

JOHN JAMES AND CARPENTERS BUILDINGS¹

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SUMMARY

The history of the Carpenters Company and its building activities has been written already² with frequent reference to the Company's court books, accounts and other documents. However, a reading of the documents with special reference to the architectural history of the Company in the 18th century has brought to light a detailed account of the houses known as Carpenters Buildings, from their planning in 1735 to completion and occupation in 1737. They were designed by John James. The purpose of this paper is to analyse the documents for the information they provide on the designing and building of simple dwellings in the second quarter of the 18th century, and on the involvement of men such as James in this type of work.

THE DECISION TO BUILD

In 1517 the Carpenters Company acquired 'a Certain Messuage called the Bear and Three Tenements and seven Gardens' situated next to the ground in London Wall on which the Company's hall was built.³ In the Company's court books there are frequent records of repairs and alterations to the Dog and Bear Inn (as it was subsequently known) and other premises on the London Wall estate. The Great Fire of 1666 did not reach these buildings and by 1735 they were becoming old and expensive to maintain. Serious renovation, even rebuilding was called for. Many houses built immediately after the fire were already being replaced in the 1730s and the pre-fire Dog and Bear would have appeared extremely old-fashioned when contrasted with modern brick-built structures close by. The Company had funds at its disposal for re-investment.⁴ Discussion of the matter at the monthly court meeting seems to have been provoked by the activities of the tenant of the hall, Mr Fordham. The hall, extended by Mr Fordham, gave on to London Wall and was only separated from the Dog and Bear site by a garden. The court agreed that they would let a part of the ground available on this site to Mr Fordham 'for

his better accommodation', while the Dog and Bear would be 'taken down and rebuilt', care being taken that 'there shall be no lights made in any Wall of such New Building which butts Westward on the Clerks Garden or the Hall and New Buildings erected by Mr ffordham'.

This decision was taken as the result of an order by the court on 3 June 1735: 'It is hereby ordered that the Old house in London Wall vizt the Dogg & Bear Inn and other houses next adjoining be rebuilt or repaired at the charge of this Company in Such Manner as this court shall agree to by any Plan for that purpose And it is requested by this Court that if any Member of the Court of Assistants will lay a Plan for such Building before this Court any such person will have the thanks of this Court'. Although this provided for rebuilding or repairing, it seems that the court's intention was to rebuild, and it called for a competent senior member of the Company to provide it with a suitable design. This was in the tradition of the Company. When it decided to build a new hall in 1664, John Wildegos, a senior member and ex-Master had provided the plan, while another ex-Master, William Taylor, designed the staircase and passage.⁵ It was also in accord with the practice of the times, when buildings were frequently designed by master craftsmen such as carpenters and masons because the operation

of their trade required them to supervise others.

In fact, quite apart from various senior members who were able to undertake the design of a building, the Company had, in the person of its Master for that year (1734/5) an extremely well-qualified surveyor of its own, who could with justification be called an architect rather than a craftsman-designer. He was John James of Greenwich, who had received his early training from Matthew Banckes, Master Carpenter in the Office of Works, and had progressed to become joint Clerk of the Works (with Hawksmoor) at Greenwich Hospital and Surveyor to the Commission for Building Fifty New Churches under the Act of 1711. By 1735 he had been associated with the Carpenters Company for 45 years, and had made his name as an architect of churches (for example, St. George, Hanover Square and St. Lawrence Whit-church) and of grand houses (Wricklemarsh).

It is not surprising, therefore, that the minutes do not make mention of any discussion regarding the acceptance of a plan apparently submitted by James for the new buildings in response to the court's request. They simply state, on 4 November 1735: 'Ordered that Master Meard have liberty to sett workmen to repair the house on this side the Dog and Bear Inn after he has seen the Plan which Mr James has drawn for the new Buildings in London Wall'. This entry refers to repair of one house, as well as to a plan for new buildings. It implies the existence of a comprehensive plan of the area involved. Another reference in the records speaks of the planned houses. On 2 December 1735 the Clerk wrote a note in his rough minute book 'to write Letter to Mr James to bring the Plan of the new Buildings that are to be in London Wall next court'. It therefore appears that the buildings were designed by John James in 1735, and that the plan included in addition some repairs to existing property. James, as a senior member of the Company, seems to have given this service as architect free of charge since no payments to him are recorded in the accounts. When the idea was first mooted, he was Master. His term of office ended on 2

