founder's tower at Magdalen shows individuality by using features of late Gothic style, such as the panelling of wall surfaces, neglected by the others, and by emphasising the outlines of the tower with buttresses of deep projection (Pl. XA). The main gate has the same skeleton ribs as the W. doorway of the chapel, and the great oriel windows are the finest of their type in Oxford. William Orchard was skilled in the construction of lierne vaults, as is shown not only by those under the Founder's and Muniment towers at Magdalen, but also by the exceptionally fine one at the Divinity School, where the pendants look almost too daring, until it is realised that they form voussoirs, firmly keyed into strong transverse arches. It is almost certain that the similar vault in the cathedral is also by Orchard. It is probable that he was responsible for the improvement of an existing gate tower at St. Bernard's College, and the builder of one at Balliol. They were very similar, but whereas the one at St. Bernard's was a modification of the original, the Balliol gate was designed as a whole. The common factor was the oriel window which in each case had exactly the same tracery.

(26) JOHN SEVALL, *rough mason*, 1466/8

John Sevall is known chiefly for his work on the precinct walls of Magdalen College. In the first year, 1466/7, he was paid £7 10s. for building a wall 15 perches long and 10 feet high. During 1467/8 he and John Good were engaged in building three sections of wall. Firstly they prepared 20 perches of foundations for the great wall (53s. 4d.), and set stone above them (£10), perhaps to the full height. Then they built a wall round the garden, 23 perches long and 16 feet high (£5 13s.), and finally they erected a wall from the end of the College hall to the water and thence along it to the N., 18 perches long and 16 feet high (£10 9s. 4d.). He was also paid 10s. for building a lime kiln. In 1468/9 John Sevall was employed for over 32 weeks preparing foundations and setting stone. In October he was polishing stone.

In a contract of 1487/8 by Thomas Aldrych, mason, to build the tower of Helmingham Church in Suffolk, John Sewale of Debenham, mason, is a surety for his bond.¹

(27) WILLIAM RAYNOLD, *master mason*, 1468/1505

William Raynold was at the building of Magdalen College and is first mentioned by name in 1468/9 at the building of the precinct walls, when he was paid for work in bad weather (in tempore brumali). In 1474, during the building of the chapel and hall, he worked for 6 weeks at 3s. 4d. a week, laying ashlar and constructing window jambs (20s.). In a rental of 29th September he was using a large field belonging to St. John's Hospital.²

He did not become important, however, until he became master mason of the new bell tower (Pl. IXB), and the point must be made that although William Orchard was still alive when the tower was begun, his name is in no way linked with it, and the whole credit for its design and erection ought to be given to William Raynold. The first reference to the building of the tower was in 1494/5, when William Raynold prepared and carried 10 loads of stone from a quarry at Basingstoke, according to an agreement with Richard Berne, who was Clerk of the Works for most of the College buildings at this time (10s.). In this year also Raynold prepared 8½ feet of 'ly logment tabull' at 3d. a foot, and 30 feet of 'ly grosse tabull' for a buttress of the chapel at 2d. a foot. In 1496/7 William Raynold repaired a door on the N. side of the chapel, and he received 3s. 3d. for 6½ days' work by his apprentice preparing 'ly gresse tabullis' on the S. side of the chapel. The master mason also repaired three windows in the W. part of the cloister (3s.) and built a new chimney at the top of the Founder's tower (2 weeks, 6s.).

William Raynold and other workmen were given drinks to the value of 6s. 8d. at various times during each year that the tower was being built. In 1498/9 he made a holy water stoup (2 weeks, 6s. 8d.), and constructed eight windows on the S. side of the College

¹ L. F. Salzman, *Building in England*, 549.

² *Cartulary of St. John*, iii, 274.

(8s.). In 1502/3 William Raynold was paid in all £40 for building the tower, and he supplied stones from Taynton quarry for statues made by William Herberd (10s.), in 1503/4, and was paid £30 for his work. The last reference to the building of Magdalen bell tower by William Raynold is that he received £5 for his work in 1504/5.

It has been suggested that he might have been warden of the masons at Hampton Court in 1524/5 at 4s. a week, was perhaps appointed master mason at Windsor Castle on 23rd December, 1540, and might also have been the same mason whose will was proved on 26th September, 1545.¹ However, since he is known to have begun work at Magdalen in 1468/9 this would make him working at ninety, which is not very probable.

William Raynold's masterpiece was Magdalen College bell tower, and it is interesting to seek the sources of his inspiration. Its height and free-standing position, coupled with the octagonal corner buttresses, give it individuality. Mr. John Harvey suggests an interesting ancestry for these buttresses from the central tower at Lincoln, built by Richard of Stow between 1307/11, where the later superstructure carried up the octagonal buttresses of the 'Early English' lantern stage. The same buttresses are found at thirteenth-century West Walton in Norfolk and in the tower of St. Lawrence, Reading, completed in 1485.² It could also be argued that, since the College held land at Ford near Taunton, familiarity with Somerset towers could have influenced the design of this one; the tower of St. Mary Magdalene, Taunton, is much more ornate and of the same date. Perhaps the germ of the design can be found much nearer, in the rivalry between Merton and Magdalen. The points of similarity are at the belfry stage, where the window tracery is almost exactly the same, except that at Merton there is a vesica in the head, while the mullions at Magdalen run straight through. Between the windows in each case is a pilaster buttress, with a smaller one on its face, and they both have window labels which return horizontally over the buttresses to form a string. Also each has a band of quatrefoils above, and a pierced parapet, which, however, is a little more ornate at Magdalen. There is written evidence that Magdalen's organ and rood-loft were the models for those at Merton, and it seems highly probable that Magdalen returned the compliment a few years later by instructing Raynold to copy Merton's tower, but (one feels sure) to make it higher and better.

(28) THOMAS EDWARD, *rough mason*, 1468/74

Thomas Edward worked at Magdalen during the initial building of the College, and first occurs in the third year of the building of the precinct walls, 1468/9, when he worked for over 22 weeks on the foundations and setting stone, though he lost some time owing to foggy weather. In 1470/1 he trimmed common ashlar (15s.) for John Webbe to use in the wall running northwards from the tower. Thomas Edward also built 34 perches of the inner side of the great wall (39s. 8d.), and pointed it with mortar (5s. 4d.). In 1471/2 he (Thomas Mason) worked on 31 perches of the inner side of the great wall (36s. 2d.), and with John Shane constructed 2 buttresses and an archway for the carriage gateway to the meadow near the water (13s.).

During the building of the chapel and hall in 1474 he polished 100 loads of wall stone at the quarry (13s.), and on the 2nd May he placed the first stones in position when the trenches had been dug.

(29) JOHN WEBBE, *rough mason*, 1468/74

John Webbe is another mason known only for his work during the early years of Magdalen College. In 1468/9 he worked for over 25 weeks laying foundations and setting stone, and in common with others was hindered by bad weather. He was the chief rough mason working in 1469/70 and perhaps held a contract. He was paid 39s. 8d. for building 3½ perches of the walls of a tower by Candiche, 8½ feet high, and 39s. 8d. for constructing

¹ J. H. Harvey, *Building Works and Architects of Cardinal Wolsey*, *J.B.A.A.*, 3rd series,

viii, 57.

² J. H. Harvey, *Gothic England*, 29.

a wall from this tower to the angle by Holywell Church, 11 perches long and 4 feet high. He also erected a lesser wall from the church of St. Cross at Holywell to Holywell Mill, 40 perches long and 8 feet high (£10 13s. 4d.).

In 1470/1 John Webbe erected a wall from the tower towards the N., 21 perches long and 4 feet in height, at 10d. a perch (£3 10s.), and another 13 perches long and 3½ feet high (37s. 11d.), and Thomas Edward trimmed stone for him to use. The cost of this wall altogether was £6 2s. 11d. Webbe also constructed a smaller wall from the angle at the W. towards the E., 64½ perches long and in heights varying from 1½ feet to 8 feet, for £11 18s. 10d., and John Myles, a labourer, dug the foundations (20s.). John Webbe received 5s. for a robe. It would seem that Webbe built most of these walls to a given height and then William Orchard completed them to the full elevation, for Webbe was only a setter and, moreover, some of the heights mentioned would be of no use as a complete wall. In 1471/2 John Myles cut down trees and dug 34 perches of foundations for a wall by the water, and John Webbe built this lesser wall, 37 perches long and 16 feet high, plus foundations, for £19 14s. 8d. (at 8d. a foot and 10s. 8d. a perch).

During the building of Magdalen Chapel and hall he helped to lay the first stones of the foundation when the trenches had been dug.

(30) WILLIAM JOHNSON, *mason's labourer, 1468/1511*

William Johnson, who remained a labourer for all his working period, first occurs at the building of the Magdalen precinct walls, where he worked for 14 weeks in 1468/9. In 1474 he worked for a week (22d.) at the building of the chapel and hall at Magdalen and thenceforward he seems to have been attached to Lincoln College.

In 1492 he was working at Iffley Mill, and perhaps lived in All Saints parish, for in the Lincoln roll for 1503 he occurred many times in their accounts for property there. He was serving Nicholas Hays in 1504/5, and helping to take down a wall at Carfax. He also served a slater, carried lime and bricks, and served Nicholas Hays and Henry Foster on work at Iffley and Littlemore. In 1505/6 he built a stone wall in John King's garden, carried various slates and some stone and was in debt to Lincoln College. In 1508/9 he was serving Robert Johnson, a rough mason. He carried various stones to make a causeway behind Lincoln College library in 1510/11, and remade the surface of the lane outside.

A William Johnson paid 4d. at the 1524 Lay Subsidy in St. Peter in the Bayly,¹ but it is a common name.

(31) JOHN SHANE, *mason, 1471/4*

John Shane was occupied at Magdalen in 1471/2 during the building of the precinct walls, when he and Thomas Edward built 2 buttresses and an archway for the big carriage gateway in the meadow near the water (13s.). He also built a tower near the water, 'una cum ly vyse', 4 perches round and 20 feet high, for £5 6s. 8d. When Magdalen College Chapel and hall were being built in 1474 he was working on the foundations of the great S. wall, which was 13 perches long, 9 feet wide, and 1 perch from the bottom up to ground level (8s. 2d.).

(32) HENRY MILTON, *rough mason, 1474/circa 1500*

Henry Milton was paid for a week's work at the building of Magdalen College Chapel and hall in 1474 (2s. 1d.), and then did not appear again until 1484/5, by which time he had become a College handyman. In that year he cleaned the chapel pipes, and the chapel itself for Easter (5s.), and later he made a gutter 'ubi chorust, effundunt aquam, vd', and repaired a pump (2s. 9d.). In 1485/6 he received 100s. owed to him by the College, and repaired the chapel, the kitchen yard (14d.), the pump (3s.), the sacrist's

¹ O.H.S., xviii, 75.

chimney (10d.), and he made a new pump (6s. 8d.). By this time he had been made keeper of the poor house, which the College kept in recognition of duties inherited from St. John's Hospital. He cleaned the chapel and some of its statues and made a floor for the promptuary (40s.) in 1486/7.

His house was rebuilt in the next year and he continued in charge of the poor house; he repaired the kitchen drain and fireplace (21d.), and he and four servants worked on an oratory by the High Altar of the chapel (18d.) and made a bridge in the meadow (11s. 4d.). Henry Milton's chief labours were in the chapel in 1488/9, where he did various repairs, worked on a frontal (5s.) for the High Altar, and repaired various altars and statues (4s. 2d.). He repaired the cloister walls and placed some iron in a window in the 'old building'.

In 1490/1 he was responsible for providing commons for a plumber, cleaned statues by the High Altar (3s. 4d.), and was paid £5 17s. 11d., according to a contract, for work by himself and others on the new S. walk of the cloister, for which he provided some equipment. He was still in charge of the poor house in 1491/2, and *circa* 1500 he was working with Blake, another mason, building a wall for the great garden at Merton, and also did 9 days (4s. 2d.) on the great gate, together with his servant (4s. 9d.).

(33) WILLIAM BELL, *master mason*, 1481/2

Little is known of William Bell, the master mason who received 12d. for laying the first stone of All Souls cloister on 26th May, 1481/2, except that in 1482 he was master mason at the building of the chancel of Wolvercote Church for Merton College.

(34) ROBERT SPICER, *mason*, 1487/1501

Robert Spicer was first employed at New College, according to the recorded evidence, in 1487/8, when he worked for 3 days on a wall in the garden (1s. 6d.) with a man serving him. Later he was covering the tomb of a Mr. West, and with a servant did various repairs to the cloister, hall, chapel and library (3s. 11d.). His next job in this year was the building of a chimney in the Warden's kitchen (10s. 6d.). In 1492 he was doing repairs at Iffley for Lincoln College. He is next mentioned in November, 1494, at New College, when he was working on a chimney. On the 17th January he supplied 100 bricks for various chimneys at 12d., and a stone from Taynton for the back of a chimney on which he and his man worked for 3 days. On 8th May, 1495, he supplied lime and worked with his man on the garden walls for 6 days, both being paid 6d. a day, plus 'elevenes' (6s. 3d.). In December they were working in the Warden's house and supplied bricks. In 1496/7 he spent 1 day white-washing the cloister and another working on a chimney, for which he supplied 50 bricks at 8d. On the same day he was paid for 15 days' work 'circa punctacionem gradus in magni muri prope vestibulum'. At this time also he was paid 7s. 9½d. for himself and two other masons repairing a wall in the cook's garden, and he sold to the College 2 loads of rag and 6 loads of freestone. The next work is not named, but he was responsible for the payment of small gangs of men working in the College between the 6th May and the 13th June, and he sold 13 loads of stone for the work. On the Feast of the Trinity he supplied a load of freestone, lime and 2 loads of flat rag, and as he was next paid 3s. for working on the pavement of the Warden's kitchen, the material was probably for this, and 8d. was also paid for some sand, the regular basis for a pavement. The next few items all refer to paving works; the first was the pavement 'per fenestram eclarij', (18¾d.), then he and two other masons paved the quadrangle and the E. gate (10s. 1½d.), and then Robert, another mason and two labourers were engaged on the pavement of the 'venelle' by the stable door for 6 days.

Finally in February, 1500/1, he was paid 12d. for 100 bricks, with which he repaired chimneys. He was also paid 12d. for pavement work in the hall, buttery and cloister.

Robert Spicer was an important figure in the trade and was the first mason at New College since William Brown, who seems to have had a contract. He was a good mason, skilled at paving and not averse to the new medium of brick.

(35) JOHN BENNET, *mason*, 1490/1509

John Bennet worked only at Magdalen College. In 1490/1 he fixed some ironwork round the High Altar to hold hangings, and did another small job in the chapel. He worked for 3½ days on one of the buttresses of St. John's Chapel (21d.), repaired a window in Hayforde's room, supplying nails, hasps and bolts for it, cleaned the cemetery, and when the S. walk of the cloister was being built he took down part of the battlements in that vicinity. In the kitchen he repaired the S. chimney.

In 1495/6 he helped a tiler and in 1498/9 he repaired a well in the College. He received 11s. for work on 'standilia' before the College, according to an agreement in 1500/1, and constructed a chimney and repaired others. His chief work in 1502/3 was concerned with fastenings for doors and windows. He made various holes for hooks (2s. 6d.) and fixed hinges and other fittings to new doors in the cloister and a big window in the hall (2s.). He and his servant were repairing the kitchen in 1504/5, and in the next year he repaired a chimney, and fitted hooks to windows in the Music School.

He trimmed ashlar during the building of new rooms between St. John's Chapel and the bell tower in 1507/8, and in 1508/9 he was working on the new rooms built to the E. of the tower. In this year also he sold 31 feet of prepared stone for the new tower (2s. 7d.), and fitted ironwork to the other new rooms (2s. 8d.).

(36) JOHN GYLL, *mason*, 1490/1530

John Gyll was a mason who was employed for a long time at Magdalen, his only outside work being at New College in 1529/30. In 1490/1 he and his servant repaired a buttress of St. John's Chapel (15d.), he made holes in the cloister for spouts (6d.), and he and Thomas Coke, another mason, were paid 2s. 8d. for a piece of timber supplied for the cloister at some previous time. In the President's Lodge he made 'le regalls' for a large window (4d.), repaired a gutter between the Lodge and the library (2d.) and water channels in the promptuary (1s. 7d.). John Gyll made a fence round the garden for 4d., and in the grove he built a wall. He worked there by himself for 16½ days at 6d. and was also paid 29s. 7½d. for his own work and that of John Edwards on this wall according to an agreement. He prepared stone for the wall (6d.), plastered it (10d.) and, with his servant, repaired the tables (4s. 7d.), and he supplied nails and rope for the scaffold (4d.). John Gyll and his mate took down an old building standing against the kitchen (2s. 6d.), removed an old wall (3s.), and he received 11s. 7d. for building new walls there. He also looked after the College horses in this year.

In 1491/2 he repaired a wall at the end of St. John's Chapel (6d.), two chimneys (12d.), and sections of pavement in the chapel and library (6d.); his servant at this time was John Gardear. His chief job in this year, apart from repairing grove walls and kitchen windows, was concerned with a new oratory built for the President above the S. walk of the cloister. He worked for 2½ days making holes in the walls and cut through a wall to the College Chapel and also took down some battlements, all under the supervision of Fyscher, the master carpenter who designed the new oratory.

In 1494/5 John Gyll was allowed expenses while going to buy a horse at Tewkesbury, and he repaired the pavements of the antechapel (6d.), and the cloister (10d.). He worked on chimneys in the President's Lodge, the hall (1s. 1d.), and those of four rooms, and mended the kitchen fireplace. He also made benches for the buttery (6s. 6d.) and constructed a water channel there (10s. 6d.).

Most of his work was in the President's Lodge in 1495/6; he fixed two hooks for the door of the bedroom (5d.), repaired a chimney with his own stone (13d.), and took down a pinnacle on the Founder's tower and re-erected it (21d.). He repaired gutters taking water from the College buttery (5s.), a wall in the old building (6s. 3d.), and two chimneys (10d.), and made gutters for the slaughter-house (21d.). He repaired walls and a stile outside the W. gate of the College (2s. 1d.), and in the meadow he built a new bridge (9s.).

In 1496/7 Gyll repaired three hearths, two of them in the kitchen. He also worked on a gutter in the buttery and another leading water to it (2s. 6d.).

He was engaged in fitting window staples in an upper room of the Founder's tower (7½d.) in 1498/9, and he also mended some beds. He repaired a gutter by the kitchen chimney (10½d.), restored a mud wall by the Music School and did various jobs in the kitchen. He also helped Richard Hays to repair a buttress by the tower (12d.). John Gyll last appeared at Magdalen College during 1500/1, when he made various things for the kitchen and mended a chimney in Mr. Charyll's room.

(37) RICHARD HARVY, *mason, 1490/1524*

Richard Harvy was a rough mason, dauber and handyman who worked in most of the Oxford Colleges. In 1490 he made a mud wall in Merton College garden (16d.), and ceiled the Warden's kitchen (4½ days at 6d., plus servant 3 days at 3d.). He was repairing various walls in Magdalen in 1498/9 (he and servant 4s. 2d.), and supplied a load of mud for 4d. In 1500/1 he mended a pavement in a corner of New College quadrangle and knocked down the 'gravianum' and removed it (12d.). In the same year he broke down a wall in Porcioner's Hall, Merton (20d.), built another one (2s. 1d.), and also worked on a room in the College and on St. Alban's Hall.

In 1503/4 he repaired some instruments in Merton College kitchen, and in 1504 he and his servant were occupied on a wall in the Warden's house. He and William Sclatter repaired walls in Merton big garden in 1504/5, and he did various small jobs at All Souls College. At New College in 1505/6 he mended the walls of the lead storehouse, the tower at the end of the hall and the chapel roof, and he and his man plastered a building at the E. end of the kitchen, plastered the walls of the Warden's garden, and repaired a party-wall between two rooms and another wall unnamed. He was working at All Souls in 1506/7, and during a general restoration of the hall at Lincoln College he scraped the walls, washed them down, and laid a hearth and drain there (3s. 3d.).