September 1735 and his successor was his son's father-in-law, John Meard, his almost exact contemporary.⁶ James's plan not unnaturally had Meard's support, and Meard must have kept him up to date on the progress of the project since he was at nearly every court meeting in 1735/6. James had been less regular in his attendance as Master – perhaps an indication of the many other professional calls on his time. During the construction of the houses, James retained his place on the court of assistants, as was the practice for ex-masters. On 3 February 1735/6 we again hear of James's plan when the court ordered 'that Mr. Renter Warden Benbridge do reparaire the house in London Wall next the Dog & Bear Inn & do carry up the wall according to Mr James plan' and on 2 March a committee was formed consisting of the Master (Meard), James and five others of the court of assistants 'to make proposalls for the building of the 2 front houses and the building the court in London Wall'. James was not present at the court, so a note was made to 'write letter to Mr James to know which day will suit him', another indication that he was a busy man but that the committee relied upon his expertise in the matter of its new buildings. It is at this time that the minutes first speak of the court of houses or tenements, of which two gave on to London Wall, and which were described by Nathaniel Poole, the Clerk, in a note inserted opposite details of the Dog and Bear property in the book listing the Company's estate. He wrote, 'The Dog and Bear Inn and the Two old houses belonging to the same in front were pull'd down in the Year 1736 & in the Roome thereof the Company at their own Expencc Built a Court of Houses containing Eight in Number Called Carpenters Buildings'. Unfortunately, no contemporary plans survive, and plans of the Company's estates *c.* 1725, including London Wall, 'drawn fine in a Book of Vellum' which were still preserved in 1887 have disappeared.⁷ They would have provided a good idea of the layout of the property before it was rebuilt. The buildings themselves were demolished in 1876. Of large-scale maps available,⁸ Horwood's plan of 1792–9 (Fig. 1) shows the court of houses most clearly. Detailed records of the receipts and vouchers