He laid some paving near the stable at Merton in 1507 and repaired the bakehouse walls at Magdalen (12d.) in 1507/8. Richard Harvy repaired a room in Porcioner's Hall for Merton College in 1508, underpinned the groundsel in the Auditor's room and did some daubing, and in 1508/9 he whitewashed All Souls College Hall (5s. 1d.). At Merton he and his man constructed a window in 1509/10, and he built, daubed and lathed some house walls in Oxford belonging to the College. In 1511 he constructed walls in a Merton chamber and repaired some in the hall garden, and in 1511/12 he and his man also built and repaired walls in Magdalen (2s. 9d.). In the latter year he mended pavements in the hall and library of New College (7d.).

Harvy and a boy pargetted the President's kitchen at Magdalen in 1512/13 (17d.). He also placed some stones in the chapel (16d.), constructed a hearth (plus servant, 2s. 6d.), daubed and pargetted a wall between the kitchen and Music School (plus servant, 2s. 1d.), and he and Gylbert Hamerton worked on the latrines and pastry house (4s. 4d.). In 1513 Harvy repaired a wall near Merton stable and a mud wall in Beam Hall belonging to that College. In 1513/14 he and Gylbert Hamerton repaired a hearth in Magdalen College (18d.), and in 1515/16 he made 'ly elyng partis' at Wadley, an Oriel College estate (4s. 1d.). Oriel paid Richard Harvy for a load of sand in the next year; at Merton he repaired the hall fireplace, paved the Warden's stable (2s. 1d.), mended the Treasury and did some paving in the chapel, and at Magdalen he plastered the vestry (10d.), worked for 5 days in the cloister and helped to build some new rooms.

He repaired a house belonging to Magdalen in 1520/1 and mended walls in a house and garden for Lincoln College. In the next year he worked on a Magdalen room (8d.), and in 1523/4 he was paid 13d. for mending walls for All Souls College. In 1524/5 he repaired a chimney in a Magdalen chamber and stopped up a hole in the Vice-President's room (5d.). His last recorded job was at Magdalen, when he worked in the pastry house for 3 days (15d.) in 1525/6. Richard Harvy lived in Holywell in 1524, when he paid 4d. Lay Subsidy.¹

¹ *O.H.S.*, xviii, 69.

(38) RICHARD LEWYS, *mason*, 1492/1527

Richard Lewys worked in the early sixteenth century and was usually the mate of Richard Hays. In 1492 he made windows for Lincoln College tenements, worked at Iffley, and was paid 4d. for going to Abingdon to fetch a mason. He worked for 5½ days at 6d. on walls outside Magdalen College in 1506/7, and prepared stone for the new tower on which he was working (17s. 3d.). He was engaged on Magdalen tower in 1507/8 also (9d.), and was one of the masons working on new rooms on the west of the tower. During the next year he blocked up windows in the tower (3 weeks less 1 day, 9s. 5d.), and then worked on the rooms being built against them, and erected gargoyles in the cloister for 3½ weeks (8s. 4d.).

He built a wall at Angular Hall for Lincoln College in 1509/10 and sold studs to that College in the next year. In 1510/11 also, he was working on tables for windows at Magdalen (3 weeks, 10s.), and he and Richard Hays were engaged on the chapel walls above the cloister (4s.), and in the next year he was at Headington quarry and at the erection of Horsepath rectory (5s. 4d.). He and Richard Hays and a servant repaired a Magdalen garden wall in 1512/13, and in 1517 Richard Leyowse, working at Corpus Christi College, was paid 'for the makynge of the towne wall about the cloister taskyd in grett by the perch havynge for every perch xiijd and all maner of stoof found hym'.¹

He next appears at Lincoln College in 1523/4 building a wall at the Ram Inn. He was squaring stone for the extension to the President's Lodge at Magdalen in 1524/5 (33½ days at 7d.), and sharpened masons' tools several times. He was also employed as a rough mason at Cardinal College at 6d. a day.² He was working in Magdalen College Chapel (2s. 6d.) in 1526/7, and put slates on the store house, doctors' room and the library. At the Lay Subsidy of 1524³ he was living in the parish of St. Mary Magdalene and paid 2s. 6d.

(39) WALTER JAGGS, *paviour*, 1494/1507

Walter Jaggs specialised in the laying of pavements. He made one by the W. gate of Magdalen College in 1494/5 (32 *teses*⁴ at 7d. a *tese*, 23s. 8d.), and in 1495/6 he fixed two gratings, made by William Smyth, at openings where water entered and left the promptuary. In 1504/5 he laid 22 perches of pavement in the stable at 7d. a perch, and constructed a gutter there (20s.). He made a drain at the back of Magdalen College kitchen in 1505/6 and supplied a load of stone in 1506/7. In 1509 he laid some paving for Merton College (92 yards at 1¼d. a yard), and in 1510/11 constructed a causeway behind the library of Lincoln College (31 *teses* 18s. 1d.).

(40) THOMAS JENKYNs, *mason*, 1498/1505

In 1498/9 Thomas Jenkyns built a buttress in Magdalen College near the tower (2½ days 15d.), and he groundseled a place where a building had been pulled down. He and John Bennet repaired various walls in the College according to agreement in 1500/1 (2s.), and in 1504/5 he built walls for the new stable (9d.).

The most interesting fact about Jenkyns, however, is that in the latter year he sold 3 mantelpieces to Lincoln College for 6s. This is by far the earliest reference in the Oxford accounts to the surround of a fireplace being constructed as a separate item. In 1514/16 a Thomas Jenkyns, carpenter, rebuilt the front part of the E. section of Tackley's Inn, belonging to Oriel College; a new roof was built and a chimney constructed.⁵

¹ L. F. Salzman, *Building in England*, 51.

² Milne and Harvey, *Building of Cardinal College, Oxoniensia*, ix, 140.

³ *O.H.S.*, xviii, 140.

⁴ *Toise or tese* which is said to be 7½ feet long

by the width of the foot of St. Paul' (F. B. Andrews, *Mediaeval Builder and his Methods*, 71).

⁵ W. A. Pantin, *Tackley's Inn, Oriel Record* (June, 1941), 152.

(41) RICHARD HAYS, *rough mason and afterwards freemason, 1498/1526*

Richard Hays was one of the most important men working in Oxford in the sixteenth century and in many ways was like William Brown a hundred years before. Both were skilled men who did important work, but neither seemed to acquire a reputation or the position of gentleman.

He first appears at Magdalen, where he was to do most of his work, in 1498/9. There he fixed ironwork into windows of the Music School and the room in which the capons were once kept. He also blocked a window by the Music School. He and John Gyll worked on a buttress near the tower, which was probably the same one as the buttress they worked on near Mr. Flemyng's room. His rate for all these jobs was 6d. a day. In 1500/1 he constructed a chimney in the hall of New College (8½ days at 6d.), an interesting fact for the open hall fire was now being replaced by a fireplace against the side wall. Richard Hays was skilled on chimney repairs and in 1502/3 he and another repaired one of the chimneys of Magdalen College kitchen (2s. 6d.); they were served by John Newman. Hays also worked for a day in the chapel of St. John the Baptist.

In 1505/6 he was working on Lincoln College property, repairing John Kyng's house, building a wall at the bottom of his garden, supplying pins and a groundsel for Kyng's stable and repairing Stokwell's house. At Magdalen he checked over walls outside the College in 1506/7 (5½ days at 6d.), worked on the hall hearth and on the doors on the hall steps, made stones for a window in the tower (10 days 5s.), and fitted them (7½ days 3s. 9d.), and worked on some broad gates to the grove. In this year he did jobs for Lincoln College, repaired Wayt's house, Barber's house, a buttress at the Ram Inn, and worked on other tenements, repairing a window and building garden walls at Grampole. He is called a rough mason at this time.

In 1507/8 one feels that his skill was increasing for he was probably chief mason at the erection of the Magdalen chambers between the tower and the chapel of St. John. He also worked on the windows of the tower for 4 days (2s.), repaired the kitchen hearth (6d.), and fitted hooks to windows (10d.). In 1508/9 he was at Magdalen, occupied with blocking up windows in the new tower (3 weeks 10s.) and supplied moulding templates (*exemplaribus vulgar. dict. le mowlde viijd*) for rooms which were being built by him to the E. of the tower. He erected figures which had been carved for the cloister (10 weeks 13s. 4d.), and constructed a wall in the rooms built in the previous year. Richard Hays made a window in Magdalen College hall (7¼ days 3s. 1d.) in 1509/10, repaired the door of the church at Aynho Hospital (20d.), worked at Headington quarry, and prepared slates. He also built a wall at Angular Hall for Lincoln College.

His work at Magdalen in 1510/11 was very varied. He dug stone at Headington, constructed a chimney in Mr. Perkruste's room in the College, worked on window tables of the chapel (1 week 3s. 4d.), cleaned some walls and did further work on the chapel windows (2 weeks 6s. 8d.). He and Robert Johnson constructed a hearth (2s.) and fitted windows in the kitchen and the Music School (3s.). He and Richard Lewys, who was so often to be his partner henceforward, worked on the chapel walls above the cloister (4s.). Richard Hays repaired the windows of the buttery at Oriel College in this year also. In 1511/12 he worked up at Headington quarry for 2 weeks to provide stone for a new rectory at Horsepath, belonging to Magdalen College (6s. 8d.), and repaired a wall between the College and John Baker's land (plus servant 5s. 10d.). He and a boy repaired chimneys of the President's and other rooms at Magdalen in 1512/13 (5 days 4s. 2d.), and he and Lewys flynt (presumably Richard Lewys) and a servant mended a garden wall (8s. 4d.). Richard Hays and his servant also built a wall between the kitchen and the latrines (*foricas*), and fitted doors to the latter (4s. 8d.). At Magdalen in 1515/16 Hays was engaged on the kitchen hearth (9d.), and he mended a wall at a house and did work at Iffley for Lincoln College. In 1516/17 he repaired the hall hearth at Magdalen (20d.) and worked on a new room. Hays and his servant repaired a Magdalen room in 1518/19.

The most important work at Magdalen College from 1520 onwards, for some years, was the construction of a large extension to the President's Lodge, called in later years

the Gallery or Election Chamber, and it is most probable that Richard Hays was master mason from 1524/5, for he was paid 2d. on the President's orders for concluding an agreement with regard to the new building in that year. He worked for a week removing stone (3s. 4d.) and then for 6 weeks at 3s. 4d. a week and 1 at 2s. 8d., which latter was probably at winter rate. He and John Oldam squared over 900 feet of ashlar and worked on 'opus tabulati' (52s. 10d.). Hays was also paid for sharpening tools, squaring more stone and making 100 feet of 'sconnyinses' and 'opus tabulati' (12s. 9d.). In 1525/6 Richard Hays and his servant worked for 2 days on a grating at the entrance to Magdalen College, repaired the kitchen range, and also mended chimneys in the Music School.

(42) HENRY FOSTER, *mason*, 1501/16

Henry Foster did many small jobs within his 15 years of recorded work. He was first employed at New College in 1500/1 when he helped Richard Hays to construct a chimney in the hall (6½ days at 6d.). In 1502/3 he built a garden wall at Magdalen College, 73 perches long, at 7d. a perch (30s. 11d.), and in 1504/5 he was working on a Lincoln College house at Iffley. He repaired a room at Magdalen in 1505/6, and at Lincoln College he mended a wall in the Rector's stable. In the next year he worked at the Ram Inn and on houses in High Street and Lawrence Street, Oxford, for Lincoln College.

Henry Foster was one of the masons trimming ashlar for the new rooms being built to the W. of the tower at Magdalen in 1507/8, and in 1508/9 he made water channels in these rooms, erected gargoyles in the cloister (12d.), was employed on the other new rooms to the E. of the bell tower (2s. 9d.). He was working on '3 howses in Church Layne against Harysons' for Lincoln College in 1509/10, and built walls at Angular Hall and for a stable at Iffley. The last reference to Henry Foster is to work done by him at Iffley for Lincoln College in 1515/16.

(43) WILLIAM HERBERD, *carver*, 1502/3

William Herberd only occurs once, when in 1502/3 he made the statues for the top stage of Magdalen bell tower (26s. 8d.), from Taynton stone provided and carried by the master mason, William Raynold. He is important as the only carver mentioned at this period.

(44) THOMAS SPICER, *mason*, 1503/8

Thomas Spicer is only known to have worked at Magdalen College. In 1503/4 he was engaged on the brewery, with the assistance of a servant, for 15½ days (9s. 8½d.). Then they worked on the walls of a room at the back of the kitchen (2s. 7½d.), and made a buttress against the wall of another room (3s. 2½d.). Spicer and his servant repaired a chimney (10d.), the kitchen (4½ days at 5d.), and did work in a new room (23d.) and Mr. Burges' room (12½d.).

He was a handyman at the College and in 1504/5 not only repaired the kitchen chimney, but also helped to make faggots for the College fires and cleaned out the new stable; he worked out in the field and rough-casted walls in the grove and a wall by the chapel. Spicer was noted as a mason building new rooms to the W. of the tower in 1507/8.

(45) WILLIAM BRYTAN, *masons' labourer*, 1504/25

William Brytan never achieved a very high status, but was one of the labourers who did much work in Oxford Colleges in the early sixteenth century. In 1504/5 he carried rubble for Lincoln College, did some 'wattyllyng', served a mason building a house, and attended Nicholas Hays and Henry Foster, masons, on a job at Iffley. He was working with one Moncke cleaning a part of Headington quarry for Magdalen College in 1506/7; he was engaged in their garden in 1507/8, moved earth at the quarry, cleaned the site for the building of new rooms between the tower and the chapel of St. John, and did general labouring work.

In the next year he was occupied on the building of new rooms to the E. of Magdalen bell tower, and also cleaned a pump, cleaned out a well in the President's kitchen, worked on the tower (11½ days 3s. 10d.), removed dust away from the vicinity of St. John's Chapel, worked on a new room for 8 days (2s. 8d.), and did various other small jobs in the College. He cleaned the main quadrangle at Magdalen in 1509/10, removed some earth away from the gates, and was one of many men levelling the court near the tower. He also served Henry Foster and John Mason when they were working on 3 houses in Church Lane belonging to Lincoln College.

He cleaned various places in Magdalen College in 1513/14, cleaned the quadrangle in 1515/16, cleaned the latrines in 1516/17, and worked for 3½ days on the hall fireplace at 4d. a day. In 1521/2 he and others worked for 4½ days in the President's Lodge (3s. 9d.) and helped Richard Harvy to repair a room, and in 1524/5 he and William Hobbys cleaned a latrine, all at Magdalen College. In 1524/5 he and William Hobbys were both masons' labourers at Cardinal College and sawed stone for 21 days at 4d. a day.

(46) WILLIAM EAST, *master mason, 1495/1526*

The most important local mason working at Oxford in the early sixteenth century was William East, who first appears as a Royal mason in charge of the rebuilding of Woodstock Palace between 1495 and 1501, and was paid a retaining fee for keeping it in repair.¹ In the King's book of payments an entry dated May, 1511, notes that William East was paid £20, being his fee for 4 years repairing of Woodstock Palace.² The next payment was in October, 1516,³ when he received £9 for repairing Woodstock and Langley, his fee being £6 a year. In April, 1518,⁴ he received another £9, it being noted that he was not responsible for glazing work. His fee was paid again on 11th December, 1519,⁵ and in 1520⁶ he received £3 for half a year's service.

On 1st July, 1505, an agreement was drawn up between the President and Scholars of Magdalen College and William Este, master mason of Abingdon, and two others, for the construction of a clock of new iron, with the housing, hammer, wheels, bars and a dial hand by All Hallows next. The 3 contractors entered into a bond of £10. The iron frame and works of the clock are still kept in the tower and the frame has buttressed standards, perhaps showing the mason's influence.⁷ It is interesting to note that East was then living in Abingdon and may have been master mason to the abbey at this time.

Between 1512/18 he was resident mason in charge of the building of Corpus Christi College, associated with William Vertue, the better known Royal master mason.⁸ There were conflicts between the Scholars of Brasenose and the craftsmen engaged at Corpus, and an undergraduate of Brasenose named Hastings was committed to prison in August, 1512, on this account, and Formby, the late Principal of the College, was bound in a recognisance on 20th August, 1514, to keep the peace towards William Vertue and William East, freemasons, and Humphrey Coke, carpenter, masters of the works at Corpus Christi College.⁹ East was severely injured. This conflict suggests that Brasenose was being built by local men and that they objected to the 'foreigners' engaged at Corpus.

In 1513 he received £1 from Oriel College for work on the Lady Chapel at St. Mary's Church. By 1516/17 he was master mason at the building of the Queen's College antechapel in Oxford, and that year received 4d. as 'ernest' money for it, and he and other masons working on the antechapel in 1518/19 received 24s. 5d. At this time he also designed and built a large bay window for the Provost's Lodge in the same College, which was noted in its time, and was paid £3 in all for erecting it (Pl. VIII B).

¹ J. H. Harvey, *Mediaeval Office of Works, J.B.A.A.*, 3rd series, vi (1941), 56. Also *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, ii, Pt. II, 1441.

² *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, ii, Pt. II, 1450.

³ *Ibid.*, 1473.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1497.

⁵ *Ibid.*, iii, Pt. I, 1538.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 409.

⁷ Magdalen Archives Misc., 279.

⁸ Martyn Jope in *Oriel Record* (April, 1946), 8.

⁹ Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi College*, 65.

In a grant of 13th January, 1520, to the masters of the Fraternity of the Holy Cross in the church of St. Helen's at Abingdon to hold an annual fair, he is named as one of the masters,¹ so he was still living there then. He was paid 14s. 2d. for work on St. Mary's Church for Oriel College in 1520/1. On 3rd April, 1522, William East, who by this time lived at Burford, contracted to construct 3 large windows on the S. side of Balliol Chapel, and a little window in the vestry, with a corbel table and four corbels, the wall to be of sufficient height to receive the roof. He was to have the use of stone within the College (perhaps from the demolished chapel), and other stone needed he was to carry from Burford at his own cost, together with scaffolding, lime, and so forth. He was to receive £8 in all, of which he already had 40s.²

In 1524/6 he owned a quarry, which he worked from Burford, where he lived.³ William East was almost certainly dead by 1527/8, for on 20th February his work on Balliol College Chapel was taken over by John Lubyns, master of the masons at Cardinal College, and William Johnson, warden of the masons there. It would seem probable that William East was the designer and original master mason of Balliol Chapel, who was going to finish it in two contracts, but died before the second one was made.

At Corpus Christi College he might have been the local master mason who put into effect the design of the London master, William Vertue, in much the same way that Nicholas Hawksmoor deputed for Sir Christopher Wren and Sir John Vanbrugh, architects, at a later date. The College is perhaps more advanced in design than Brasenose, and the plan was modified by the size of the library, while the chapel, a simple parallelogram with no antechapel, occupies an external position similar to the original hall at All Souls College. The gate tower, including a more elaborate oriel window and two-light windows in the upper storey in an elevation essentially the same as those at St. Bernard's and Balliol Colleges, was perhaps the culmination of the normal gate tower design in Oxford.

William East's bay window at the Queen's College had four lights to each face with arcading beneath, over an open ground floor stage. Unfortunately his antechapel at the same College has been destroyed, but one feels that it will have had affinities with the chapels at Corpus and Balliol. It was aisled and had two bays with two four-light windows in each of the N. and S. walls. There was a small door at the SW. corner and an octagonal turret at the NW. angle. The roof was pitched much lower than that of the old chapel, was covered with lead, and had an embattled parapet on a parapet string. The buttresses on the N. and S. walls were like those of the older part of the chapel, but there were also angle buttresses at the NE. and SE. corners. One of the smaller windows seen in Loggan appears to have three cinquefoiled lights with three quatrefoils in the tracery; it had a two-centred head and label.

The chapel at Balliol has likewise vanished, but illustrations by Loggan, Buckler, and others, give a good idea of its appearance. It was of five bays, with two-stage buttresses, bold plinth, plain parapet with moulded parapet string below, gargoyles at intervals and a lead roof of shallow pitch. The windows were broad, with four-centred heads, labels and four cinquefoiled lights, each pair of which were comprised under a four-centred sub-arch, with a quatrefoil in the head. They were like the windows of Cardinal College, without the transomes. The E. window was similar but of six lights.