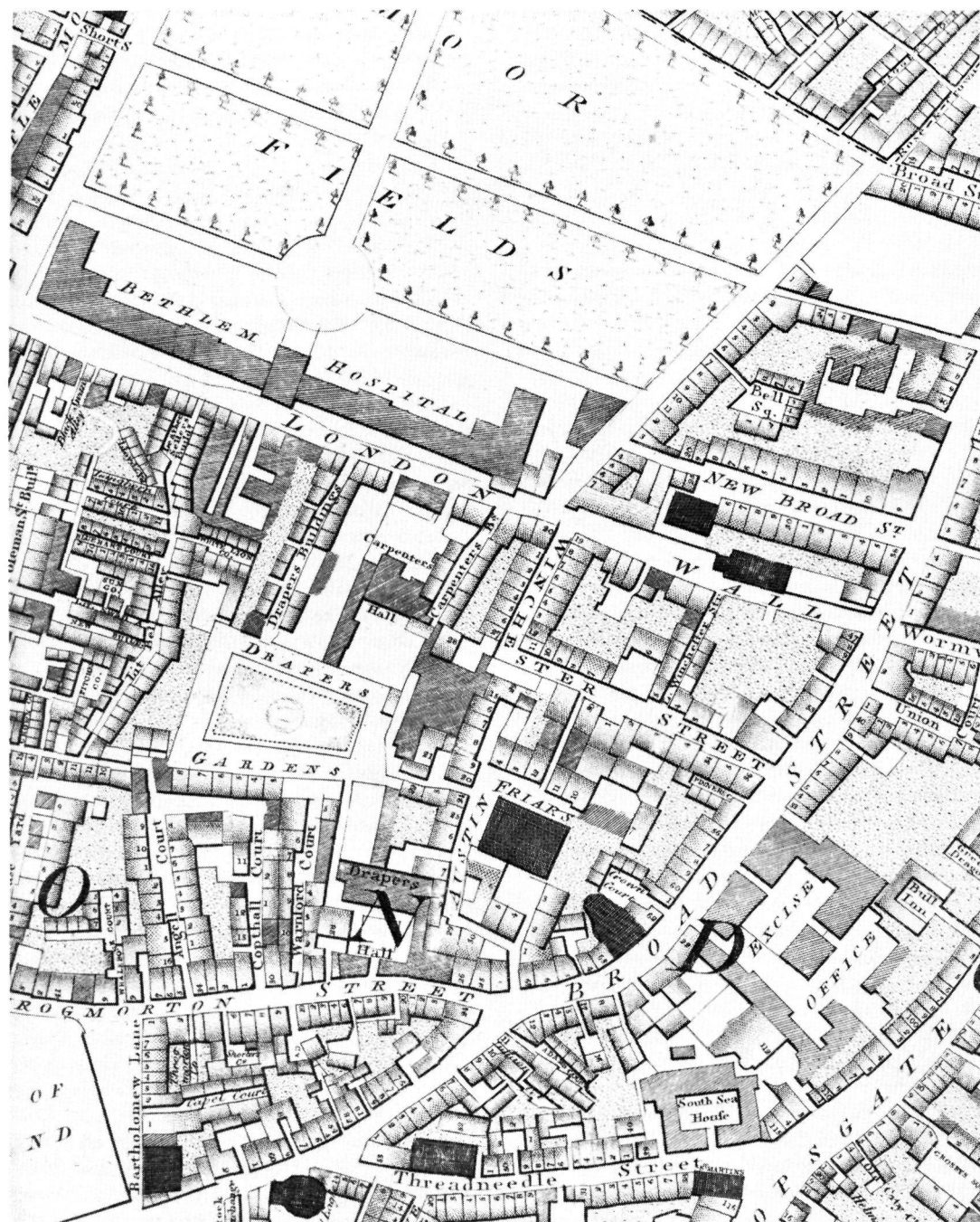


Fig. 1 Carpenters Buildings: Detail of Horwood's Plan of London Westminster, Southward and Parts Adjoining, 1729-1799. (Guildhall Library)(Scale: 26 inches to one mile)

for the period in question are also missing, so reliance must be placed on the minutes and the Wardens' annual accounts. These provide sufficient material to give an interesting insight into the way the commission progressed, and the costs involved.

THE BUILDING CONTRACTS

Having decided on 2 March 1735/6 to go ahead and build two front houses and a court, and formed a committee to deal with the matter, the minutes are silent on the progress made until July. No doubt James had to fit his work for the Carpenters into a schedule which included increased supervisory work at Greenwich. Hawksmoor was inactive with the gout, and died only a few days later (25 March 1735/6). James must have finalised his design and advised the committee on the contracting of the work between March 1735/6 and July 1736. On 15 July a special meeting of the court took place 'touching the building att London Wall'. The Carpenters chose the method of contracting recommended by Sir Christopher Wren.⁹ This was to work 'by measure', on the basis of prices quoted in advance by the craftsmen, and was the usual method for bricklayers, carpenters, masons, plasterers, painters, glaziers and joiners.¹⁰ But, as Wren said, 'You must have an understanding trusty measurer'. Master builders, as the carpenters had been when involved in the construction of timber-framed buildings, very often included surveying among their skills, since they were responsible for the work of lesser craftsmen. James himself derived much of his employment from surveying posts, and was meticulous in carrying out such duties.¹¹ A 'trusty measurer' could therefore easily be found amongst the members of the court of assistants, and the contracts were made.

The special meeting of 15 July was called to consider the bricklayer's contract – the most costly and important of all. There seem to have been two estimates submitted to the court, one of which is recorded in the court book:

'Mr Thomas Moreland proposed to undertake the Bricklayer work for the New intended Buildings att London Wall for the following prizes (that is to say) The Brick Work for £5. 10s. 0d. p Rod – and to do

the front with Stocks And the Arches to be rubbed and gaged and sett in putty, To do the New Plain tyleing att £1. 6s. 0d. p square, and the Pan tyleing att 18s. p square And also to allow the Company £1. 5s. 0d. p Rod for the old Brick Work and to pull down and Clear away And to allow 8s. p square for the Old plain tyleing, And 5s. p Square for the Old Pan tyleing, which Proposals this Company now agreed to and Ordered the Clerk to prepare Articles accordingly.'¹²

The committee must have specified the materials they required since the second estimate in the rough minute book speaks of grey stocks, and plain and pan tiling to be laid in lime and hair. The second most important contract was for the carpentry work, and estimates from various workmen were considered at the next court on 3 August:

'Att this Court severall Workmen in the Carpentry way delivered in their severall Proposals in writing sealed up for the intended Buildings at London Wall which were read by the Clerk and itt appeared that the Proposals of Mr. Jacob Knowles (being ffive Pounds for every great square of building) was the Cheapest He was now chosen Carpenter to do the said Work on the said intended Buildings in Case he could give the Company good security for 300 £ for his performing the Building in a good and Workmanlike manner and to find Workmanship, Nailes and Sawing according to his Proposals given for that purpose.'