(47) WILLIAM VERTUE,⁴ *master mason, 1505/27*

William Vertue is one of the select group of the King's master masons who have worked at Oxford. In 1501 he and his brother Robert designed the new abbey church at Bath⁵; four years later he and John Aylmer contracted to vault the choir of St. George's Chapel

¹ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, iii, Pt. I, 206.

² Balliol College Register, 1514/1682, on the last folio.

³ Gretton, *Burford Records*, 599, 601, 603 and 672.

⁴ There are probably many more references to

William Vertue's work at Corpus Christi College in the College accounts which I have been unable to study.

⁵ Very Rev. J. A. Robinson, *Correspondence of Bishop Oliver King and Sir Reginald Bray*, *Proc. Somerset Arch. Soc.*, lx, Pt. II, 1.

at Windsor,¹ for which he was paid £100 by Dr. Hobbis out of the King's Purse in 1509.² In 1511 he made a contract to vault the Lady Chapel of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, and apparently left designs for the vault of the crossing of the main chapel, which, however, was not erected till a year after his death.³

In 1509 he went with Henry Redman to give advice about King's College Chapel, Cambridge, and on 28th July, 1510, William Vertue was appointed to be master mason to succeed Thomas Danyell in the Tower of London and elsewhere, and was to be paid 12d. a day and given a suit as a squire of the Household.⁴

Between 1512/17 he built Corpus Christi College, Oxford, with the assistance of William East, who was probably the local mason who executed Vertue's design. In 1512 he was injured by scholars from Brasenose College,⁵ perhaps because they disliked the idea of London craftsmen working in Oxford. In 1513 Bishop Foxe made a contract with William Vertue, freemason, and Humfrey Cooke, carpenter, to build the College according to a double plan 'made for the over and the nether lodginge' of the building.⁶ In 1517 he was at the College for 6 days and inspected stone at Taynton.⁷

From 1513 he was working on St. Peter's Chapel in the Tower and he was in charge of repairs at Woking Palace in 1515.⁸ In September, 1515, Thomas Compton received 16d. for fetching Henry Smyth and William Vertue, masons, to Woking,⁹ and in the same year Vertue sold a ton of Burford stone (6s.) for building at York Place,¹⁰ and Lupton's chantry in the chapel at Eton, designed by him, was finished.¹¹ He and Henry Redman designed new buildings at Eton College on the W. of the courtyard, including Lupton's tower in 1516,¹² and he received a grant of 12d. a day during the King's pleasure.¹³

William Vertue was granted impressment money in 1517.¹⁴ On 7th July, 1519, he became joint master mason, with Henry Redman, of the King's work at the Tower of London and other places.¹⁵ On 26th March, 1520, it was suggested that he should be sent with 150 bricklayers to a place not named,¹⁶ and later he was paid £10. William Vertue, master mason, was paid £18 5s. as a member of the Royal Household in 1521,¹⁷ and he died in 1527, leaving property at Kingston-on-Thames,¹⁸ and is perhaps buried there. William Vertue was joint designer of Henry VII's Chapel at Westminster Abbey, with his brother Robert Vertue, and on the latter's death in 1506 was probably in charge for the next 10 years.¹⁹

(48) JOHN FUSTYNG, (?) *carver*, 1506/8

John Fustyng is one of those mysterious craftsmen who appear for a brief period, just long enough to be interesting, but about whom very little is known. In 1506/7 he prepared stones for the new bell tower at Magdalen (2s. 8d.), was paid 5s. for 10 days' work 'grayng stone', and worked on the tower for 5 days (2s. 6d.). These activities suggest that he was a mason, but in 1507 he constructed a wooden roof for the former library above the Congregation House, and decorated it with knobs and leaves of gilded lead at the intersections.²⁰ He worked on Magdalen tower for 3 days in 1507/8 (18d.).

¹ *Windsor Castle*, ii, 384.

² *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, ii, Pt. II, 1443.

³ J. H. Harvey, *Mediaeval Office of Works*, *J.B.A.A.*, 3rd series, vi (1941), 54-5.

⁴ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, i, 176.

⁵ Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi College*, 65.

⁶ Fowler, *History of Corpus Christi College*, 61.

⁷ L. F. Salzman, *Building in England*, 14.

⁸ *Mediaeval Office of Works*, *J.B.A.A.*, 3rd series, vi (1941), 54-5.

⁹ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, ii, Pt. II, 1468.

¹⁰ J. H. Harvey, *Building Works and Architects of Cardinal Wolsey*, *J.B.A.A.*, 3rd series (1943), 51-2.

¹¹ *Mediaeval Office of Works*, ut supra, 54-5.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, ii, Pt. II, 878.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 1208.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, iii, Pt. I, 458.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 700.

¹⁷ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, ii, Pt. I, 869.

¹⁸ *Mediaeval Office of Works*, *J.B.A.A.*, 3rd series, vi (1941), 54-5.

¹⁹ *Gothic England*, 130.

²⁰ Vallance, *Old Colleges of Oxford*, 3.

(49) ROBERT JOHNSON, *rough mason*, 1506/27

Robert Johnson did a lot of work in Oxford but never achieved a greater status than that of rough mason and his regular rate was 6d. a day. In 1506/7 he was working on walls outside Magdalen College for 7½ days, and in the next year he was engaged on the bakehouse (4s. 6d.), and was one of the masons preparing ashlar for new rooms that were being built to the W. of the tower. He made a gutter to lead water from the new building in 1508/9 (15d.), and in 1509/10 constructed a window near the hall (9d.), fitted bars in some chambers and the hall (6d.), and made a drain for a new building at Magdalen (2s. 6d.). He helped Richard Hays to make windows in the kitchen and Music School in 1510/11 (1s. 6d.), and in the next year he fixed stone in the walls of St. John's Chapel (18d.). He was again repairing the wall of St. John's Chapel in 1513/14, mended a chimney in the President's house and fitted a staple.

Johnson and another mason were working on a wall at the end of the Queen's Chapel in 1518/19 (3s. 9d.). In 1520/1, as well as repairing the walls of the fuel house at Magdalen (3 days) and working with Reddy on Horsepath rectory, his chief occupation was as a layer on the extension to the President's Lodge. He worked for 5½ days preparing rag stone (2s. 9d.), was paid 4d. for going to Abingdon to fetch a layer, and then worked nearly 7 weeks in all on the foundations. He and Perpoynt repaired a chimney in the kitchen in 1521/2, and William Hobbys served them. Then Robert Johnson made a drain in the President's garden (21d.), and he and his servant stopped up a window in the President's wood shed (20d.).

He squared stone and placed it in Latimer's room at Magdalen College in 1524/5, worked in the store house, and during the building of the extension to the Lodge he sharpened instruments, squared stone and worked on the 'opus tabulati' (46 days). During this year he also worked at Cardinal College. Robert Johnson repaired chimneys in the President's room at Magdalen in 1526/7. At the Lay Subsidy of 1524 he was living in St. Peter's in the East parish and paid 18d.¹

(50) JOHN SPARROW, *mason*, 1506/13

John Sparrow was chiefly employed by Magdalen College. In 1506/7 he and Peter Smyth were working on the new tower there for 17 days (11s. 4d.), and in 1507/8 he repaired windows to the coal-house, worked on the new tower with Peter, labourer (2s. 10d.), was helping in the garden and was engaged for the building of new rooms W. of the tower towards St. John's Chapel. He was also on the new tower in 1508/9 (5s. 2d.), erected gargoyles in the cloister, and helped with rooms being erected to the E. of the bell tower. He worked on a window near Magdalen College Hall in 1509/10 (2½ days 10d.), repaired a hearth in the kitchen (14d.), put bars in various rooms, and helped with repairs at Iffley and the Angular Hall for Lincoln College. He was working on the window tables of the chapel at Magdalen in 1510/11, and in 1512/13 was paid 6s. 8d. owed to him by the College.

(51) WILLIAM HOBBOYS, *masons' labourer*, 1507/25

William Hobbys was a labourer widely employed during the early sixteenth century. He first appears at the building of rooms to the W. of the tower at Magdalen in 1507/8, and in the next year he worked on the new tower (11 days 3s. 8d.), and on chambers erected to the E. of it. He and W. Burt were paid 3s. 4d. by All Souls College for cleaning their quarry in 1509/10, and then in the period until 1520 he only occurs at Merton College, helping masons to knock down a wall and to build a new stone one for the Theologian's garden in 1517/18.

In 1520/1 he was working in Magdalen College garden and as a masons' labourer and quarryman on an extension to the President's Lodge. He and others carted stone

¹ O.H.S., xviii, 70.

from Headington (3s. 4d.), and there are regular entries about cleaning the quarry there, at which Hobbys worked for 60 days at 5d. He also worked on the foundations for 14 days at 5d. He made cement for work in the Music School in 1521/2, and in 1524/5 he and Brytan cleaned the latrines, and he served Robert Johnson, a rough mason, and handed up mortar to him when working in the store house (3 days at 4d.). In this year he and Brytan sawed stone for 10 days at the building of Cardinal College at 4d. a day, and again for 11 days in February, 1524/5.¹ In 1528/9 he and Richard Cooper carried a bell frame from the old steeple of St. Frideswide's into Cardinal College in their drinking time and were paid 11d.²

(52 and 53) JOHN BUCE and ROBERT CARVER, *carvers*, 1508/9

The chief work at Magdalen College in 1508/9 was the installation of the gargoyles on the cloister buttresses. The pieces of stone for the figures, together with digging, carrying and sawing them into shape, cost 51s. The chief stone carver was John Buce, who received £7 4s. 10d. for gargoyles, assisted by Robert Carver, another sculptor, who made three gargoyles for 20s.; it follows that Buce made twenty-two, and it is possible that the three which seemed to Aylmer Vallance to be so much better than the others, the pelican, antelope and griffin, may have been the work of Robert Carver. The gargoyles were erected by local masons and were similar to other carvings in the Oxford district, for an heraldic finial at Stanton Harcourt is very much like them.³ It is possible that Wolsey admired them, for at a later date similar figures were put on buttresses along the W. front of Cardinal College.⁴

(54) WILLIAM GATMAN, *mason*, 1515/17

William Gatman appears to have worked only at Magdalen and his speciality was chimney repairs. In 1515/16 he mended chimneys in the treasury, the barber's room, Mr. Sympson's room, Eryngton's room, Mr. Kendall's room, and in the Music School and other places, and also did some plastering, repaired steps in the barber's room and a wall in the Music School (in all 19½ days at 5d. a day).

During the next year he placed a floor slab over Mr. Goodherd in the chapel (7d.), repaired the hall hearth (21d.), mended the kitchen walls (15d.), worked with his servant on a buttress of the 'domus pistrine' in the garden and did other repairs to it (13s. 2d.). He repaired Mr. Gryce's room and worked on many chimneys (16s. 1d.). His wife washed chapel cloths and he and his servant, Thomas Brunley, repaired the tower (2s.).

(55) JOHN TOWNSEND, *paviour*, 1515/26

John Townsend was both carter and paviour and perhaps filled the vacancy caused by the death of Walter Jaggs. In 1515/16 he carried wood for all Souls College to Michael Hall, and he also carted wood for the College in 1516/17; in this year he and his servants received 20s. [*sic*] for commons, having repaired roads in front of Magdalen College, and he was paid 13s. 5d. for removing rubble from the chapel foundations at the Queen's College.

He carried wood in the grove of Magdalen College in 1518/19, and in the next year he laid a pavement in front of All Souls (47s.). John Townsend, carter, paid 12d. in St. Mary's parish at the Lay Subsidy of 1524,⁵ and was paid 2s. for work in Magdalen College kitchen in 1524/5. He received 5s. from All Souls for paving in St. Peter's parish in 1525/6, and at Magdalen made a trench in which to fit the foot of the Easter candle. At Magdalen also he repaired gutters inside and outside the pantry (2s. 6d.), and paved the kitchen (3½ teses 22d.). He made a pavement before the gate tower of Lincoln College (11s. 10d.), and also paved the area in front of Oriel College (33 teses 16s. 6d.).

¹ Milne and Harvey, *Building of Cardinal College, Oxoniensia*, ix, 139-40.

² Gotch, *Collectanea Curiosa*, 206.

³ Garner and Stratton, ii, 81 and see Pl. CXIV

for examples at Hampton Court (1530/1) and Hengrave Hall.

⁴ Shown by Bereblock.

⁵ *O.H.S.*, xviii, 71.

(56) HENRY REDMAN, *master mason*, 1509/28

Henry Redman's family came from Hepmangrove in the parish of Bury by Ramsey, according to his will.¹ He was the son of Thomas Redman, master mason to Westminster Abbey from 1505 to his death in 1516.² Henry was associated for much of his life with the King's master mason William Vertue, and in 1509 they gave advice on the building of King's College Chapel, Cambridge.³ He is mentioned as a master mason on 5th February, 1515, in the first building account for York Place and occurs in the fortnightly lists.⁴ He was also the master mason at Hampton Court,⁵ and showed himself a very good architect in brick as well as in stone.

Between *circa* 1515/22 he designed the tower, chancel and porch of St. Margaret's, Westminster,⁶ and in 1516 was appointed master mason to Westminster in succession to his father, and probably held this position until his death.⁷ In 1516 he, William Vertue and Humphrey Coke, the carpenter, designed the new buildings at Eton, including Lupton's tower.⁸ In 1518/19 Henry Redman built two towers at Greenwich for the King, and on 7th July, 1519, he became joint master with William Vertue of the King's work at the Tower of London and other places.⁹ On 19th July, 1520,¹⁰ he became mason to Windsor Castle at 6d. a day [*sic*] and in the same year repaired a bridge at Chelmsford, maintained by Westminster Abbey.¹¹

He was master mason, with John Lubyns, at Cardinal College, Oxford, from 1524 to his death and received 12d. a day for his work there.¹² (An account of their activities there will be found under John Lubyns to avoid repetition.) He also constructed the cloisters and chantry in Westminster Palace, which were saved from the fire of 1834.¹³

He moved to Brentford, where he was buried after his death on 10th July, 1528,¹⁴ and his will is printed by T. Faulkner in his History of Brentford. A brass in the church there commemorates his wife Joan and two daughters, and the family left considerable bequests.¹⁵ On 11th July, 1528, Thomas Heneage wrote to Cardinal Wolsey saying that the King was sorry for the death of his mason,¹⁶ and on 18th January, 1529, a man was appointed in his stead to be mason at the Tower.¹⁷

(57) JOHN LUBYNS, *master mason*, 1506/29

Mr. John Harvey suggests that John Lubyns may have come from Somerset.¹⁸ He is first mentioned in 1506 when he, Robert Vertue and Robert Jenyns, the King's master masons, say that black touchstone and white marble for Henry VII's tomb can be worked according to mouldings drawn by Mr. Pageny for £80, to be delivered within a year.¹⁹ On 10th May, 1506, Robert Vertue sealed his will in the presence of Robert Jenyns and John Lubyns.²⁰ A John Lubyns built a chimney at the Christopher Inn for Lincoln College in 1509/10.

In February, 1524/5, Lubyns and Henry Redman came, with William Johnson, warden of the masons, to the site of Cardinal College, Oxford, to see how a plan they had made compared with the ground.²¹ Later he and Redman were paid for 6 days in Oxford

¹ *Gothic England*, 135.

² Building of Cardinal College, *Oxoniensia*, ix, 146.

³ Building Works, *J.B.A.A.*, 3rd series (1943), 56.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 51.

⁵ *Henry Yevele*, 75.

⁶ Building Works, 56.

⁷ R. B. Rackham, *The Nave of Westminster Abbey*, *Proc. British Academy*, iv, 49.

⁸ D. Knoop and G. P. Jones, *The 16th-century Mason*, *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, i (1937).

⁹ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, iii, Pt. I, 458.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 933.

¹¹ Jervoise, *Ancient Bridges of the Midlands and Eastern England*, 135.

¹² Building Works, 56.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Lethaby, *Westminster Abbey*, 154.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 153.

¹⁶ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, iv, Pt. II, No. 4497.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Pt. III, No. 5336.

¹⁸ *Gothic England*, 131.

¹⁹ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, iv, No. 775.

²⁰ Building of Cardinal College, *Oxoniensia*, ix, 146.

²¹ Building Works, *J.B.A.A.*, 3rd series (1943), 54.

at 12d. each, and for 4 days riding backwards and forwards, perhaps to Cotswold quarries, at 16d. each. On 28th June the master masons and Dr. Higdon went to Little Barrington and Sherbourne to arrange for stone supplies.¹ He probably marked out the site with Redman,² and seems to have been resident mason at Cardinal College, for a fee of £10 a year for him was charged against assets from monasteries suppressed by Wolsey.³ In 1525/7 he and Redman were paid 12d. a day, and⁴ a letter of 29th December, 1526, speaks of their good work.⁵ In 1528 he and his warden, William Johnson, made a contract to complete various windows in Balliol College Chapel for £14 3s. 4d.,⁶ and after the death of Redman on 10th July, 1528, he seems to have been the master-in-charge at Cardinal College. He was a master mason at Hampton Court in 1537 and received £3 6s. 8d. for half a year's fees, and paper was bought for him to make plans.⁷

(58) WILLIAM JOHNSON, *master mason*, 1524/8

William Johnson, who may have been the apprentice of that name who served for 21 days at London Bridge in 1501/2,⁸ was warden of the masons at Cardinal College, and in February, 1524/5, he was paid with Henry Redman and John Lubyns for coming to compare the plan with the ground. He appears throughout the first year's accounts as warden, and supplied a grindstone (2s.) and a box for the moulds (4d.). He was paid for 2 weeks' work as a freemason,⁹ and on 18th February he was paid for further work. On 20th February, 1527/8, John Lubyns, master of the works at Cardinal College, and William Johnson, agreed to construct three heads of windows of four lights, and one of three lights, on the N. side of Balliol Chapel, and the head of the E. window of five lights, each window to have a label and gargoyles. Lubyns was to supply and cart the stone and the two masons were to receive 21½ marks.¹⁰

In 1528 Mr. Johnson, mason, was paid 3s. 4d. for work on the treasury at Merton College. *Circa* 1532 William Johnson of Barrington, freemason, supplied Hampton Court with 5 one-light windows with 3 foot jambs at 5s. each, and 80 other lights ready made at 4s. 6d., all produced at the quarry, and in 1535 he charged the following rates for windows made by him for Hampton Court:—5s. a light for three-light windows with transome and jambs 3 feet high, 5s. 2d. for the same 4 feet high, and 5s. 10d. for those 5 feet high, and for windows with no transome 4s. 6d.¹¹

(59) ROBERT COCKS, *mason*, 1524/30

Robert Cocks worked chiefly at Magdalen, but is also found at Lincoln College and as a rough mason at Cardinal College. In 1524/5 he was paid for work at Cardinal College at a rate of 6d. a day, and built a stone wall for Lincoln College. At Magdalen he worked for 29 days at 7d. a day on a new extension to the President's Lodge.

At Lincoln College in 1525/6 he remade the back of Mr. Bassett's chimney and set afresh the tower battlements, and in 1526/7 he fixed some hooks in Magdalen College Chapel, sawed wood and made some studs. The mason who also worked in wood is seen at Magdalen again in 1529/30. Here Robert Cocks repaired the E. bridge, made a window in the kitchen fireplace according to an agreement (5s.), worked in the barber's room, and prepared some wood. He mended a chimney in Turner's room (12d.), and built various walls perhaps of studs. He underpinned a house belonging to the College and sawed planks. Next he made two ovens (16s. 4d.) and repaired a roasting place, mended a washplace and made some stone steps at the end of the hall (21d.).

¹ Building of Cardinal College, 145.

² *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, iv, No. 1499.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 1138.

⁴ Building Works, 53.

⁵ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, iv, Pt. II, No. 2734.

⁶ Balliol College Register, 1514/1682, last folio.

⁷ *V.C.H. Middlesex*, ii, 372.

⁸ D. Knoop and G. P. Jones, *London Bridge and its Builders*, *A.Q.C.*, xlvii (1934), 28.

⁹ Building of Cardinal College, *Oxoniensia*, ix, 139. Mr. E. M. Jope suggests that William Johnson may have been working at Abingdon Abbey before he came to Cardinal College.

¹⁰ Balliol College Register, 1514/1682, last folio.

¹¹ L. F. Salzman, *Building in England*, 111 and 123.

(60) JOHN OLDAM, *freemason*, 1524/9

John Oldam and Richard Hays, working on an extension to Magdalen President's Lodge in 1524/5 squared over 900 feet of ashlar and worked for a week on 'opus tabulati'. John Oldam, freemason, also worked at Cardinal College in the February of this year for a week (3s. 4d.). In 1529/30 he was trimming timber at Magdalen, in order to make gratings. (6 days at 6d.)

APPENDIX I

MASONS EMPLOYED BY EACH COLLEGE, IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

The number indicates the position of the mason's biography in the text.

NAME	OCCURS	REMARKS
ALL SOULS COLLEGE		
CHEVYNTON, RICHARD ⁽¹³⁾	1437/42	Master mason.
MASSYNHAM, JOHN ⁽¹⁴⁾	1437/42	Master stone carver.
MASSYNHAM, JOHN (Junior)	1437/8	Servant to his father. (<i>See under</i> John Massynham.)
WHITLOCK, THOMAS ⁽¹⁵⁾	1437/42	Servant to John Massynham.
SWENEY, ROBERT	1437/41	Mason ; given 20d. reward by the Founder in 1437/8. Worked for half the first week of January, 1439/40 (17d.) and 4 days in the third week of April, 1440/1 (2s.).
BRACKELE, THOMAS	1438/9	Rough mason ; worked in the quarry at Headington trimming stone from the first week of February until the third week of November. Paid 14d. for a pick-axe and there are references to his contract. Usually paid 4½d. a day or in lump sums.
CAMPYON, WILLIAM	1438/9	Mason ; worked 4 days in the second week of January, 1438/9, at 5½d. a day. Later in the same year he went to Eton where he stayed 5 years. (<i>Building of Eton College</i> , p. 39.)
MYDDILTON, JOHN	1438/9	Mason ; paid 2s. 6d. for the third week of November.
GOOD, JOHN ⁽¹⁷⁾	1438/58	Mason.
JANYNS, ROBERT ⁽¹⁶⁾	1438/58	Warden of the masons.
BALDEWYN, THOMAS	1439/40	Mason ; working at Burford in the second week of January, for 2½ days at 5½d. and half a day at 3d.
BROYNE, ANDREW ⁽¹⁹⁾	1440/1	Stone carver.
BROYNE, JOHN ⁽²⁰⁾	1440/1	Stone carver.
BURGEYS, JOHN	1440/1	Rough mason ; received 3s. for building a wall.
PLESAUNCE, JOHN	1440/1	Mason from Norfolk, was paid 3s. 4d. reward for coming. Later worked at Eton for 4½ years and was given a reward there for good work in hot weather. (<i>Building of Eton College</i> , pp. 25 and 39.)

RYDALE, JOHN	1440/1	Mason from Norwich, was paid 12d. reward for coming. Was at Eton for 18 years from 1442 to 1468. (<i>Building of Eton College</i> , p. 30.)
WOODWARD, THOMAS ⁽²¹⁾	1440/1	Master mason at Burford.
WORLECH, JOHN	1440/2	Mason, paid 2s. 1d. for 1 week in March, 1440/1 and 3s. for the second week of August, 1441/2.
LANE, WILLIAM ⁽²²⁾	1440/57	Mason.
PAVYERE, THOMAS	1441/50	Paviour, paved the quadrangle at 6d. a tese, each tese containing 7 square feet, and received 56s. 8d. in part payment. In 1449/50 he was paving a house belonging to All Souls.
<i>(All the above masons were working at the initial building of the College.)</i>		
GADDER, THOMAS	1449/50	Mason's servant; paid 12d. for serving Payn the mason for 3 days.
PAYN, THOMAS	1449/58	First mason to work for any length of time after the building of the College. He first occurs in 1449/50 when he was paid 18d. for work on a house. In 1451/2 he worked on a house in St. Michael's parish, and in the next year he was paid 9d. for repairing the College kitchen fireplace; on 2nd December he and his servant repaired Nicholas Robyns' house. In 1453/4 and 1455/6 he was repairing the same house. He worked on a wall in Core's house in 1456/7 and was paid for stone for a house in St. Mary's parish in May of the same year. In 1457/8 he was fully paid for the work on Robyns' house and for a wall in Nicholas Heron's house.
FULLON, THOMAS	1452/3	Paviour, working at Grampound.
LANE, THOMAS	1452/3	Mason, working with Thomas Stone on an outside job.
REDEHEDE, ROGER	1452/3	Mason, working on Core's house with Thomas ffoster, his man, and on a tenement in Grampound.
STONE, THOMAS	1452/3	Mason, working on Michael Hall.
ROSBY, THOMAS	1452/3	Dauber or mason; working on a tenement at Grampound.
FOSTER, THOMAS	1452/3	Mason's labourer; serving Roger Redehede when working on a tenement in Grampound.
MOORE, JOHN	1452/3	Mason's servant; with William Lane on Michael and James Halls.
WALSHE, JOHN	1452/3	Mason's labourer; serving Thomas Lane and Thomas Stone, on outside work.
FROSTE, RICHARD	1455/7	Mason; with William Lane in 1455/6 putting chimneys in Michael Hall. In 1456/7 with William Lane on Nicholas Robyns' house.

BAYLY, JOHN	1455/9	Mason ; not employed, but hired tenement in St. Mary Magdalene.
BRYGGES, THOMAS	1456/7	Mason's labourer ; with William Lane and Richard Frost on Nicholas Robyns' house.
PRIUS JOHN	1457/8	Mason ; paid 16d. for placing a 'lavacrum' in the chapel wall and for paving some of the chapel.
WHITE, WILLIAM	1457/8	Mason ; paid for outside work and for work on Michael Hall ; made a wash place near the kitchen.
IVE, WILLIAM	1457/8	Mason's servant ; serving William Mason when making a 'stansorium' on the chapel for 5 days.
MASON (ORCHARD), WILLIAM	1457/82	Master mason ; in 1457/8 William Mason made a 'stansorium' above the chapel for a week (3s. 4d.), and in 1481/2 he was paid 7s. 8d. for repairs in Headington.
JENYNS, JOHN	1469/71	? Mason ; in 1469 he was paid 10d. for repairs in Perkyn's house and received £10 2s. 9½d. arrears. In 1470/1 he was paid for outside repairs. Perhaps the son of Robert Janyns.
BELL, WILLIAM ⁽³⁸⁾	1481/2	Master mason.
PERKYNS	1504/6	Paviour ; he was paid 5s. in 1504/5 for laying a pavement between the hall and the kitchen, and in the next year he received a further 23s. 4d. for the same work and 10s. 2d. for carrying stone for it ; his servant was paid 4s. 4d. for his labour.
HARVY, RICHARD ⁽³⁷⁾	1504/24	Mason and dauber.
MULTON, JOHN	1506/10	Mason ; first appears in 1506/7 when he was paid 6d. for making a trough, and later was paid for building a house. In 1508/9 he and two men were working in St. Mary's parish and he supplied timber, and the Bursars of 1509/10 paid to John Multon some money owed to him.
TOWNYSENDE (JOHN) ⁽⁵⁵⁾	1515/26	Paviour and carrier.
ORCHARD (JOHN)	1523/4	? Mason ; paid 16d. for work not specified. William Orchard was dead by now, but he had a son who may have continued to work in Oxford.

CARDINAL COLLEGE (CHRIST CHURCH)

REDMAN, HENRY ⁽⁵⁶⁾	1524/28	Master mason.
OLDAM, JOHN ⁽⁶⁰⁾	1524/5	Freemason.
BIRCHE, RICHARD	1524/5	Mason ; worked for a week at 3s. 4d.
BRADLEY, JOHN	1524/5	Mason ; worked for 2 weeks at 3s. 4d.
COKE, THOMAS	1524/5	Mason ; worked for a week at 3s. 4d.
GRASSAM, HENRY	1524/5	Mason ; worked for a week at 3s. 4d.
HORSLEY, JOHN	1524/5	Mason ; worked for 3 weeks in February at 3s. 4d. and as a labourer for 5 days (20d.).

MAWE, JOHN	1524/5	Mason ; worked for 3 weeks in February at 3s. 4d. a week.
PRESGRAVE, JOHN	1524/5	Mason ; worked for 4 weeks in February at 3s. 4d.
RONDELL, RICHARD	1524/5	Mason ; worked for 3 weeks in February at 3s. 4d.
COKKES, ROBERT ⁽⁵⁹⁾	1524/5	Rough mason.
JOHNSON, ROBERT ⁽⁴⁹⁾	1524/5	Rough mason.
LUYS, RICHARD ⁽³⁸⁾	1524/5	Rough mason.
BRYTAN, WILLIAM ⁽⁴⁵⁾	1524/5	Mason's labourer.
HOBBYS, WILLIAM ⁽⁵¹⁾	1524/9	Mason's labourer.
NEWMAN, NICHOLAS	1524/5	Mason's labourer ; on 25th February he was paid 3s. 8d. for 11 days' work.
PERYN (WILLIAM)	1524/5	Mason's labourer ; paid for 8 days' work at 4d. a day on 18th February.
WILSON, ROBERT	1524/5	Worked for 8 days in February at 4d. a day.
LUBYNS, JOHN ⁽⁵⁷⁾	1525/9	Master mason.
JONSON, WILLIAM ⁽⁵⁸⁾	1525	Warden of the masons.
PERSON	April, 1525	Employed for a week at Hampton Court making moulds.
HAMMOND, WILLIAM	1525	Rough mason ; paid 6d. a day.
ADAMS, JOHN	1528/9	Freemason ; carried 124 loads of gravel from St. Giles to the work (31s.).
ANDERSAY, JOHN	1528/9	Freemason. He and all the following freemasons were given a reward for working on a new tower at the E. end of the hall, on Saturday afternoon, in their own time, when they should have stopped working.
ARNALD, EDWARD	1528/9	
HAULE, ROBERT	1528/9	
KING, JOHN	1528/9	
LEECH, CHRISTOPHER	1528/9	
MYLLS, JOHN	1528/9	Freemasons.
STAGPOLE, JOHN	1528/9	
STYLL, RICHARD	1528/9	

(All the above masons were working at the initial building of the College.)

LINCOLN COLLEGE

MASON, WILLIAM	1455	Mason ; repaired the buttery door.
MASON, ROBERT	1476/92	Mason ; in 1476/7 he owed 4s. on a tenement rented from the College, he was preparing stone in 1478, and in 1492 he was working at Iffley Mill.
BLAKE	1487/8	Freemason ; worked on College chimneys for 14 days at 7d. a day.
TYSON	1487/8	Freemason ; in 1487/8 he built a hall at Rodds How (4s.) and in the same year he built and repaired various chimneys in the College and provided stone (17s. 0½d.).
GRACE, JOHN	1487/8	Mason ; repaired a wall in Combe rectory.
HERRNE	1492	Mason ; worked at Iffley Mill.
LEWYS, RICHARD ⁽³⁸⁾	1492-1523/4	Mason.
MASON, HENRY	1492	Mason ; worked at Iffley Mill.
MASON, NICHOLAS	1492	Mason ; worked at Iffley Mill.
SPISER, ROBERT ⁽³⁴⁾	1492	Mason.
JOHNSON, WILLIAM ⁽³⁰⁾	1492-1510/11	Mason's labourer.

MASON, JOHN	1503/24	Mason ; in 1503 he repaired a fireplace and supplied brick for it, fixed hooks in a storehouse window and built walls at Iffley and elsewhere. In 1509/10 he worked on three houses in Church Lane, in 1520/1 he was living in a College house, and in 1523/4 he was buried in All Saints' Church.
FOSTER, HENRY ⁽⁴²⁾	1504/16	Rough mason.
HAYS, NICHOLAS	1504/5	Rough mason ; in the year he worked in a cellar, repaired a wall, pargetted a chimney, paved the hall and built walls at Iffley. Perhaps the father of Richard Hays.
BRETAN, WILLIAM ⁽⁴⁵⁾	1504/10	Mason's labourer.
JENKYNs, THOMAS	1504/5	Mason.
SOMERTON, THOMAS	1504/5	Mason ; worked at Iffley and did repairs at Littlemore.
HAYS, RICHARD ⁽⁴¹⁾	1505/16	Freemason.
FOSTER, GEORGE	1505/6	Mason ; built a wall at the bottom of John King's garden.
SPYLLS, JOHN	1505/6	Mason ; built a wall at the bottom of John King's garden.
HARVY, RICHARD ⁽³⁷⁾	1506/21	Rough mason and dauber.
SPENSER, RICHARD	1506/7	Rough mason ; built a wall at the Ram.
JOHNSON, ROBERT ⁽⁴⁹⁾	1508/10	Rough mason.
LUBYNS, JOHN ⁽⁵⁷⁾	1509/10	Master mason.
BOND, JOHN	1509/28	Mason ; built a wall at the Angular House and a stable wall at Iffley in 1509/10, and in 1527/8 he built a stone garden wall in the College and did many repairs in and out of Oxford.
CHAMBURLAINE	1509/10	Mason ; worked in the College.
SPARROW, JOHN ⁽⁵⁰⁾	1509/10	Mason.
JAGS, WALTER ⁽³⁹⁾	1510/11	Paviour.
SYMSON, WILLIAM	1511/24	Mason ; in 1511/12 he was paid 23d. for 'makyng off the drawght off greytt' in Hugh Hynd's house, and in 1523/4 he built and rough-cast a wall at Lawrence Hall and was working at the Ram and elsewhere.
MASON, WILLIAM	1513/14	Mason ; walled up the back gate of the White Hart.
WAGHAM, DAVY	1513/14	Rough mason ; worked at the White Hart.
POLE, THOMAS	1519/25	Mason's labourer and odd job man. In 1519/20 he lime-washed the chapel (12d.), made a floor in the tower (6d.), constructed a wall at the end of the Manciple's room (12d.), and made another floor. He was living in a College house in 1520/1 and repaired walls of the storehouse, cook's chamber and a College house. In 1524/5 he sawed wood and repaired a stone wall at the Ram ; his wife worked for the College.

MASON, RICHARD	1520/1	Mason; repaired a chimney and 'for making ye borders new of raggstone' (2s. 1d.).
BOWNE, JOHN	1523/4	Mason; repaired a hearth in the College kitchen.
PERYNE, WILLIAM	1523/4	Mason; repaired a chimney.
BOWELL, DAVID	1524/5	Paviour; paved the area round the pump and cleaned a gutter (18d.).
BEELE, JOHN	1525/6	Rough mason; built a wall at the Ram.
TOWNSENDE (JOHN) ⁽⁵⁵⁾	1525/6	Paviour.
COCKS, ROBERT ⁽⁵⁹⁾	1524/6	Mason.
PERYN, JOHN	1527/8	Mason; built a stone wall in the College garden and did repairs in the town.
RADLEY	1527/8	Mason; buried at All Saints (appropriated to Lincoln College).

MAGDALEN COLLEGE

ORCHARD, WILLIAM ⁽²⁵⁾	1466-1503/4	Master mason.
SEVALL, JOHN ⁽²⁶⁾	1466/9	Rough mason.
GOOD, JOHN ⁽¹⁷⁾	1467/74	Rough mason.
RAYNALD, WILLIAM ⁽²⁷⁾	1468-1505	Master mason.
EWEYN, JOHN	1468/70	Mason; of Marston. Carrying stone from Headington to Oxford during 1468/9 for the walls. In 1469/70 he and Richard Nash built a wall by the water, 8 perches long and 10 feet high, plus foundations, at 8d. a perch (53s. 4d.).
GALYS, THOMAS	1468/9	Mason; worked for 17 weeks between 10th April and 9th October setting.
MADSAY, JOHN	1468/9	Mason; worked for 13 weeks between June and October setting, and also paid for working in foggy weather.
MAIOR, WALTER	1468/9	Mason; paid for working in foggy weather.
REYNOLD, EDMUND	1468/9	Mason; paid for working in foggy weather. May have been a relation of William Raynold.
WATTS, THOMAS	1468/9	Mason; paid for working 16 weeks between July and October setting, and for working in foggy weather.
BOWER, JOHN	1468/9	Rough mason; worked for 5 weeks in July and August setting. A John Bower or Bowyer was working at Windsor in 1489/90. (Windsor Castle, ii, 509-10.)
DAVID, J.	1468/9	Rough mason; setting during the week ending 10th April.
EDWARD (MASON), THOMAS ⁽²⁸⁾	1468/74	Rough mason.
PRENDEGEST, HENRY	1468/74	Rough mason; setting for 4 weeks between April and June, 1468/9, and in 1474 when the chapel and hall were being built he polished 40 loads of stone at the quarry and cut and squared 600 feet of common ashlar at 2s. 8d. a hundred feet.
WEBBE, JOHN ⁽²⁹⁾	1468/74	Rough Mason.
WYLDE, ROGER	1468/9	Rough mason; worked for 7 weeks between June and August.

BUKBY, WILLIAM	1468/9	Mason's labourer ; worked for 31 weeks between February and October.
FORSTER, WILLIAM	1468/71	Mason's labourer ; worked for 27 weeks between April and October, 1468/9, and given 3s. 4d. for a robe. Received a robe in 1469/70 and in 1470/1 he was paid for digging and carrying sand.
JOHNSON, WILLIAM ⁽³⁰⁾	1468/74	Mason's labourer.
MICHAEL	1468/9	Mason's labourer ; worked for 3 weeks in July.
MYDDELMAN, JOHN	1468/9	Mason's labourer ; worked for a week in October.
PESEMEDE, JOHN	1468/9	Mason's labourer ; worked for a week.
WERET, HENRY	1468/9	Mason's labourer ; worked for a week in April.
WHITE, JOHN	1468/99	Mason's labourer ; worked for 24 weeks between February and October, 1468/9, and in 1498/9 as servant to William Raynold he worked for 3½ days on Mr. Flemmyng's room at 6d. a day.
NASH, RICHARD	1469/70	Mason ; he and his mate John Eweyn built a wall by the water, 8 perches long and 10 feet high, plus foundations, for 53s. 4d.
BARRE, WILLIAM	1471/2	? Mason ; pointed greater and lesser walls 90 perches long and 10 feet high for 15s.
SHANE, JOHN ⁽³¹⁾	1471/4	Mason.
<i>(All the above masons were working at the building of the precinct walls.)</i>		
CLARYNGDON, WILLIAM	1474	Freemason ; paid by William Orchard for cutting and squaring ashlar with John Colas, 3,000 feet at 2s. 8d. a hundred feet (£4), and for laying ashlar and tables (21 weeks at 3s. 4d.).
COLAS, JOHN (Senior)	1474	Freemason ; worked with William Claryngdon as above and cut and placed stone for 1 week at 3s. 4d.
CHAMBERLAIN, JOHN	1474-1512	Mason and quarryman ; in 1474 he and Henry Baily removed the top soil at Headington quarry (60 feet square by 8 feet deep down to the 'free bedde'), and he dug stone (called 'grete pedant' and 'smal pendant'—£3 6s. 8d.). In 1508/9 he was working on new chambers being built to the E. of the bell tower, and in 1511/12 he and another built a wall in John Anstey's room (20d.).
COLAS, JOHN (Junior)	1474/97	Mason ; in 1474 he laid stone and fitted the jambs of windows for 1 week and 3 days (5s.). In 1496/7 he repaired a buttress and 'gresse tabul' at the S. side of the chapel (8 weeks at 3s. 4d.).
GRANGE, JOHN	1474	Mason ; keeper of quarries at Taynton and Whitelake ; paid £3 for 23 loads and 360 feet of stone at 2d. a foot, each wagon carrying 15½ feet.