The unsuccessful carpenters were each given 10s. 6d. for their trouble. Mr Knowles, the carpenter chosen, was given a week in which to find security. When he failed to do so, the contract went to the next lowest bidder, Mr Child, who agreed to do the work for the slightly higher rate of £5 10s per great square.

On 7 September the articles for carpentry and bricklaying were sealed and signed by the Master and others. Thomas Moreland duly appears in the final accounts as the bricklayer but although Anthony Child was paid £15 on account in 1735–6, the final bill for carpentry was charged by Robert Horton, Warden of the Company. Possibly the Carpenters preferred

to give the large contract to a senior member.

During October, November and December the contracts with the plumber, the painters and the plasterers were arranged and the rates agreed. There is no record, however, of a contract with the mason, although his rates must have been agreed at around this time. 'Mr Howard, mason' was paid a total of £103 16s 0d according to the wardens' accounts and it would be interesting to know why what must have been a fairly important contract was not arranged in the normal way. The shell of the buildings was evidently being constructed at this time and the interior fittings contracted for. A watchman was appointed to look after the property, since there had been a theft of 'lead and other things' from the new buildings.

THE COST OF THE NEW BUILDINGS

By June 1737, Mr Assistant Benbridge (an ex-Master) was being instructed to measure all the work, and he was paid £10 10s for his trouble. In September, the work had been measured, and a committee composed of the Master, Wardens and several members of the livery (including Mr Benbridge) was looking into the workmen's bills. They held a special meeting at the counting house 'to sign and allow' them. The total paid out according to the Wardens' accounts for 1737-8 was about £855. Apart from the major contracts for bricklaying, carpentry, masonry, plumbing, painting and plastering, various small amounts to the smith, the glazier, the paviour, the rubbish man, the turner and the sash maker were included in this total. All the craftsmen were paid on completion of the work. In addition to this final accounting, Warden Horton had drawn funds three times from the Company's chest. On 4 January 1736/7 he received a bond for £100 'for paying the workmen at London Wall', on 7 June 1737 he received £300 'for carrying on the building', and on 5 July 1737 he received £200 for the same purpose, making a total of £600. The Carpenters Company finances were divided into current income and capital. The capital, or bonds representing it, was traditionally kept in the Black Chest, which acted as a deposit account.¹³ The use of an iron chest (frequently with a complicated system of

locks) as a safe deposit was usual. The Commissioners for St. Paul's Cathedral, for example, kept a strong chest with three locks and keys, and ordered that the coal duties they received be kept in it 'to be as running Cash for the service of the Works of the Church'.¹⁴ At the Carpenters Company, since the whole expense of the building could not be met from income, drawing money or bonds from the chest was a way of charging part of the expense to the capital account. The money from the chest does not appear in the account book, and there is therefore no breakdown of how it was spent. It probably went to the principal contractors (bricklayer, carpenter) who had heavy expenses to meet for materials and possibly interim payments to make their workmen. 'Mr. Warden Horton' was evidently in the position of clerk of the works and used the funds from the chest as necessary.¹⁵

The total spent on the buildings was therefore around £1400 in 1737-8. This represents the bulk of the expenditure, although amounts paid out in previous years must also be taken into account. Records cited above speak of work being carried out in the year 1735/6, and it seems that the house next to the Dog & Bear (which was repaired) and the house which replaced the Dog & Bear on London Wall (one of the two 'front houses') might be included in the accounts for 1735-6. Building and repairs amounted to about £320 for that year, but the accounts are unclear as to the houses referred to. The Company had other property which needed maintenance and repair. In the year 1736-7, about £115 was paid to craftsmen. Again the accounts do not specify on which houses. Assuming that the major part of the expenditure to craftsmen was for the new buildings, the grand total for the three years was about £1800.