LYNNE, RICHARD	1474	Mason; paid 8s. 4d. for cutting stone called 'cunys' (set-off of the plinth) and for laying for 2 weeks and 3 days.
WHITE, THOMAS	1474	Mason; keeper of Wheatley quarry. Paid £4 8s. 2d. for 23 loads of stone called 'le leggement table and le crest table' (cornice of parapet and coping), each load 23 feet at 2d. a foot.
WYKE, THOMAS ⁽²⁴⁾	1474	Mason.
FOXWELL, ROBERT	1474	Rough mason; polishing wall stone at the quarry. (43 loads 5s. 4d.)
HAYNES, THOMAS	1474	Rough mason; paid 2s. 11d. for a week's work in May.
MILTON, HENRY ⁽³²⁾	1474/92	Rough mason.
BALOWE, JOHN	1474	Mason's labourer; digging foundations for 3½ days (14d.) and paid 22d. for a week's work.
GERDON, THOMAS	1474	Mason's labourer; digging foundations for 2½ days (10d.) and paid 22d. for a week's work in May.
GOLDSMYTH, ROBERT	1474/97	Mason's labourer; in 1474 he received 10d. for a week's work. He worked in the cloister in 1485/6, cleaned the barn in the next year, worked with other servants on the kitchen sink in 1487/8 (2s. 4d.), and cleaned the cloister for whitewashing in 1496/7 (18d.).
KARME, JOHN	1474	Mason's labourer; paid 22d. for a week's work.
MARCHALL, JOHN	1474	Mason's labourer; digging foundations to place the first stones for 3½ days at 4d., and paid 22d. for a week's work in May.
RALPH	1474	Mason's labourer; digging foundations to place the first stones for 4 days at 4d. Paid 22d. for a week's work in May.
NEWTON, THOMAS	1474	Mason's labourer; paid 22d. for a week's work.

(All the masons from William Claryngdon to Thomas Newton were building the chapel and hall.)

COWPER, JOHN	1453/82	Master mason; made a contract with Bishop Waynflete in 1477 to build a bridge at Bramber in Sussex for Magdalen College, and in 1478/9 he acknowledged receipt of money and engaged to finish the bridge. (Magdalen College deeds, Bramber 12 and 16.) He was at work on Tattershall Church in Lincolnshire circa 1480. He was most probably an apprentice at Eton in 1453/9. (The Architects of English Parish Churches, J. H. Harvey, <i>Arch. Journ.</i> , cv, 23.) See <i>Gothic England</i> , 119-20.
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HUNT, ROBERT	1488-1501	Mason and dauber ; in 1488/9 he and a mate whitewashed the Music School, in 1496/7 he whitewashed the cloister (8 days at 6d.) and was paid for size and equipment, and in 1500/1 he and Thomas Person cleaned and whitewashed various walls.
BENNET, JOHN ⁽³⁵⁾	1490-1509	Mason.
EDWARDS, JOHN	1490/1	Mason and dauber ; worked on the new chapel over the S. walk of the cloister for a day and with John Gyll on a new orchard wall (29s. 7½d.), and he spent 9½ days pargetting this and the N. wall of the College (4s. 9d.).
GYLL, JOHN ⁽³⁶⁾	1490-1501	Mason.
GEFFREY, THOMAS	1490/1	Mason's labourer ; worked with masons building a wall in the grove.
COKS, JOHN	1494/5	Mason ; worked with John Gyll in the buttery for 4 days (16d.).
JAGGS, WALTER ⁽³⁹⁾	1494-1507	Paviour.
HYDE, JOHN	1496-1508	Mason ; paid 4d. in 1496/7 for carrying stone for a pinnacle above a chimney on top of the Founder's tower, and in 1507/8 he was trimming ashlar for new chambers between the tower and St. John's Chapel.
TAYLOR, WALTER	1496-1501	Mason ; in 1496/7 he trimmed stone for work on the Founder's tower (5 days at 6d.), and he and his brother repaired a pavement before the altar and round the doors of St. John's Chapel for 2½ days at 5d. in 1500/1.
BAKER, THOMAS	1496/7	Mason's labourer ; worked with William Raynold for 6 days on the Founder's tower at 3½d. a day.
HAYS, RICHARD ⁽⁴¹⁾	1498-1526	Freemason.
HARVY, RICHARD ⁽³⁷⁾	1498-1526	Mason and dauber.
JENKYNS (THOMAS) ⁽⁴⁰⁾	1498-1505	Mason.
ORCHYARD, JOHN	1498/9	? Mason ; worked for a day (6d.) on the wall of Mr. Flemyng's room. Perhaps the son of William Orchard.
BYSKEY, RICHARD	1498/9	Well expert ; he and Philip Graunt worked on a well in the kitchen.
WATKYN	1500/1	Mason ; repaired chimneys (12d.).
FOSTER, HENRY ⁽⁴²⁾	1502/9	Mason.
HARYSON, JOHN	1502/3	Mason ; worked on College property at King's Mill.
HERBERD, WILLIAM ⁽⁴³⁾	1502/3	Sculptor.
NEWMAN, JOHN	1502/4	Mason's labourer ; served Richard Hays on chimney repairs in the kitchen in 1502/3 and was paid 10d. for a bell rope in 1503/4.
SMYTH, JOHN	1503/10	Mason ; in 1503/4 he received 9s. for building a new chimney in Mr. Berne's room, he was paid 10s. 6d. for 20 days' work on the tower in 1506/7, and in 1509/10 he carried tiles to the College.

SPICER, THOMAS ⁽⁴⁴⁾	1503/8	Mason.
ESTE, WILLIAM ⁽⁴⁶⁾	1st July, 1505	Master mason.
HARTE	1505/6	? Mason or dauber; repaired walls in the orchard.
BOND, JOHN	1506/25	Mason; he was repairing walls outside the College in 1506/7 (21d.), worked on new rooms to the W. of the tower in 1507/8, made a gutter in the new building (18d.) in 1508/9, and in the next year he constructed a new window by the hall (2s. 6d.), repaired the kitchen hearth (2s.), made a door at Aynho Hospital (2s. 3d.), and received 2s. for repairing pinnacles above the hall and for making the threshold of some new chambers (2s.). He was working on the President's Lodge extension in 1524/5.
BROWN, JOHN	1506/8	Mason; he worked for 26 days on the new tower (12s. 6d.) in 1506/7, 5 days (2s. 6d.) in 1507/8, and in the same year worked on new rooms between the tower and St. John's Chapel and was paid for lime.
FUSTYNG, JOHN ⁽⁴⁸⁾	1506/8	Mason.
LEWYS, RICHARD ⁽³⁸⁾	1506/27	Mason.
SMYTH, PETER	1506/7	Mason; worked on the new tower with John Sparrow for 17 days (11s. 4d.).
SPARROW, JOHN ⁽⁵⁰⁾	1506/13	Mason.
JOHNSON, ROBERT ⁽⁴⁹⁾	1506/27	Rough mason.
BRYTANE, WILLIAM ⁽⁴⁵⁾	1506/25	Mason's labourer.
PYNFOLD	1506/22	Mason's labourer; he carried 7 loads of stone to the tower in 1506/7, carried rubble away during the erection of rooms to the W. of the tower in 1507/8, worked on chambers to the E. of the tower in 1508/9, carried stone dug by Bowden in 1509/10, was carrying wood in 1512/13, worked in the College garden in 1520/1, and sawed stone for work on the President's Lodge in 1521/2.
BETS, JOHN	1507/8	Mason; worked at the building of chambers between the tower and St. John's Chapel.
CORNESCH, THOMAS	1507/9	Mason; he trimmed ashlar during the building of rooms to the W. of the tower in 1507/8, prepared 43 feet of stone during the blocking of windows in the new tower in 1508/9 (3s. 7d.), and worked on chambers erected to the E. of the tower in that year.
EDMUNDYS	1507/8	Mason; worked on new chambers being built to the W. of the tower.
FLEMING, EDMUND	1507/8	Mason; trimmed 2 'le doselars', 6½ feet of 'le munars' and 8 feet of tables for chambers being built between the tower and St. John's Chapel.

FORNESCH, THOMAS	1507/8	Mason ; working on rooms being erected to the W. of the tower ; trimmed stone.
FOWLER, RICHARD	1507/8	Mason ; working on rooms being erected to the W. of the tower ; trimmed stone.
FULLER, RICHARD	1507/8	Mason ; working on rooms being erected to the W. of the tower ; trimmed ashlar.
LATHYS, RICHARD	1507/9	Mason ; worked on chambers being built to the W. of the tower in 1507/8, and in 1508/9 he erected gargoyles in the cloister and worked on the rooms erected to the E. of the tower.
SAUNDERS, WILLIAM	1507/17	Mason ; in 1507/8 he worked on the new chambers to the W. of the tower, in the next year he erected cloister gargoyles with John Hobbs (4 days at 8d.), and in 1516/17 he and Thomas Stawnton, a tiler, were repairing chimneys (3 days at 6d.).
PERPOYNT, HENRY	1507/22	Rough mason and dauber ; in 1507/8 he was working on the new rooms to the W. of the tower, in 1516/17 he and a servant daubed Godfrey's room, and in 1521/2 he and Robert Johnson repaired a kitchen chimney.
HOBBS, WILLIAM ⁽⁵¹⁾	1507/25	Mason's labourer.
NORTHERN, RICHARD	1507/8	Mason's labourer ; at the building of new chambers to the W. of the tower.
SAVAGE, THOMAS	1507/10	Mason's labourer at the building of rooms to the W. of the tower in 1507/8, and in 1509/10 he repaired the kitchen hearth, helped Johnson to make a drain, and worked for 11 days levelling the court by the tower.
SHERITT	1507/8	Mason's labourer ; at the erection of rooms to the W. of the tower.
BUCE, JOHN ⁽⁵²⁾	1508/9	Sculptor.
CARVER, ROBERT ⁽⁵³⁾	1508/9	Sculptor.
BENNETT, RICHARD	1508/9	Mason ; erected gargoyles in the cloister (12½ days at 6d.).
FOWLER, J.	1508/9	Mason ; working on rooms being built to the E. of the tower.
GREY	1508/9	Mason ; working on rooms being built to the E. of the tower.
HOBBS, JOHN	1508/9	Mason ; erected gargoyles in the cloister with William Saunders for 4 days at 8d., and worked on chambers being built to the E. of the tower.
HOBYS, T.	1508/9	Mason ; working on rooms to the E. of the tower.
MOKEM, J.	1508/9	Mason ; working on rooms to the E. of the tower.

MORRES, W.	1508/27	Mason ; working on chambers being built in 1508/9, in 1520/1 he cleaned the quarry for 4 days when the President's Lodge was being extended, in 1524/5 he worked for 5 days on the Lodge extension, and in 1526/7 he carried 10 loads of mud to the College.
MOSLEY, HENRY	1508/9	Mason ; working on the new rooms.
STEVENTON, T.	1508/9	Mason ; working on the new rooms.
SYMSELL, WILLIAM	1508/9	Mason ; erected gargoyles in the cloister for a week (2s. 4d.).
TAYLOWR, RICHARD	1508/9	Mason ; working for 15 days on the tower (6s. 8d.). Perhaps the brother of Walter Taylor.
WYLCOOSE, NICHOLAS	1508/9	Mason ; worked for a week closing up windows in the tower.
YVE, JOHN	1508/9	Mason ; paid for providing and placing 50 stones on the Founder's tower.
BROWNE, WILLIAM	1508/9	Mason's labourer ; helped to wall-up the windows in the tower for 15 days (6s. 8d.), and also worked on new rooms.
FULLER, T.	1508/9	Mason's labourer ; worked on new rooms.
CHERY	1510/11	Mason's labourer ; served Hays and Lewys working on the chapel windows, and helped to make bricks (laterum) for 5 days.
YONG, JAMES	1510/11	Mason's labourer ; helped to build a chimney and served masons working on windows in the kitchen and the Music School.
HARBORN, JOHN	1511/12	Mason ; he and Robert Johnson worked for 3 days putting stone in the walls of St. John's Chapel.
SCACKVILL, JOHN	1511/12	Mason ; he and another repaired the wall of John Anstey's room.
HAMERTON, GYLBERT	1512/14	Mason and dauber ; in 1512/13 he and Richard Harvy worked in the latrines and the pastry house (4s. 4d.) and they repaired a hearth in the next year. A Gilbert Hemmerston was working at Hampton Court in 1525. (<i>Building in England</i> , Salzman, Pl. 8.)
MASONE, THOMAS	1512/13	Mason ; worked for a day in the President's kitchen.
GATMAN, WILLIAM ⁽⁵⁴⁾	1515/17	Mason.
SCHERPE, ROBERT	1515/16	Mason's labourer ; worked with W. Gatman on chimneys and plastered the Exchequer.
JENYNS, ROBERT	1516/17	Mason ; he and James worked on the hall for a day.
BRUNLEY, THOMAS	1516/17	Mason's labourer ; servant to W. Gatman.
TOWNSENDE (JOHN) ⁽⁵⁵⁾	1516/26	Paviour.
COKE, THOMAS	1520/22	Freemason ; worked on the Lodge extension in 1520/1 and in the next year he repaired the President's kitchen and worked for 2 days on the Lodge.

PARKER, THOMAS	1520/22	Rough mason and later freemason ; in 1520/1 he trimmed 100 feet of ashlar and was setting for 18 weeks at first at 3s. 4d. a week, but for the last 3 weeks at 3s. 8d. In 1521/2 he worked for 6 days on the Lodge (3s. 6d.) and for 1 day in the inner roof of it.
CHERON	1520/1	Mason ; worked on the President's Lodge extension for 9½ days.
PARKER, RICHARD	1520/22	Mason ; in 1520/21 he was setting in the Lodge extension for 6 weeks at 3s. 8d. a week, and in 1521/2 he repaired a chimney (2 days at 6d.).
PRESGROVE, JOHN	1520/25	Mason ; in 1520/1 he worked on the extension to the President's Lodge for about 21 weeks, chiefly preparing ashlar at a rate of 3s. 4d. a week. In 1524/5 he repaired a chimney in the barber's room and worked on the Lodge for 9 weeks at the same rate.
SAWNDERS	1520/1	Mason ; worked on the Lodge extension for 3 days at 6d.
TEGFYLD	1520/1	Mason ; worked on the Lodge for 5 days at 6d.
CHANY	1520/1	Rough mason ; worked on the Lodge and trimmed stone for half a week (20d.), trimmed 175 feet of ashlar and worked otherwise for 31 days at 7d. A Cheney was one of Wolsey's masons at Hampton Court, and built a nave arcade at St. Lawrence's Church, Reading, in 1521, and made a font for the same church in 1522 (Architects of Eng. Parish Churches, Harvey, <i>Arch. Journ.</i> , cv, 21).
DAVY, JOHN	1520/26	Mason's labourer and afterwards rough mason ; in 1520/1 as a servant he worked on the foundations of the Lodge extension and served the masons for 110½ days at 4d./5d. a day, and at the end of the year he worked for 17 days laying as a rough mason at 6d. a day. In 1525/6 he cleaned various parts of the College. A John Davy was working at Hampton Court in 1525. (<i>Building in England</i> , Salzman, Pl. 8.)
PANET	1520/22	Rough mason ; in April, 1520/1 he was setting on the Lodge extension for 9 weeks at an average of 8d. a day, and in 1521/2 his servant prepared and placed 252 feet of ashlar in the Lodge and worked in the Music School.
PAVER, ROBERT	1520/1	Rough mason ; he prepared 75 feet of ashlar for the Lodge extension and otherwise worked for 8 weeks at 8d. a day setting.

REDDY	1520/1	Rough mason ; laying in the President's Lodge extension for 10 weeks at 6d. a day, and he and Robert Johnson also worked at Horsepath rectory.
UNDERWOD	1520/1	Rough mason ; trimmed ashlar for the Lodge extension for 14 weeks at 7d. a day.
BAYLY	1520/1	Mason's labourer ; served masons working on foundations of the Lodge extension for 13 weeks at 5d. a day.
GRYSYRS	1520/1	Mason's labourer ; worked on the Lodge for 5 days at 4d.
HARRYS, JOHN	1520/25	Mason's labourer ; worked on the Lodge for 12 days in 1520/1 and 4 days at 4d. in 1524/5.
LATHAM	1520/27	Mason's labourer ; in 1520/1 he served the masons working on the Lodge for about 18 weeks at a rate of 4d. a day, and also helped Johnson and Reddy at Horsepath rectory. He helped to make a drain in the President's garden in 1521/2, worked for 10 days (3s. 4d.) on the Lodge in 1524/5, and for 18 days on the Founder's tower, and in 1526/7 he repaired a room.
MASON, ROBERT	1520/25	Mason's labourer ; worked with the masons on the extension to the Lodge for about 23 weeks in 1520/1 at a rate of 4d., and carried wood from the new building. He also served Johnson and Reddy at Horsepath rectory. In 1521/2 he worked with 3 others on the Lodge, cleaned a stair and helped to construct a drain in the President's garden. In 1524/5 he and Peryn worked on the Lodge and sawed stone for it, and he and Smyth also sawed stone.
WARREN	1520/22	Mason's labourer ; laying at the Lodge for 12 days in 1520/1 at 4d. a day, and in 1521/2 he was sawing stone.
WATER	1520/1	Mason's labourer ; worked on the Lodge for 6 days at 4d.
PLUMAR	1520/1	? Apprentice ; worked on the Lodge for 15 weeks at only 3d. a day.
CARTER	1521/2	Mason ; worked on the extension to the President's Lodge for 7½ days at 7d. and for 2 days at 6d.
HYLL	1521/2	Paviour ; paid 8s. for paving in the Lodge.
MAGNOLDE	1521/2	Mason ; worked on the Lodge for 9½ days at 6d.
MANFYLD	1521/2	Mason ; worked on the Lodge for 5½ days at 6d.
RYCHARDSON	1521/2	Mason ; sawed stone for the Lodge for 3½ days at 6d.

AYLNORDE	1521/2	Mason's labourer ; he and John Owyne worked together on the Lodge.
ELFORD, WILLIAM	1521/2	Mason's labourer ; worked on the Lodge for 2½ days at 4d.
JONYS	1521/2	Mason's labourer ; sawed stone for the Lodge extension.
OWYNE, JOHN	1521/2	Mason's labourer ; worked on the Lodge.
COCKS, ROBERT ⁽⁵⁸⁾	1524/30	Mason.
HOWELL, DAVY	1524/30	Paviour ; paved the cloister for 8s. 6d. at 6d. a perch.
OLDAME, JOHN ⁽⁶⁰⁾	1524/30	Rough mason.
SYMPSON, WILLIAM	1524/5	Dug and constructed a new well by agreement for 16s.
BOCHER	1524/5	Mason's labourer ; worked on the Lodge for 7 weeks at 4d. a day, and cleaned a gutter above the chapel.
CUMMYN	1524/5	Mason's labourer ; worked for 7 weeks on the Lodge and cleaned gutters above the chapel.
HOLEMAN	1524/5	Mason's labourer ; worked on the Lodge for 4 days at 4d.
HOLEWELL	1524/5	Mason's labourer ; worked on the Lodge for 3 weeks at 4d. a day.
MASON, JOHN	1524/5	Mason's labourer ; with William Perne on the Lodge for 23½ days at 4d.
OLYNER	1524/5	Mason's labourer ; worked on the Lodge for 5 days at 4d.
PAYN	1524/5	Mason's labourer ; worked for 5 days at 4d.
PERKYN	1524/5	Mason's labourer ; worked for 4 days at 4d.
PERNE, WILLIAM	1524/30	Mason's labourer ; in 1524/5 he and John Mason worked for 11 weeks or more sawing stone for the Lodge, and in 1525/6 he worked on a new bridge in the meadow. In 1529/30 he built all the walls of a house (7s. 6d.) and repaired and pargetted the latrines.
PERSALL	1524/5	Mason's labourer ; on the Lodge for 4 days at 4d.
SAXE	1524/5	Mason's labourer ; worked for 5 days at 4d.
SMYTH, W.	1524/7	Mason's labourer and handyman ; in 1524/5 he and Mason sawed stone for 4 days at 4d., and in 1526/7 he worked in the chapel for 4 weeks, squared and sawed wood and helped to slate the store house, Doctor's room, and the library.
TERSAW	1524/5	Mason's labourer ; worked on the Lodge (20d.).
ATKYNS, ROBERT	1529/30	Mason ; trimmed freestone.
NEWPORT, JOHN	1529/30	Mason ; put iron hooks in windows of the President's Lodge (3s. 4d.).
RUSWELL	1529/30	Mason ; trimmed freestone.
WRYGHT, THOMAS	1529/30	Mason ; trimmed freestone.
SAGE	1529/30	Mason's labourer ; served Cox for 3½ days at 4d.

MERTON COLLEGE

HUMBERVILLE, WILLIAM ⁽¹⁾	1370/8	Master mason.
LECHE, WILLIAM	1369/73	Freemason; in 1369/70 he worked for 4 weeks at 3s. 4d. a week, perhaps on the library, and in 1371/3 he worked for 10½ weeks at Taynton quarry during the building of the library. In a St. John's Hospital rental of 1375 he inhabited a house in St. Clement's parish. (<i>Cart. of St. John</i> , iii, 187.)
MICHAEL	1371/3	Freemason; worked for 4 weeks (12s. 8d.) at the quarry.
MERIOT (MASON), ROGER ⁽²⁾	1371-1411	Freemason.
MILTONE, WILLIAM	1371/9	Freemason; in 1371/3 he was paid for 2 weeks' work (6s. 7d.) shaping freestone, and in 1378/9 he and his servant earned 8s. 4d. Probably the same man who lived in the parish of Holy Cross in 1380 and paid 1s. 4d. Lay Subsidy, and his servant John paid 8d. (<i>O.H.S.</i> , xviii, 40); he is also mentioned in the Lay Subsidy of 1377 (<i>Ibid.</i> , 52).
WALSINGHAM, JOHN	1372/3	Mason; and perhaps inn-keeper (<i>Mediaeval Mason</i> , Knoop and Jones, 99). In 1371/3 he worked for 13 weeks at 6d. a day. In 1391 and 1392 he was accused under the Statute of Labourers of giving his servant John Hosteler too much pay, and in 1394 of paying Thomas, Alicia and Helena too much (<i>Mediaeval Archives</i> , ii, 48, 112 and 122). He lived in the SW. ward.
HUGH	1371-1409	Freemason; in 1371/3 he worked for 4 weeks at the quarry (12s. 8d.), and in 1409 he and his mate, with John Dalton serving them, were working on a new mill at Holywell.

(All the above masons were working at the building of the library.)

MALTHIE, ADAM	1374	Masons; contracted to build part of the outer walls of Merton Hall, Cambridge, with four buttresses, and to repair a broken vault and certain windows and stairs, finding their own materials, and to be paid £32 13s. 4d. in instalments. (<i>Building in England</i> , L. F. Salzman, 451-2, quoting Merton Deeds no. 1639.)
MEPPUSHAL, JOHN		John Meppushal may be the John Mepsale, master mason to Ely Cathedral, who designed Ely Porta in 1396, and the octagonal lantern of the cathedral's W. tower.
HENXEYE, LAWRENCE ⁽⁴⁾	1381/2	Mason.

THACHAM, JOHN	1390/3	Mason; was paid 15s. by agreement for some service and worked on an oven (12d.) in 1390. Between 1390 and 1392 he had been accused eight times of taking too much pay for his work under the Statute of Labourers. (<i>O.H.S. Mediaeval Archives</i> , ii, 3, 7, 23, 39, 44, 78, 84 and 100.) He then lived in the NE. ward, but in rentals of St. John's Hospital of 21st Dec., 1392, and 21st Dec., 1393, he is listed as occupying a house on the N. side of St. Peter's parish outside the E. gate. (<i>Cart. of St. John</i> , iii, 225 and 234.) John Asscheham, living in the same house according to rentals of 1384/8 must be the same mason. (<i>Ibid.</i> , iii, 199, 206 and 214.)
MASON, HENRY	1390/1	Mason; he and his servant constructed an oven in 1390, and in 1390/1 they worked on the library steps and on a fireplace.
MASON, JOHN	1390/1	Mason; worked for 2½ days making various steps to chambers and to the outer door of the library (10d.).
CERYL, SIMON ⁽⁹⁾	1406	Mason.
VICARY, WILLIAM	1409/11	Mason; was paid in 1409 for stone and lime for building Holywell mill and worked according to an agreement, and in 1411 his wife paid some money to the College.
DALTON, JOHN	1409	Mason's labourer; served Hugh Mason when he was building a new mill at Holywell.
MOREYS	1411	Mason; supplied stone for a Holywell house.
BAYLY, JOHN	1415/48	Mason; in 1415/16 he repaired walls at Holywell, and in 1417 he repaired a wall near the new Lodge (2 weeks and 3 days 6s. 10½d.), and worked for 3 weeks on a chimney and two windows (8s. 4d.). He is mentioned in 1448 as paying money to the College. In a Balliol deed of 27th June, 1452, he is mentioned, and he lived in a house belonging to the Hospital of St. John in 1452/4 (<i>Cart. of St. John</i> , iii, 265), and in 1455/9 hired a tenement belonging to All Souls College in St. Mary Magdalene parish. He was a juror in 1448 (<i>Cart. of St. John</i> , ii, 387).
ADY, THOMAS	1417	Mason's labourer; worked for 3 weeks on a chimney and 2 windows (5s.).
COKE, THOMAS	1417	Mason; 2 weeks' work on a chimney and 2 windows at 3s. 8d.
GOLDEFYNCHE	1417	Mason; on the same job for 6 weeks (20s.).
LYE, JOHN	1417	Mason; he repaired a wall near the Lodge for 2 weeks and 5 days (7s. 7½d.) and worked for 6 weeks on a chimney and 2 windows at 2s. 8d. a week.

SENYZERE, JOHN	1417	Mason ; worked for 5 days (2s. 3½d.) on a wall near the Lodge.
JONYS, ROGER	1426/7	Mason's labourer ; worked for 2 days on the 'quisquias' at the time of the building of the bell tower and for 2 days at Holywell mill.
JANYNS, ROBERT ⁽¹⁶⁾	1448/64	Master mason.
ATKYNYS, JOHN	1448/51	Master mason ; in 1448/9 he worked for a day in the first week of February, for 6 days in the next week, did not appear for 2 weeks, and worked for 6 days in the first, second and fifth weeks of March. His rate was 8d. a day. He was also the chief supplier of Taynton stone and sold 263 feet at 2d., and 28 feet at 1½d. In 1450/1 he sold 44 feet of stone for the tower. A John Atkyns witnessed a St. John's Hospital deed as Bailiff of Oxford on 18th November, 1469 (<i>Cart. of St. John</i> , ii, 7), and he was still Bailiff in February, 1470 (<i>Oseney Cart.</i> , iii, 7).
BASELEY, NICHOLAS	1448/52	Mason ; in 1448 he was given 2s. expenses for riding from Gamlingay in Cambridgeshire, and he worked from the second week of June until the third week of October, 1448. He is probably the Nicholas Mason who was at the tower work from the third week of July until the third week of October, 1450/1. In 1449/50 he made two steps to the vestry door, repaired 'stannorum' near the buttery door, mended a wall in Angular Hall and built windows in the buttery and hall. He was working on the Treasury in 1452.
BEDELL, THOMAS	1448	Mason ; he worked from September to October, 1448, at 7d. a day.
COLLYNG, WALTER	1448/9	Mason ; worked from September, 1448, to July, 1449, at a rate of 7d. in the summer and 5½d. in the winter.
ELYOTT, RICHARD	1448	Mason ; worked from August to October at 7d. a day.
GRENE, WILLIAM	1448	Mason ; mentioned as working in the College.
HAWKER, JOHN	1448/51	Mason ; in 1448 he was paid 8d. for coming to the College from Sydeley, and Robert Janyns had ridden to see the Lord of Sydeley about him. He worked in the second and third weeks of September of this year. In 1450/1 he began to work in April, received 12d. for Easter work when no one else was there, and worked consistently until the end of September, except for the third and fourth weeks of May, and from the third week of June to the second week of July.

HERTANGRE, RICHARD	1448	Mason; worked from the third week of June to the second week of July at 7d. a day. In 1409 a R. Hertanger was working at London Bridge (<i>London Bridge and its Builders</i> , 9).
HUNT, RICHARD	1448	Mason; worked from the fourth week of September to the fourth week of October at 6d. or 7d. a day, and in May he had worked for 4 days at 3d. removing the bell tower roof.
MASON, JOHN	1448	Mason; worked from the first week of April until the first week of July at 7d. a day.
RYPPS, RICHARD	1448	Mason; worked from the second week of August until the third week of December at 7d. a day in the summer and 5½d. in the winter.
SEYNOWE, ROBERT	1448	Mason; worked from the fifth week of June until the second week of August at 3s. 4d. a week. He was also working at Eton College in 1448 and 1449 (<i>Building of Eton College</i> , 36).
TUSWELL, THOMAS	1449/50	Mason; worked from the third week of June, 1449, until the fifth week of March, 1449/50, at 7d. a day in the summer and 5½d. in the winter. The only mason whose service can compare with that of Thomas Wykes. He had been working at Eton College from July, 1448, to May, 1449 (<i>Building of Eton College</i> , 36).
WYKES, THOMAS ⁽²⁴⁾	1448/51	Mason.
PRENDRYNGEST, HENRY	1448/51	Rough mason; worked from the second week of June, 1448, until the first week of November, 1448, at a rate of 6d. a day in the summer and 4d. in the winter. Later he was at the quarry at Headington from the second week of November, 1448, until the third week of December, the fourth week of January, 1448/9, the second and fourth weeks of June, 1449, and the first and second weeks of July. In 1450/1 he worked for 24 weeks at 16d. a week as a labourer, was given 24s. for commons, and was paid for laying a pavement in the College.
MASON, HENRY	1449/50	Mason; paved a room and did other work (5s.).
BALKELEY, THOMAS	1450/1	Mason; worked from the fourth week of March until the fourth week of August, was absent until the second week of October, and then was present until the second week of November; rate 7d. a day in the summer and 5½d. in the winter.

CLERKE, ROBERT	1450/1	Mason; worked for a week in March, 3 in April, all of May, 2 weeks of June, 1 of July and 3 of August; rates 7d. and 5½d.
PYCHER, JOHN	1450/1	Mason; worked for 1 week in March and 3 weeks in April; rates 7d. and 5½d.
<i>(All the masons from Robert Janyns to John Pycher worked on the bell tower except William Grene and Henry Mason.)</i>		
MASON, HUGH	1457/8	Mason; worked on a chimney and on garden walls.
MASON, WILLIAM	1469/76	Mason; in 1469/70 he was paid 30s. for building a wall, and in 1476 he worked for a day on Mr. Nele's room, repaired walls and a barn at Holywell, and was paid 14d. for work in the Warden's stable.
BELLE, WILLIAM ⁽³¹⁾	1482	Master mason.
NASCHE, RICHARD	1483	Mason; made a fireplace and built a wall in the Warden's Lodge (4s. 3d.).
KERE, JOHN	1483	Mason's labourer; served Robert Nasche as above (7 days at 4d.).
MASON, ROBERT	1488	Mason; he and servant repaired the Treasury (4s. 6d.).
HARVY, RICHARD ⁽³⁷⁾	1490-1517	Mason.
BLAKE	<i>circa</i> 1500	Mason; built a garden wall (21s.) and worked with Henry Multon and a servant on the great gate for 9 days (25s. 9d.).
MULTON, HENRY ⁽³²⁾	<i>circa</i> 1500	Mason.
SCLATTER, WILLIAM	1505/6	Mason; in 1505 he and Richard Harvy repaired walls in the great garden. He received 18d. and his son 12d. for 3 days' work at Holywell and on a doorway; they earned the same amounts for putting a new chimney in the kitchen, and later repaired a room and did some daubing.
JAGGS, WALTER ⁽³⁹⁾	1509	Paviour.
MASON, JOHN	1509/10	Mason; repaired various Oxford houses.
BARY, ROBERT	1511	Mason; made some fireplaces.
GILYS, RICHARD	1516/17	Freemasons; Gilys came from Winchester.
PHILIPS (PHELIPP), THOMAS	1516/17	They walled up the lower part of the belfry windows for £13 13s. 4d. In 1516 they contracted to build a farmhouse at Holywell (<i>Reg. Ann. Coll. Merton</i> , 461).
GOOD	1517	Mason; worked with Malons for 11 days (11s.) on the wall of the Theologians' garden.
MALONS	1517	Mason; see above; knocked down a mud wall and built a stone one.
DULCYMER	1517	Masons' labourers; serving the above masons.
HOBBS	1517	
PYNFOLD	1517	

BOND (JOHN)	1520	Mason; dug stone at the quarry and worked on the walls of a barn at Holywell.
FREMAN, WILLIAM	1520	Mason; built a wall at Holywell.
MASON, WILLIAM	1521/2	Mason; built a chimney in an Oxford house and supplied 'ly bryckestonys' for it (8d.).
VALENTINE	1526	Mason; repaired half of the chancel arch at Margaret Stretton (13s. 4d.).
JOHNSON (WILLIAM), MR. ⁽⁵⁸⁾	1528	Master mason.

NEW COLLEGE

MAYDESTONE, THOMAS	1386/91	Mason; he received commons in every year from 1386/90 and was with the masons both at the great gaudy of 1388/9 and at the second one 1390/1 with Wynford and others. He may have worked with Wynford at Wells, for in 1388/9 a janitor of New College went thither to fetch him back. A boy received 4d. for taking down tables for him in the same year. He may have been brother of John Maydestone who fitted the bells in 1396/7.
BROWN, WILLIAM ⁽⁶⁾	1386-1415	Master mason.
YEVELEY, HENRY	1388/9	King's master of the masons; visited the College as a guest and sat at the High Table with Wynford, Herlond and others.
FORDE, WILLIAM	1388/9	Mason; probably identical with William Offorde.
SAMPSON, JOHN ⁽⁷⁾	1388/96	Master mason.
WYNFORD, WILLIAM ⁽⁸⁾	1388/98	Master mason of national repute.
PREWS, RICHARD	1388-1402	Mason; at the gaudy of 1388/9 and received commons many times afterwards. In 1397/8 his son was at the College with Thomas Selby, Wynford's servant, and in 1401/2 Prews and his son were given commons.
DUNTON	1389/90	Mason; at the gaudy on the feast of the Assumption with Wynford and others.
OUNTON	1389/90	Mason; at the gaudy on the feast of the Assumption.
REDE, THOMAS	1389-1418	Mason; at the above gaudy and working at the erection of Adderbury Church chancel.
OFFORDE, WILLIAM	1390/1	Mason; given commons twice in 1390/1, the latter time in company with Brown and Norton; worked with his apprentice on a new well in the College and later Alderman and Mayor of Oxford.
CERLE, SIMON ⁽⁹⁾	1390-1418	Mason.
NORTON, RICHARD ⁽⁵⁾	1391/7	Mason.
SELBY, THOMAS	1397/8	Servant of William Wynford (<i>see under</i> Wynford).

MAYNARD, JOHN	1399-1400	Mason; de Wateley, given commons in the year.
MARTYN, JOHN	1402/3	Mason; he built a chimney in the 'New Building' (barn). He was living at Walton in 1380 when he and his wife Agnes paid 2s. at the Lay Subsidy (<i>O.H.S.</i> , xviii, 34). On 15th September, 1394, when living in the NW. ward he was charged with taking too high a wage under the Statute of Labourers (<i>Mediæval Archives</i> , ii, 120), but does not appear in the fuller records.
HULLE, ROBERT	1406/7	Mason's labourer.
WINCHCOMBE, RICHARD ⁽¹¹⁾	1408/18	Master mason.
BIRCH	1408/18	Mason at the building of Adderbury Chancel. Two masons named Birch worked at London Bridge between 1409/18 (<i>London Bridge and its Builders</i> , 9).
CROPREDY, WILLIAM	1408/18	Mason at the building of Adderbury Chancel.
DAY, WALTER	1408/18	Mason at the building of Adderbury Chancel.
HENXEYE, LAWRENCE ⁽⁴⁾	1408/18	Mason at the building of Adderbury Chancel.
MASON, THOMAS	1408/18	Mason at the building of Adderbury Chancel. Possibly paid 3s. at the Lay Subsidy of 1380; living with his wife Margery in St. Mary Magdalene parish (<i>O.H.S.</i> , xviii, 37).
MASON, WILLIAM	1408/18	Mason at the building of Adderbury Chancel. Possibly lived in the NE. ward with Alice his wife and paid 2s. Lay Subsidy (<i>Ibid.</i> , 26).
NEWTON, RICHARD	1408/18	Mason at the building of Adderbury Chancel.
NORTON, WILLIAM	1408/18	Mason at the building of Adderbury Chancel. He was given commons at New College in 1390/1 and 1391/2.
PALMER, RICHARD	1408/18	Mason at the erection of the chancel at Adderbury.
PAYN, JOHN	1408/18	Mason at the erection of the chancel at Adderbury.
RUDFER, JOHN	1408/18	Mason at the building of Adderbury Chancel.
SALFORD	1408/18	Mason at the building of Adderbury Chancel.
SALTCOMBE, THOMAS	1408/18	Mason at the building of Adderbury Chancel.
WARREN	1408/18	Mason at the building of Adderbury Chancel.
YOUNG, RICHARD	1408/18	Mason at the building of Adderbury Chancel.

MASON, HENRY	1410/11	Mason; he was given livery by the College in 1410/11 when working outside. He had been fined six times between 1390/4 under the Statute of Labourers. He was first accused on 3rd September, 1390, but had no property in the town and suburbs that could be taken as surety. On the next four occasions he was living in the SW. ward, but when charged on 15th September, 1394, he was living in the hundred outside the N. gate (<i>Mediaeval Archives</i> , ii, 9, 31, 40, 81, 103, 111 and 124).
ABYNGDON, JOHN	1411/12	Mason; he was charged and fined under the Statute of Labourers in 1390/1, when living in the SE. ward (<i>Mediaeval Archives</i> , ii, 10). In 1411/12 Abyngdon was paid 3s. 6d. for a week and 1½ days and was almost certainly working on the chapel pavement. A little later he received 3s. for a week's work.
BERTRAM, JOHN	1411/12	Mason; was working on the chapel pavement in 1411/12 and was paid 22d. for 4 days' work. In the same roll he received 2s. 9d. for a week's work and 12d. for 2 days.
COWLE, THOMAS	1411/12	Mason; probably the same man who was an inn-keeper in the NW. ward in 1380 and paid 6s. Subsidy (<i>O.H.S.</i> , xviii, 25). He was working on the chapel pavement in 1411/12 for 2 weeks at 3s. a week.
BORDE, JOHN ⁽¹²⁾	1411/12	Marbler from Purbeck.
ANEY, JOHN	1427/8	Mason; was employed repairing fire-places in the hall for 3 days at 4d. and later was paid for 4½ days at 6d. and a further 4s. 4d. when working with Thomas Bedford on a wall being built near a new gate under construction by the town's E. gate.
BEDFORD, THOMAS	1427/8	Mason; working with John Aney as above for 4½ days at 6d.
BAKER, RICHARD	1427/8	Mason's labourer; on the above job serving the masons, for 4½ days at 4d. In the Lay Subsidy roll of 1380 he and his wife Katherina, living in the SE. ward paid 12d. (<i>O.H.S.</i> , xviii, 9).
MARTIN	1427/8	Mason's labourer; working on the wall being built by the new gate for 4½ days at 4d.
BECKLEY, JOHN ⁽²³⁾	1442/55	Mason.