Referring back to Nathaniel Poole's note in the deed book, we are told there were eight houses in the court. Referring to the minute book entry for 2 March 1735/6 we are told there were two front houses and a court. Two 'corner' houses were let, and numbers 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, and 7 of the 'new buildings' or 'new court'. The painting agreement with Mr Pitches and Mr Baker of 2 November 1736 says, 'if there shall be nine houses built Mr.

Baker is to paint five of them and Mr. Pitches the other four And if there shall be but 8 houses built then they are to paint four each or any other equal number'. The number of houses is unclear, although Horwood's map would indicate ten.¹⁶ Taking the total of £1800, ten houses would have cost about £180 each. In the absence of other sources of information on the general plan and size of the houses, this scale of expenditure itself provides a clue. Primatt¹⁷ gives details of the cost of various grades of housing. Although there is evidence that wages rose between 1680 and 1730,¹⁸ Primatt's rate for bricklaying ('seven pound a Rod, and they to find all materials'¹⁹) in 1680 is higher than that charged for Carpenters' Buildings (£5 10s 0d a rod). Doubtless there were fluctuations, and doubtless also the Carpenters, with so many experienced builders as members would know exactly where to turn for the lowest rates. House prices in Primatt range between £420. 18s and £234 17s 8d but he does not quote for the 'least sort of building' covered by the Act of 1667. A price of around £180 would not be inconceivable for such a tenement. A further clue as to the appearance of the buildings is provided by the Ordnance Survey map of 1875 (Fig. 2) on which two of the houses are shown. They measured 30ft in width and 25ft in breadth, with an entrance up two steps in the centre of the facade. This conforms to the description of the Carpenters Buildings in a street directory of 1817²⁰ which gives the length (of frontage) as 110 yards and the number of houses as eight (an allowance of 30 yards for the two houses fronting London Wall must be made). The houses on the court were probably two-storey, while the two on London Wall would have been three-storey.

THE APPEARANCE OF THE BUILDINGS

The terraces on either side of the court would therefore have consisted of two storeys plus attic and basement, the 'least sort of building' reserved for 'By-courts etc.' of the Building Act.²¹ They must have looked much like the tenements in Elder Street (built c. 1725), Fournier Street (1726) and Spital Square (1725) which also had centrally-placed entrances.²² The Company was building as an

investment and the property was to be let. The Carpenters would ensure that they complied with all building regulations contained in the Acts of 1667, 1707, 1709 and 1724 relating to the type of house, thickness of walls, omission of a timber cornice, recession of window sashes and provision of down-pipes. The buildings would be solid, serviceable but as inexpensive as possible, without unnecessary embellishment. The bricks were grey stocks. Towards the mid-century the taste for the less 'fiery' grey (or yellow) stocks replaced that for red, but no doubt the Carpenters' prime concern was with cost. Red stocks cost 12s per 1000 more than grey in 1748.²³ The bricklaying contract speaks of both plain and pan tiling. There must, therefore, have been a gambrel roof. In the earlier 18th century plain tiles needed a steep pitch on which to hang 'on account, that when they are laid on low Roofs, the driving Rains will enter between them'.²⁴ The lower pitched area of roof was therefore pan-tiled. A gambrel roof afforded extra attic space and would be lit by dormer windows. The window arches, we are told, were of bricks 'rubbed and gaged and set in putty' – the usual practice in buildings of the time. Isaac Ware, writing in 1756, says 'red stocks and grey are frequently put in arches gauged – and one as well as the other set in puttey instead of mortar'.²⁵ The arches could have been straight or segmental, although a comparable example (Meard Street, Soho, developed by James's associate at the Carpenters Company in 1732) has straight window arches. The doorcases used in Meard Street give some idea of the possible appearance of those in Carpenters Buildings.²⁶ They, together with the other exterior woodwork, were painted (probably white) 'three times in oyle', and the interior 'once in size and twice in oyle'. As for masonry, stone was expensive. Portland stone for 'chimney-foot-paces' cost 1s 8d per square foot,²⁷ while stone coping was 4d per foot running measure.²⁸ Carpenters Buildings might have had stone coping and string courses but very little else in stone except for paving.

Judging from the tenants' agreements, at least one of the two front corner houses must have had a ground floor shop, for the minutes

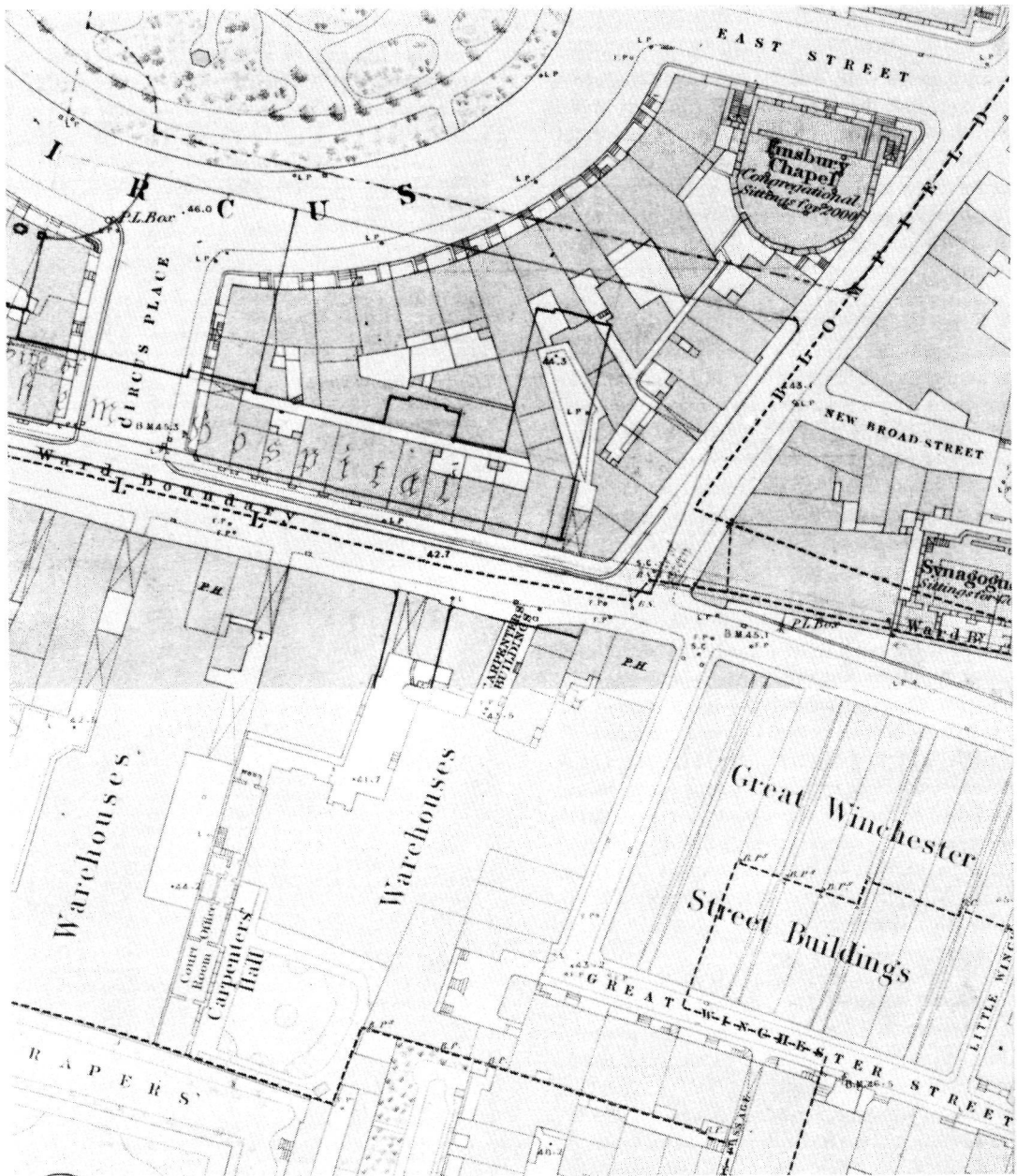


Fig. 2 Detail from the Ordnance Survey, 1875. (Guildhall Library) (Scale: 5 feet to one mile)

report, on 6 December 1737: 'Mr. Cole who has taken the Company's Corner House in the new buildings in London Wall desires the Company to insert a covenant in his lease that they will not let any other of their houses in