HUNTE, RICHARD	1452/70	Mason; was paid 12d. in 1452/3 for looking after the pump for a year, a job which at many Colleges entailed a contract in the same way that the keeper of the bells was paid yearly for small maintenance duties. In 1465/6 he was paid for digging a well (7½ days at 4d., plus 11½d. for commons). In 1469/70 he repaired the High Altar (7s. 6d.), cleaned the chapel windows (20s. 3d.), and in the same year he cleaned and repaired pipes of the water system. In 1470 he repaired two holes in a window.
CUTTBERT, WILLIAM	1469/70	Mason's labourer assisting at general repairs.
DONCASTAR, JOHN	1469/70	Mason; was repairing the buttresses of the cloister in 1469/70 and worked for 2 days at 4d. a day; he placed stone at the entrances of three chamber doors and repaired the hall steps (plus servant 6s. 8d.).
MADSAY, JOHN	1469/70	Mason; worked with John Good on general repairs in 1469/70 and earned 7s. 1d. for 6½ days at 4d., plus commons. He also made a well in the stable and worked on College walls.
MASON, HENRY	1469/70	Mason; worked during the general repairs for 44 days at 4d. a day, plus commons (27s. 8d.).
TYSWELL, NYVET	1469/70	Mason; worked on general repairs and, although a mason, only received 3d. a day, plus commons. His first payment of 10d. was recorded as part payment for work on the walls, his second one was of 18d. for 6 days' work, plus commons, and the last reference is to 18 weeks' work at 18d. a week and 22s. 6d. for commons.
NOTTYS, JOHN	1469/70	Mason's labourer; served Henry Mason as above and received 2½d. a day, plus commons. Worked 36 days in all.
SENTCLER, WILLIAM	1469/70	Mason's labourer; worked 24 days on the general repairs at 2½d. a day, plus food.
GOODE, JOHN ⁽¹⁷⁾	1469/76	Mason.
MACYN, RICHARD	1487/8	Mason; worked with Robert Spicer on a new chimney in the Warden's kitchen at 5d. a day.
SPICER, ROBERT ⁽³⁴⁾	1487/8	Mason.
FOSTAR, HENRY ⁽⁴²⁾	1500/1	Mason.
HAYSE, RICHARD ⁽⁴¹⁾	1500/1	Mason.
MASYN, WILLIAM	1500/1	Mason; paid for Taynton stone for a chimney in the hall.
ORCHARD, WILLIAM ⁽²⁵⁾	1500/1	Master mason; paid 14s. for 8 loads of freestone.

TAYLER, JOHN	1500/1	Mason; was paid 10s. for building chimneys in the kitchen and 20d. for repairing a library door.
GEGE, JOHN	1500/12	Paviour; sold sand and stone and in 1500/1 he received 61s. 8d. in part payment for paving the Exchequer under the new library. In 1511/12 he and others repaired a yard by the kitchen.
HARVY, RICHARD ⁽³⁷⁾	1500/6	Mason.
CHERHOUSE	1518/19	Mason; working with 2 others on a new house at Godstow.
ANDERSAY, JOHN	1529/30	Mason; 7 weeks at 3s.
COLSTONE	1529/30	Mason; on the new wall in the garden at 6d. a day.
WETHERALL, THOMAS	1529/30	Mason; 6d. a day for 13 weeks and 1 day.
EDWARDS, JOHN	1529/30	Rough mason or dauber; working for 13½ days at 4d.
GYLL, JOHN ⁽³⁶⁾	1529/30	Mason.
HYLL, RICHARD	1529/30	Mason's labourer; 3 days at 4d.
IVE, WILLIAM	1529/30	Mason's labourer; 22½ days at 4d. a day.
MARHAM, WILLIAM	1529/30	Mason's labourer; 13 days at 4d. and later served the slaters.
MORE	1529/30	Mason's labourer; 1½ days at 6d.
MENOMAY, RALPH	1529/30	Mason's labourer; 28 days (9s. 6d.).
PEERSOY, WILLIAM	1529/30	Serving the masons for 13½ days at 4d.
LYNNE, MARTIN	1529/30	Mason's labourer; worked for 32 days at 4d. and later cleaned the quadrangle.
MAY, RICHARD	1529/30	Mason's labourer; worked for 4½ days and supplied a load of Headington stone.
WATERS, THOMAS	1529/30	Mason's labourer; worked for 26½ days (7s. 2d.).

(All the masons from John Andersay were working on new garden walls.)

ORIEL COLLEGE

MASON, ROGER ⁽²⁾	1409/10	Mason.
BOTTY	1410/11	Mason; worked on the new main gate (9s. 2d.). He was never paid more than 2s. a week and probably a rough mason.
MUNDY	1410/11	Mason; worked on the new gate for 2 weeks at 3s. a week.
BROWNE, WILLIAM ⁽⁶⁾	1411/15	Master mason.
SUPER CANDYCHE, PHILIP	1411/12	Mason's labourer; helping to fit new stalls (5 days 1s. 5½d.).
CERLE (MASON), SIMON ⁽⁹⁾	1411/12	Mason.
SHARLEY, SIMON	1413	Paviour; he and a servant paved St. Mary's Church (17½ days 8s. 10d.).
CHAMBYR	1460/1	Mason; mentioned with reference to the choir of St. Mary's Church.
WHYTE, ROBERT	1461/2	Mason; built a fireplace in a College shop and repaired a wall.
CORNEL	1462/3	Mason; built and repaired walls at Stowford (10s.).

LYLY, JOHN	1462/3	Paviour; made a pavement in front of a College shop (18 theses at 6d.). A John Lyly or Lyle was warden of the masons at Kirby Muxloe Castle from 1481/4 (The building accounts of Kirby Muxloe Castle, A. H. Thompson, <i>Proc. Leics. Arch. Soc.</i> , xi, 1915/16).
MASON, HENRY	1462/3	Mason; he and his servant worked for 2 days making steps for Mr. Pollard's room (1s. 5d.).
MASON, HUGH	1465/6	Mason; worked at Woodley and Littlemore.
MOOSWELL, ROBERT	1465/6	Paviour and brickman; paved St. Mary's Church (5s.), and was paid 10s. for 2 loads of brick and carriage from Brill; probably to build the great central chimney stack of Tackley's Inn.
MAIOR, WALTER	1467/8	Mason; constructed walls and stone windows at St. Bartholomew's Chapel, Cowley.
MASON, ROBERT	1471/2	Mason; constructed windows at the Swan (11s. 8d.) and received 5s. for a robe.
MASON, THOMAS	1471/2	Mason; plastered walls at the Swan.
DAUNTRE, WILLIAM	1475/6	Mason; built walls near the garden gate.
WYTHES	1499-1500	Mason; repaired Mr. Taylor's chimney (5 days 2s. 6d.).
HAYS, RICHARD ⁽⁴¹⁾	1510/11	Mason.
EAST WILLIAM ⁽⁴⁶⁾	1513/21	Master mason.
HARVY, RICHARD ⁽³⁷⁾	1515/17	Mason.
EDGAR (EGER), DAVID	1519/20	Mason; he and another built a wall in Grope Lane (3 days at 6d.), repaired the foundations of St. Mary's Hall and the gate (1½ days, plus 2 servants 2s. 6d.). He and his mate built a wall and drain at Woodley (7s. 6d.), and he squared stone and constructed a partition between a house and a shop (6 days 3s.). He paid 12d. at the Subsidy of 1524 (<i>O.H.S.</i> , xviii, 69).
SYMSON	1523/4	Mason; supplied 24 stones for a pavement in St. Mary's (1s. 3d.) and he and his servant shaped them (10d.). He repaired a chimney in Merton Hall (8d.).
TOWNSEND (JOHN) ⁽⁵⁵⁾	1525/6	Paviour.

THE QUEEN'S COLLEGE

HAMERSTON, JOHN	1367/8	Mason; paid 6s. 2d. and perhaps engaged on the new chapel.
SPICER, HENRY	1372/4	Mason's labourer; served a mason repairing the garden walls in 1372/3, and in the next year he was serving William Mason (5s. 10d.).
MASON, WILLIAM ⁽⁶⁾	1372-1401	Mason; see William Brown.

MASON, JOHN	1374-1402	Mason ; in 1374/5 he was working on the chancel at Sparsholt Church, and in 1377/8 he was engaged on the new College Chapel for 20 weeks, and boys were sent to find him. He and his servant were working in the College (3s. 6d.) in 1378/9, and he worked for a week at the building of the hall in 1401/2 (2s. 6d.).
DANIEL	1377/8	Mason ; worked on the chapel for 16 weeks (5s. 10d.) and for a further 6 weeks in association with other masons.
EDMUND	1377/8	Mason ; worked on the new chapel for 19 weeks (54s.) and received ' elevenses '.
MICHAEL	1377/8	Mason ; worked on the new chapel for 16 weeks (50s. 8d.) and for 3 weeks in association with the others.
RICHARD (I)	1377/8	Mason ; worked for 4 weeks in the winter (5s. 1d.) and later for 7 weeks on the new chapel.
RICHARD (II)	1377/8	Mason ; worked for 4½ weeks on the new chapel (32d.) and for 4 weeks with Robert his mate (18s. 4d.).
ROBERT ⁽⁶⁾	1377/9	Master mason.
WALTER	1377/8	Mason ; worked for 2 weeks on the new chapel at 30d. a week. Possibly the same mason who lived in the NW. ward in 1394 and who was accused under the Statute of Labourers (<i>Mediaeval Archives</i> , ii, 120).
SLEFORD, JOHN	1377/9	Mason ; one of three with a surname at the building of the chapel ; worked for 5 weeks in 1377/8 (13s. 2d.) and for 3 weeks in the next year (8s.). He was living in the SE. ward in 1394 when charged under the Statute of Labourers (<i>Mediaeval Archives</i> , ii, 123). John Sleaford inhabited a house belonging to the Hospital of St. John the Baptist previously occupied by one Meteborne from 1375/93 (in the parish of St. Michael's in the S.). In 1394/7 he held a tenement inside the E. gate by Blakehall (<i>Cart. of St. John</i> , iii, 191, 202, 210, 217, 229, 233, 245, 248).
HALTHON, WILLIAM	1377/9	Mason ; was paid 10s. 1d. for work in 1377/8 and 13s. 8d. for work in the following year.
LULL, ROBERT	1377/8	Mason's labourer ; worked for 20 weeks on the new chapel (17s.).
BROWN, WILLIAM ⁽⁶⁾	1398-1414	Master mason.
LAMBETH, JOHN ⁽¹⁰⁾	1398-1426	Mason's labourer.
WYNFORD, WILLIAM ⁽⁸⁾	1399-1402	Master mason.
MASON, ROGER ⁽²⁾	1400/8	Mason.
COLAY, THOMAS	1407/8	Mason ; made chimney for a new shop (4 days 2s.).

CERLE (MASON), SIMON ⁽⁹⁾	1407/8	Mason.
WARWYK	1420/1	Mason's labourer; helped masons to stop up a hole in the wall of the chapel (22d.).
MASON, WILLIAM	1469/70	Mason; he and his boy constructed a stone doorway in the buttery.
WYLKYNs	1478/9	Mason; owed rent for a shop.
HUNT, ROBERT	1487-1503	Mason; he and his boy worked for 4 days repairing College walls (3s. 4d.) and later in 1487/8 he repaired Sparsholt rectory. In 1502/3 he did outside work including some pargetting in Chamberlayn's house.
MASON, JOHN	1493/4	Mason; he and servant repaired College rooms (3s. 4d.).
EAST, WILLIAM ⁽⁴⁶⁾	1516/19	Master mason.
TOWNSENDE, JOHN ⁽⁵⁵⁾	1516/17	Paviour.
JOHNSON (ROBERT) ⁽⁴⁹⁾	1518/19	Mason.

APPENDIX II

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF MASONS

The number indicates the position of the mason's biography in the text.

NAME	FLORUIT	REFERENCE OR PLACE OF WORK
ABYNGDON, JOHN	1391-1412	New College.
ADAMS, JOHN	1528/9	Cardinal College.
ADY, THOMAS	1417/8	Merton.
ANDERSAY, JOHN	1528/30	Cardinal College, New College.
ANEY, JOHN	1427/8	New College.
ARNALD, EDWARD	1528/9	Cardinal College.
ASSCHEHAM, JOHN	1384/8	See John Thacham.
ATTKYNS, JOHN	1448/70	Merton.
ATTKYNS, JOHN	1524/5	Cardinal College.
ATKYNS, ROBERT	1529/30	Magdalen.
AYLNORDE	1521/2	Magdalen.
BAKER, RICHARD	1380-1427	New College.
BAKER, THOMAS	1496/7	Magdalen.
BALDEWYN, THOMAS	1439/40	All Souls.
BALKELEY, THOMAS	1450/1	Merton.
BALOWE, JOHN	1474/5	Magdalen.
BALY, JOHN	1415/59	Merton, All Souls.
BALY	1520/1	Magdalen.
BARRE, WILLIAM	1471/2	Magdalen.
BARY, ROBERT	1511/12	Merton.
BASELEY, NICHOLAS	1448/52	Merton.
BECKLEY, JOHN ⁽²³⁾	1442/55	New College.
BEDELL, THOMAS	1448/9	Merton.
BEDFORD, THOMAS	1427/8	New College.
BEELE, JOHN	1525/6	Lincoln.
BEKELEY, WILLIAM	1436/7	New College.
BELL, WILLIAM ⁽³³⁾	1481/2	All Souls, Merton.
BENNET, JOHN ⁽³⁵⁾	1490-1509	Magdalen.

BENNETT, RICHARD	1508/9	Magdalen.
BENSAM	1399-1400	New College.
BERTRAM, JOHN	1411/12	New College.
BETS, JOHN	1507/8	Magdalen.
BIRCH	1408/18	New College.
BIRCHE, RICHARD	1524/5	Cardinal College.
BLAKE	1487-1500	Lincoln, Merton.
BLOXHAM, JOHN	1391/2	Mason ; living in the hundred outside the N. gate, accused and fined three times under the Statute of Labourers (<i>Mediaeval Archives</i> , 57, 58, 81, 95, 103, 111).
BOCHER	1524/5	Magdalen.
BOND, JOHN	1506/28	Magdalen, Merton, Lincoln.
BORDE, JOHN ⁽¹²⁾	1411/12	New College.
BOTTY	1410/11	Oriel.
BOWELL, DAVID	1524/5	Lincoln.
BOWER, JOHN	1468/90	Magdalen.
BOWNE, JOHN	1524/5	Lincoln.
BRADLEY, JOHN	1524/5	Cardinal College.
BRISE, JOHN	1380	Mason ; in the Lay Subsidy, when living in the SE. ward, he and his wife Agnes paid 3s., and his servants, Agnes, Johanna, Sybil, and Alice each paid 6d. (<i>O.H.S.</i> , xviii, 10).
BROWN, JOHN	1506/8	Magdalen.
BROWN, WILLIAM ⁽⁶⁾	1372-1415	Canterbury College, New College, Oriel, The Queen's College.
BROWNE, WILLIAM	1508/9	Magdalen.
BROYNE, ANDREW ⁽¹⁹⁾	1439/46	All Souls.
BROYNE, JOHN ⁽²⁰⁾	1440/1	All Souls.
BRUNLEY, THOMAS	1516-17	Magdalen.
BRYGGES, THOMAS	1456/7	All Souls.
BRYTAN, WILLIAM ⁽⁴⁵⁾	1504/25	Cardinal College, Lincoln, Magdalen.
BUCE, JOHN ⁽⁵²⁾	1508/9	Magdalen.
BUKBY, WILLIAM	1468/9	Magdalen.
BURGEYS, JOHN	1440/1	All Souls.
BURTON, THOMAS	1448/9	New College.
BYSSHOPE, JOHN	1390	Mason ; living in the NE. ward and fined under the Statute of Labourers (<i>Mediaeval Archives</i> , ii, 3, 5).
BYSKEY, RICHARD	1498/9	Magdalen.
BYSKYPE		
CAMPYON, WILLIAM	1438/40	All Souls.
SUPER CANDYCHE, PHILIP	1411/12	Oriel.
CARTER	1521/2	Magdalen.
CARVER, ROBERT ⁽⁵³⁾	1508/9	Magdalen.
CERLE, SIMON ⁽⁹⁾	1390-1418	Merton, New College, Oriel, Queen's.
CHAMBERLAIN, JOHN	1474-1512	Lincoln, Magdalen.
CHAMBYR	1460/1	Oriel.
CHANY	1520/1	Magdalen.
CHERCHEHOUSE	1518/19	New College.
CHERON	1520/1	Magdalen.
CHERY	1510/11	Magdalen.
CHEVYNTON, RICHARD ⁽¹³⁾	1437/43	All Souls.
CLARYNGDON, WILLIAM	1474	Magdalen.

CLERKE, ROBERT	1450/1	Merton.
COCKS, ROBERT ⁽⁵⁹⁾	1524/30	Cardinal College, Lincoln, Magdalen.
COKE, THOMAS	1417/18	Merton.
COKE, THOMAS	1520/30	Cardinal College, Magdalen, New College.
COKS, JOHN	1494/5	Magdalen.
COLAY, THOMAS	1407/8	Queen's.
COLAS, JOHN ((Senior)	1474	Magdalen.
COLAS, JOHN (Junior)	1474/97	Magdalen.
COLLYNG, WALTER	1448/9	Merton.
COLSTONE	1529/30	New College.
CORNEL	1462/3	Oriel.
CORNESCH, THOMAS	1507/9	Magdalen.
COWLE, THOMAS	1390-1411	New College.
COWPER, JOHN	1453/82	Magdalen.
CROPREDY, WILLIAM	1408/18	New College.
CUMMYN	1524/5	Magdalen.
CUTTBERT, WILLIAM	1469/70	New College.
DALTON, JOHN	1409/10	Merton.
DAUNTRE, WILLIAM	1475/6	Oriel.
DAVID, J.	1468/9	Magdalen.
DAVY, JOHN	1520/6	Magdalen.
DAY, WALTER	1408/18	New College.
DONCASTAR, JOHN	1469/70	New College.
DULCYMER	1517/18	Merton.
DUNTON	1389/90	New College.
EAST, WILLIAM ⁽⁴⁶⁾	1495-1526	Corpus Christi, Magdalen, Oriel, Queen's.
EDGAR, DAVID	1519/24	Oriel.
EGER		
EDMUNDYS	1507/8	Magdalen.
EDWARDS, JOHN	1490-1530	Magdalen, New College.
EDWARD, THOMAS ⁽²⁸⁾	1468/71	Magdalen.
ELFORD, WILLIAM	1521/2	Magdalen.
ELKYN, THOMAS ⁽¹⁸⁾	1439/45	Divinity School.
EWEYN, JOHN	1468/70	Magdalen.
EYLOTT, RICHARD	1448/9	Merton.
FLEMING, EDMUND	1507/8	Magdalen.
FORDE, WILLIAM	1388/9	New College.
FORNESCH, THOMAS	1507/8	Magdalen.
FORSTER, WILLIAM	1469/71	Magdalen.
FOSTER, GEORGE	1505/6	Lincoln.
FOSTER, HENRY ⁽⁴²⁾	1500/16	Lincoln, Magdalen, New College.
FOSTER, THOMAS	1452/3	All Souls.
FOWLAR, RICHARD	1507/8	Magdalen.
FOWLER, J.	1508/9	Magdalen.
FOXWELL, ROBERT	1474	Magdalen.
FREMAN, WILLIAM	1520/1	Merton.
FROSTE, RICHARD	1455/57	All Souls.
FRYTHE, RICHARD	1391	Mason ; living in the hundred outside the N. gate ; accused and fined under the Statute of Labourers ; Richard Norton, a mason at New College, was one of his sureties (<i>Mediaeval Archives</i> , ii, 57/8). In 1380 Richard ffrycche and Alice his wife paid 12d. Subsidy (<i>O.H.S.</i> , xviii, 39).
FULLER, RICHARD	1507/8	Magdalen.