London Wall to any Person who shall follow the Business of a Grocer'. There are a few references to the trades of other occupants. Rents were between £18 and £22 per annum.²⁹ With rents such as these the Company could

expect to recover its expenditure after about 11 years and the investment would then start to show some return. It is difficult to compare this enterprise with other London speculative building since the Company itself contracted to build. Much more frequently the owner of the land would grant building leases at a nominal rent and therefore had no direct part in the building operation and made no investment comparable with that of the Carpenters Company.³⁰

CONCLUSION

The picture which emerges of these tenements is a typical one. The facade was plain, with little ornament beyond the gauged red brick window arches. Contrast was provided by the painted window frames, and the sills and doorways. The construction was unexceptional, and the craftsmen employed were not well-known figures.³¹ The interest of this account lies in the details and progress of the commission. It also lies in its connection with John James. The work known to be by James or attributed to him is nearly all related to large private houses, churches or public buildings. The more modest work tends to go unrecorded. Nevertheless he, and others like him such as Henry Flitcroft, and his friend and fellow-carpenter John Meard, must have spent a good deal of their time on what is now termed development – speculative building. Henry Flitcroft is known to have taken out building leases in Marylebone and to have acted as both builder and designer.³² John Meard erected the above-mentioned houses in Meard Street, Soho, among others.³³ John James's involvement as designer (though not in this case speculative builder) in Carpenters Buildings confirms that for him too such work cannot be discounted. This particular commission was undertaken free of charge but it was certainly not the only work of its kind. A John James appears among those granted building leases on Lord Harley's Cavendish Square development in 1722/3 and 1725.³⁴ Craftsmen-architects of the 18th century were quite prepared to measure, survey, build or design as the occasion demanded. John James, although highly successful in his career and a wealthy man by 1736, was obviously very

ready to supply the Company with a simple design for a terrace of houses. As Master, he probably felt that he had an obligation to do so. Adaptability to a patron's wishes characterises his architecture throughout his career and was undoubtedly one of the reasons for his success.

Summary list of dates and those involved in the construction of *Carpenters Buildings*

Designed: 1735–6 John James

Built: 1736/7

Demolished: 1876

Measuring of work: N. Benbridge

Bricklayer: Thomas Moreland

Carpenter: Robert Horton

Mason: Howard

Plumber: John Warden

Smith: Eldridge

Glazier: Battell

Plasterer: William Willatts

Paviour: Brown

Painters: John Baker

Joseph Pitches

Turners: Crane

Hoare

Sash maker: Barratt

NOTES

1. I should like to express my thanks to the Carpenters Company for permission to publish, to the staff of Guildhall Library for their assistance, and to Peter Draper for his help and advice.
All documents referred to (unless otherwise stated) are among the Carpenters Company records at Guildhall Library, London. The documents relating specifically to the construction of Carpenters Buildings are MS 4329/10 Rough Minute Book 1685–1689 and 1732–1731, MS 4329/15 Court Book 1722–1737, MS 4326/11 Wardens' Accounts September 1673 to September 1740 and MS 4340 Short Abstracts of the Title Deeds and other Documents Relating to the Company's Estates. Abbreviations have been expanded in transcript but original spelling and punctuation have been retained. Dates from January to March 25 are written with both old and new year. For example, 5 January 1735 in the documents will appear as 5 January 1735/6.
2. E. B. Jupp *A Historical Account of the Worshipful Company of Carpenters* (London, 1848, 2nd ed. London, 1887 with an appendix by W. W. Pocock). B. W. E. Alford and T. C. Barker *A History of the Carpenters Company* (London, 1968).
3. MS 4332 Wills and Leases 1516–1818 f. 37.
4. Alford and Barker *op. cit.* in note 2, 129.
5. MS 4329/5 Court Book, 7 October 1664, 7 March 1664/5.
6. Probably born c. 1668. Died before April 1746. His daughter Frances married John James's son John by licence on 4 April 1727 at Eversley, Hants.
7. Jupp and Pocock *op. cit.* in note 2, 558.
8. Horwood's Plan of London Westminster Southward and Parts Adjoining 1792–1799, reprinted by the London Topographical Society, Publication No. 106, London 1966. A Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, and Borough of Southwark with the contiguous buildings from an actual survey taken by John Rocque, Land-Surveyor, and Engraved by John Pine, 1746. Reprinted by Harry Margary, Lympne Castle, Kent, 1971. Wyld's Plan of the City of London 1842. Produced from plates made from Horwood's plan.
1873 Ordnance Survey 25 inch to one mile.
1875 Ordnance Survey 5 feet to one mile.
9. *Wren Society* 5(1927)20.
10. Richard Neve *The City and Country Purchaser, and Builder's Dictionary* (2nd ed. London 1726. Reprinted by David & Charles, Newton Abbot, 1969) 'Building' 80.

11. See for example his role in the building of Bishopsgate, where he was asked 'from time to time to inspect' the works. T. Friedman 'The Rebuilding of Bishopsgate: A case of Architecture and Corruption in Eighteenth Century London' *Guildhall Studies in London History* 4 No. 2 (April 1980) 83. James also carefully measured up the work done at Baylis House, Slough, marking the workmen's bills 'measured, examined and cast up' and signing each one personally. His receipt for the sum of £300 is for 'surveying, measuring, valuing and settling the account of work done at Baylies in Bucks . . .'. Bucks County Record Office, Duke of Leeds MSS, Box 10.
12. A rod equals 'sixteen foot and a half square every way, and two hundred seventy two foot in all'. S. Primatt *City and County Purchaser and Builder* (2nd ed. London 1680 enlarged by William Leybourne) 53. A square equals one hundred square feet.
13. Alford and Baker *op. cit.* in note 2, 126.
14. Minute Book 1715. *Wren Society* 16 (1939) 120.
15. He was responsible for incidental expenses such as the inscribing of a stone naming the buildings, 5 July 1737.
16. Jupp and Pocock *op. cit.* in note 2, 609 says there were 'nine small houses, known as Carpenters Buildings, and a larger one . . .'.
17. Primatt *op. cit.* in note 12, 100–143.
18. E. H. Phelps Brown and Sheila V. Hopkins 'Seven Centuries of Building Wages' *Economica* 22 (1956) 195–205.
19. Primatt *op. cit.* in note 12, 58.
20. Johnstone's *London Commercial Guide and Street Directory* (London, 1817) 97.
21. For details of the act, see D. Cruikshank and P. Wyld *London: the Art of Georgian Building* (London, 1977) 22–24; Primatt *op. cit.* in note 12 and Neve *op. cit.* in note 10 under 'Building', 65.
22. Survey of London, Vol. 27, *Spitalfields and Mile End New Town* (London 1957).
23. Batty Langley *The London Prices of Bricklayers Materials and Works* (London, 1748) 10 and 12.
24. Batty Langley *The Builders Compleat Assistant, or a Library of Arts and Sciences Absolutely Necessary to be understood by Builders and Workmen in general* (no date; London, 1738?) 151.
25. Isaac Ware *The Complete Body of Architecture* (London, 1756) 60.
26. Survey of London, Vol. 33 *The Parish of St. Anne Soho* (London, 1966) 245.
27. Neve *op. cit.* in note 10, 226.
28. Neve *ibid.* 114
29. Corner house Samuel Warren, carpenter £22 p.a.
Corner house Richard Cole, grocer £19 p.a.
No. 1 Thomas Kentish £18 p.a.
No. 2 Jane Marsh £18 p.a.
No. 3 William Caw, broker £18 p.a.
No. 4 —
No. 5 James Grayson £18 p.a.
No. 6 Martin a Drian de Young £20 p.a.
No. 7 Mrs. Elizabeth Jackson, widow £18 p.a.
30. See for example leases granted by Lord Harley on the Cavendish Square estate which were for building and where rents ranged from a peppercorn to well over £20 p.a. British Library Add. MS 18240, Register of Building Leases in Marylebone 1718–40.
31. Robert Horton, Warden and carpenter, worked on St. Stephen Coleman Street as a young man in 1674–6. H. Colvin *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600–1840* (London, 1978) 931.
32. Colvin *ibid.* 309–313.
33. Survey of London, Vol. 33 *op. cit.* in note 26, 238–246.
34. *Op. cit.* in note 30. There were other speculative builders with the name of John James at this time, notably one active in the Covent Garden area, who is described on his building leases as a bricklayer (Greater London Record Office E/BER/CG L110/10, L74/20, L74/26, L74/27 and L76/7).