FULLER, T.	1508/9	Magdalen.
FULLON, THOMAS	1452/3	All Souls.
FUSTYNG, JOHN ⁽⁴⁸⁾	1506/8	Magdalen.
GADDER, THOMAS	1449/50	All Souls.
GAGE, JOHN	1500/12	New College.
GEGE		
GALYS, THOMAS	1468/9	Magdalen.
GATMAN, WILLIAM ⁽⁵⁴⁾	1515/17	Magdalen.
GEFFREY, THOMAS	1490/1	Magdalen.
GERDON, THOMAS	1474	Magdalen.
GILYS, RICHARD	1515/16	Merton.
GOLDEFYNCH	1417/18	Merton.
GOLDSMYTH, ROBERT	1474/97	Magdalen.
GOOD, JOHN ⁽¹⁷⁾	1438/77	All Souls, Magdalen, New College.
GOOD	1517/18	Merton.
GRACE, JOHN	1487/8	Lincoln.
GRANGE, JOHN	1474	Magdalen.
GRASSAM, HENRY	1525	Cardinal College.
GRENE, JOHN	1390	Mason ; living in the SE. ward ; accused under the Statute of Labourers, and at first had nothing in town that could be taken as surety, but in 1391 he was fined 6d. with two sureties (<i>Mediaeval Archives</i> , ii, 9, 15, 32).
GRENE, WILLIAM	1448/9	Merton.
GREY	1508/9	Magdalen.
GROVE, JOHN	1390/91	Mason ; living in the NE. ward ; accused and fined three times under the Statute of Labourers. John Walsingham, a mason at Merton, was one of his sureties in 1391 (<i>Mediaeval Archives</i> , ii, 3, 5, 21, 39, 44).
GRYSYRS	1520/21	Magdalen.
GYLL, JOHN ⁽³⁶⁾	1490-1530	Magdalen, New College.
HALTHON, WILLIAM	1377/80	Queen's.
HAMERSTON, JOHN	1367/8	Queen's.
HAMERTON, GYLBERT	1512/25	Magdalen.
HAMMOND, WILLIAM	1524/5	Cardinal College.
HARBORN, JOHN	1511/12	Magdalen.
HARRYS, JOHN	1520/25	Magdalen.
HARTE	1505/6	Magdalen.
HARVY, RICHARD ⁽³⁷⁾	1490-1526	All Souls, Lincoln, Magdalen, Merton, New College, Oriel.
HARYSON, JOHN	1502/3	Magdalen.
HAULE, ROBERT	1528	Cardinal College.
HAWKER, JOHN	1448/51	Merton.
HAYNES, THOMAS	1474	Magdalen.
HAYS, NICHOLAS	1504/5	Lincoln.
HAYS, RICHARD ⁽⁴¹⁾	1498-1526	Lincoln, Magdalen, New College, Oriel.
HENEXYE, LAWRENCE ⁽⁴⁾	1380-1418	Merton, New College.
HERBERD, WILLIAM ⁽⁴³⁾	1502/3	Magdalen.
HERN, NICHOLAS	1451/8	All Souls.
HERRNE	1492/3	Lincoln.
HERTANGRE, RICHARD	1409/48	Merton.
HOBBS, JOHN	1508/9	Magdalen.

HOBYS, T.	1508/9	Magdalen.
HOBBYS, WILLIAM ⁽⁵¹⁾	1507/29	All Souls, Cardinal College, Magdalen, Merton.
HOLEMAN	1524/5	Magdalen.
HOLEWELL	1524/5	Magdalen.
HORSLEY, JOHN	1524/5	Cardinal College.
HOWELL, DAVY	1524/5	Magdalen.
HUMBERVILLE, WILLIAM ⁽¹⁾	1369/80	Merton.
HUNT, RICHARD	1448/70	Merton, New College.
HUNT, ROBERT	1487-1503	Magdalen, Queen's.
HYDE, JOHN	1496-1508	Magdalen.
HYLL	1521/2	Magdalen.
HYLL, RICHARD	1529/30	New College.
IOWKE, THOMAS	1391	Mason ; living in the SW. ward ; accused and fined under the Statute of Labourers (<i>Mediaeval Archives</i> , ii, 40, 47).
IVE, JOHN	1508/30	Magdalen, New College.
IVE, WILLIAM	1457/8	All Souls.
IVE, WILLIAM	1529/30	New College.
JAGGS, WALTER ⁽³⁹⁾	1494-1511	Lincoln, Magdalen, Merton.
JANYNS, JOHN	1469/71	All Souls.
JANYNS, ROBERT ⁽¹⁶⁾	1438/64	All Souls, Merton.
JENKYNS, THOMAS ⁽⁴⁰⁾	1498-1505	Lincoln, Magdalen.
JENYNS, ROBERT	1516/17	Magdalen.
JOHNSON, ROBERT ⁽⁴⁹⁾	1506/27	Cardinal College, Lincoln, Magdalen, Queen's.
JOHNSON, WILLIAM ⁽³⁰⁾	1468-1511	Lincoln, Magdalen.
JOHNSON, WILLIAM ⁽⁵⁸⁾	1524/35	Balliol, Cardinal College, Merton.
JONYS	1521/2	Magdalen.
JONYS, ROGER	1426/7	Merton.
KARME, JOHN	1474	Magdalen.
KERE, JOHN	1483/4	Merton.
KING, JOHN	1528/9	Cardinal College.
LAMBETH, JOHN ⁽¹⁰⁾	1398-1426	New College, Queen's.
LANE, THOMAS	1452/3	All Souls.
LANE, WILLIAM ⁽²²⁾	1440/57	All Souls, Canterbury College.
LATHAM	1520/27	Magdalen.
LATHYS, RICHARD	1507/9	Magdalen.
LECCE, WILLIAM	1369/75	Merton.
LEECH, CHRISTOPHER	1528/9	Cardinal College.
LE LEGGERE, WILLIAM	1380	Mason ; living in the SE. ward and paid 1s. Lay Subsidy (<i>O.H.S.</i> , xviii, 13).
LEWYS, RICHARD ⁽³⁸⁾	1492-1527	Cardinal College, Corpus Christi, Lincoln, Magdalen.
LUBYNS, JOHN ⁽⁵⁷⁾	1506/37	Balliol, Cardinal College, Lincoln.
LULL, ROBERT	1377/8	Queen's.
LYE, JOHN	1417/8	Merton.
LYLY, JOHN	1462/3	Oriel.
LYNNE, MARTIN	1529/30	New College.
LYNNE, RICHARD	1474	Magdalen.
MACYN, RICHARD	1487/8	New College.
MADSAY, JOHN	1468/70	Magdalen, New College.
MAGNOLDE	1521/2	Magdalen.
MAIOR, WALTER	1467/9	Magdalen, Oriel.
MALONS	1517/8	Merton.

MALTHIE, ADAM	1374	Merton.
MANFYLD	1521/2	Magdalen.
MARCHALL, JOHN	1474	Magdalen.
MARHAM, WILLIAM	1529/30	New College.
MARTIN	1427/8	New College.
MARTYN, JOHN	1380-1403	New College.
MASON, DANIEL	1377/8	Queen's.
MASON, EDMUND	1377/8	Queen's.
MASON, HENRY	1390-1411	Merton, New College.
MASON, HENRY	1449/92	Lincoln, Merton, New College, Oriel.
MASON, HUGH	1371/3	Merton.
MASON, HUGH	1457/66	Merton, Oriel.
MASON, JOHN	1380/91	Mason ; living in the SW. ward and paid 1s. at the Lay Subsidy of 1380 (<i>O.H.S.</i> , xviii, 20). Accused and fined under the Statute of Labourers in 1390/1 with John Abyngdon, mason at New College, as one of his sureties (<i>Mediaeval Archives</i> , ii, 9, 15, 68).
MASON, JOHN	1380	Mason ; living in the NE. ward, paid 1s. Lay Subsidy (<i>O.H.S.</i> , xviii, 27).
MASON, JOHN	1392	Mason ; living in the NW. ward when accused and fined under the Statute of Labourers (<i>Mediaeval Archives</i> , ii, 79, 111).
MASON, JOHN	1374-1402	Merton, Queen's.
MASON, JOHN	1432/49	Merton ; possibly the same man who worked on the new wall at the E. end of Exeter College Chapel in 1432 (Boase, 180).
MASON, JOHN	1493-1524	All Souls, Lincoln, Magdalen, Merton, Queen's ; possibly not all the same man.
MASON, MICHAEL	1371/8	Merton, Queen's.
MASON, NICHOLAS	1492/3	Lincoln.
MASON, RICHARD (I)	1377/8	Queen's.
MASON, RICHARD (II)	1377/8	Queen's.
MASON, RICHARD	1520/1	Lincoln.
MASON, ROBERT ⁽³⁾	1377/79	Queen's.
MASON, ROBERT	1471/92	Lincoln, Merton, Oriel.
MASON, ROBERT	1520/25	Magdalen.
MASON, THOMAS	1380	Mason ; living in the parish of St. Mary Magdalene when he and Margery his wife paid 3s. Lay Subsidy (<i>O.H.S.</i> , xviii, 37).
MASON, THOMAS	1394	Mason ; living in the SE. ward when accused under the Statute of Labourers (<i>Mediaeval Archives</i> , ii, 123).
MASON, THOMAS	1408/18	New College.
MASON, THOMAS	1471/2	Oriel.
MASONE, THOMAS	1512/13	Magdalen.
MASON, VALENTINE	1526/7	Merton.
MASON, WALTER	1377/94	Queen's.
MASON, WILLIAM	1383	Mason ; paid 12 marks and 7s. for stone from Taynton for Exeter College Library (Boase, <i>Reg. Coll. Exon.</i> , 1879, 178-9).

MASON, WILLIAM	1394	Mason; living in the hundred outside the N. gate when accused under the Statute of Labourers (<i>Mediaeval Archives</i> , ii, 124).
MASON, WILLIAM	1408/18	New College.
MASON, WILLIAM	1449	Mason; in a rental of 1449 :- 'Parochia Sancti Egidii ten. Willelmi Wallingford per Will. Mason vjs xjd' (<i>Oseney Cartulary</i> , 243).
MASON, WILLIAM	1455/76	All Souls, Lincoln, Merton, Queen's (possibly not all the same man).
MASON, WILLIAM	1483/7	New College.
MASON, WILLIAM	1500/1	New College.
MASON, WILLIAM	1513/22	Lincoln, Merton.
MASONE, WILLIAM	1391/2	Mason; de Eynsham, surety for Roger Mason who had been fined under the Statute of Labourers (<i>Mediaeval Archives</i> , ii, 94).
MASSYNHAM, JOHN ⁽¹⁴⁾	1409/50	All Souls.
MASSYNHAM, JOHN (Junior)	1437/8	All Souls.
MAWE, JOHN	1524/5	Cardinal College.
MAY, RICHARD	1529/30	New College.
MAYDESTONE, THOMAS	1386/91	New College.
MAYNARD, JOHN	1399-1400	New College.
MENOMAY, RALPH	1529/30	New College.
MEPPUSHALL, JOHN	1374-1418	Merton.
MERLOT, ROGER ⁽²⁾	1371-1411	Merton, Oriel, Queen's.
MICHAEL	1468/9	Magdalen.
MILTON, HENRY ⁽³²⁾	1474-1500	Magdalen, Merton.
MULTON		
MILTON, JOHN	1506/10	All Souls.
MULTON		
MILTONE, WILLIAM	1371/80	Merton.
MULTON		
MOKEM, J.	1508/9	Magdalen.
MOORE, JOHN	1452/3	All Souls.
MOOSWELL, ROBERT	1465/6	Oriel.
MORE, WILLIAM	1529/30	New College.
MORRES, W.	1508/9	Magdalen.
MORRES, MORRYCH	1520/27	Magdalen.
MOREYS	1411/12	Merton.
MOSLEY, HENRY	1508/9	Magdalen.
MUNDY	1410/11	Oriel.
MYDDILTON, JOHN	1438/9	All Souls.
MYDDELMAN, JOHN	1468/9	Magdalen.
MYLLS, JOHN	1528/9	Cardinal College.
NASH, RICHARD	1469/83	Magdalen, Merton.
NEWMAN, JOHN	1502/4	Magdalen.
NEWMAN, NICHOLAS	1524/5	Cardinal College.
NEWPORT, JOHN	1529/30	Magdalen.
NEWTON, RICHARD	1408/18	New College.
NEWTON, THOMAS	1474	Magdalen.
NORTHERN, RICHARD	1507/8	Magdalen.
NORTON, RICHARD ⁽⁵⁾	1380/97	New College.
NORTON, WILLIAM	1390-1418	New College.

OFFORDE, WILLIAM	1390-1428	New College.
OLDAM, JOHN ⁽⁶⁰⁾	1524/30	Cardinal College, Magdalen.
OLYNER	1524/5	Magdalen.
ORCHYARD, JOHN	1498-1524	All Souls, Magdalen.
ORCHARD, WILLIAM ⁽²⁵⁾	1467-1504	Balliol, Divinity School, Magdalen, New College, St. Bernard's College.
OUNTON	1388/90	New College.
OWYNE, JOHN	1521/2	Magdalen.
PALMER, RICHARD	1408/18	New College.
PANET	1520/22	Magdalen.
PARKER, RICHARD	1520/22	Magdalen.
PARKER, THOMAS	1520/22	Magdalen.
PAVYER, JOHN	1420/1	New College.
PAVYER, ROBERT	1520/1	Magdalen.
PAVYERE, THOMAS	1441/50	All Souls.
PAVYONIER		
PAYN, JOHN	1408/18	New College.
PAYNE, THOMAS	1449/58	All Souls.
PAYN	1524/5	Magdalen.
PEERSOY, WILLIAM	1529/30	New College.
PERKYN	1524/5	Magdalen.
PERKYN	1504/6	All Souls.
PERNE, WILLIAM	1524/30	Cardinal College, Lincoln, Magdalen.
PERYN		
PERPEN, HENRY	1507/8	Magdalen.
PERPOYNT, HENRY	1516/22	Magdalen.
PERSALL	1524/5	Magdalen.
PERSON	1525	Cardinal College.
PERYN, JOHN	1527/8	Lincoln.
PESEMEDE, JOHN	1468/9	Magdalen.
PHILIPS, THOMAS	1515/16	Merton.
PLESANCE, JOHN	1440/1	All Souls.
PLUMAR	1520	Magdalen.
POLE, THOMAS	1519/25	Lincoln.
PRENDRYNGEST, HENRY	1448/74	Magdalen, Merton.
PRENDERGEST		
PRESGROVE, JOHN	1520/25	Cardinal College, Magdalen.
PRESTONE, RICHARD	1391/2	Mason ; living in the hundred outside the N. gate when accused and fined three times under the Statute of Labourers ; Richard Norton, a New College mason, was one of his sureties (<i>Mediaeval Archives</i> , ii, 59, 61, 81, 103, 111, 114).
PRENTIS, THOMAS	1455/6	All Souls.
PREWS, RICHARD	1388-1402	New College.
PRIUS, JOHN	1457/8	All Souls.
PYCHER, JOHN	1450/1	Merton.
PYNFOLD	1506/17	Magdalen, Merton.
RADLEY	1527/8	Lincoln.
RALPH	1474	Magdalen.
RAYNOLD, WILLIAM ⁽²⁷⁾	1468-1505	Magdalen.
REED, THOMAS	1408/18	New College.
REDE	1389/90	New College
REDDY	1520/1	Magdalen.
REDEHEDE, ROGER	1452/3	All Souls.

REDMAN, HENRY ⁽⁵⁶⁾	1515/28	Cardinal College.
REYNOLD, EDMUND	1468/9	Magdalen.
ROKE, RICHARD	1436/7	New College.
RONDELL, RICHARD	1524/5	Cardinal College.
ROSBY, THOMAS	1452/3	All Souls.
RUDFER, JOHN	1408/18	New College.
RUSWELL	1521/2	Magdalen.
RYCHARDSON	1529/30	Magdalen.
RYDALE, JOHN	1440/42	All Souls.
RYPPS, RICHARD	1448/50	Merton.
SAGE	1529/30	Magdalen.
SALFORD	1408/18	New College.
SALTCOMBE, THOMAS	1408/18	New College.
SALTINERSCH, JOHN	1451/2	All Souls.
SAMPSON, JOHN ⁽⁷⁾	1388/96	New College.
SAWNDERS, WILLIAM	1487-1521	Magdalen, New College.
SAVAGE, THOMAS	1507/10	Magdalen.
SAXE	1524/5	Magdalen.
SCACKVILLE, JOHN	1511/12	Magdalen.
SCHERPE, ROBERT	1515/16	Magdalen.
SCLATTER, WILLIAM	1505/6	Merton.
SELBY, JOHN	1402	Mason; lived in the parish of St. Edward's when Irishmen broke into his house (<i>O.H.S.</i> , xviii, 239).
SELBY, THOMAS	1380	Servant of William Wynford.
SENYZERE, JOHN	1417/18	Merton.
SENTCLER, WILLIAM	1469/70	New College.
SEVALL, JOHN ⁽²⁶⁾	1466/88	Magdalen.
SEYNOWE, ROBERT	1448/9	Merton.
SHANE, JOHN ⁽³¹⁾	1471/4	Magdalen.
SHARLEY, SIMON	1413/14	Oriel.
SHERITT	1507/8	Magdalen.
SKIRWHIT, JOHN	1390/94	Mason; living in the SE. ward when accused and fined three times under the Statute of Labourers (<i>Mediaeval Archives</i> , ii, 10, 68, 83, 89, 123).
SPEREWBIT, SPIREWBIT		Queen's.
SLEFORD, JOHN	1375/97	
SCLYFORD, SLYFORDE		
SMYTH, JOHN	1503/10	Magdalen.
SMYTH, PETER	1506/7	Magdalen.
SMYTH, W.	1524/7	Magdalen.
SOMERTON, THOMAS	1504/5	Lincoln.
SPARROW, JOHN ⁽⁵⁰⁾	1506/13	Lincoln, Magdalen.
SPENSER, RICHARD	1506/7	Lincoln.
SPICER, HENRY	1372/4	Queen's.
SPICER, THOMAS ⁽⁴⁴⁾	1503/8	Magdalen.
SPICER, ROBERT ⁽³⁴⁾	1487-1501	Lincoln, New College.
SPYLLS, JOHN	1505/6	Lincoln.
STAGPOLE, JOHN	1528/9	Cardinal College.
STANLAKE, WILLIAM	1392/4	Mason; living in the hundred outside the N. gate when accused three times under the Statute of Labourers (<i>Mediaeval Archives</i> , ii, 81, 95, 103, 110, 124).
STEVENTON, T.	1508/9	Magdalen.
STONE, THOMAS	1452/3	All Souls.

STYLL, RICHARD	1528/9	Cardinal College.
SWENEY, ROBERT	1437/41	All Souls.
SYMPSON, WILLIAM	1508/25	Lincoln, Magdalen, Oriel.
TAYLOR, RICHARD	1508/9	Magdalen.
TAYLOR, WALTER	1496-1501	Magdalen.
TEGFYLD	1520/1	Magdalen.
TERSAW	1524/5	Magdalen
THACHAM, JOHN	1390/92	Merton.
TOWNSENDE, JOHN ⁽⁵⁵⁾	1515/26	All Souls, Lincoln, Magdalen, Oriel, Queen's.
TUSWELL, THOMAS	1448/50	Merton.
TYLBOT	1504/5	All Souls.
TYSON	1487/8	Lincoln.
TYSWELL, NYVET	1487/8	New College.
UNDERWOOD	1520/1	Magdalen.
VERTUE, WILLIAM ⁽⁴⁷⁾	1505-1527	Corpus Christi College.
VICARY, WILLIAM	1409/11	Merton.
WAGHAM, DAVY	1513/14	Lincoln.
WALSHE, JOHN	1452/3	All Souls.
WALSINGHAM, JOHN	1371/94	Merton.
WARREN	1408/18	New College.
WARREN	1520/22	Magdalen.
WARWYK	1420/1	Queen's.
WATER(S), THOMAS	1520/30	Magdalen, New College.
WATKYN	1500/1	Magdalen.
WATTS, THOMAS	1468/9	Magdalen.
WEBBE, JOHN ⁽²⁹⁾	1468/72	Magdalen.
WERET, HENRY	1468/9	Magdalen.
WETHERALL, THOMAS	1529/30	New College.
WHITE, JOHN	1468/99	Magdalen.
WHITE, ROBERT	1461/2	Oriel.
WHITE, THOMAS	1474	Magdalen.
WHITE, WILLIAM	1457/8	All Souls.
WHITLOCK, THOMAS ⁽¹⁵⁾	1437/42	All Souls.
WILSON, ROBERT	1524/5	Cardinal College.
WINCHCOMBE, RICHARD ⁽¹¹⁾	1408/39	Divinity School, New College.
WOODWARD, THOMAS ⁽²¹⁾	1440/1	All Souls.
WORLECH, JOHN	1440/42	All Souls.
WRYGHT, THOMAS	1529/30	Magdalen.
WYKES, THOMAS ⁽²⁴⁾	1448/74	Magdalen, Merton.
WYLCOOSE, NICHOLAS	1508/9	Magdalen.
WYLDE, ROGER	1468/9	Magdalen.
WYLKYNs	1478/9	Queen's.
WYNFORD, WILLIAM ⁽⁸⁾	1360-1405	New College, Queen's.
WYTHES	1499-1500	Oriel.
YEVELEY, HENRY	1388/9	New College.
YONG, JAMES	1510/11	Magdalen.
YOUNG, RICHARD	1408/18	New College.