The Building of the Schools Quadrangle

By I. G. Philip

In November, 1611, Sir Thomas Bodley reported to the Vice-Chancellor his discussions with Sir John Bennet about the possibility of replacing the 'ruinous little rooms' of the Schools by a new building more worthy of the University, and he urged that the University should encourage Bennet for he was possessed of many influential friends and 'would not only verie willingly undergoe the collection of every mans benevolence, but withall take upon him, to see the building it selfe to be duly performed'. The University acted promptly on this advice: Bennet acknowledged their letter on 21 January, 1612, and replied again in greater detail on 1 April, 1612. He then advised the University to solicit bishops for contributions for the new building and as 'the University had already agreed with the inhabitants of Cat Street for their tenements, whereon should be built the east end of the intended structure' Bennet promised to bear the tenth part at least of all the expenses of the fabric. On 18 April Convocation appointed a Delegacy to consider the building of the new Schools. This Delegacy took certain decisions which are not specified in the register of Convocation, but one of them must have been to appeal for contributions as the first list of benefactors was published on 1 July. Bodley died on 28 January, 1613, and the terms of his will assured the University of further financial support for the larger building which he envisaged. The foundation stone of the new Schools was laid, at the north-west end, on 30 March, 1613, the day after Bodley's funeral.

Bodley bequeathed funds to extend his Library by a Gallery 'to goe in compasse round about the Scholes and so meete at each end in two Lobies or passages framed with some speciall comlines of workmanshipe to make a faire entrance into the northe and southe corners of my late new enlargement Estward'. The execution of this will gave further control to Sir John Bennet for not only was he chief sponsor of the two floors of the quadrangle designed for schools, but, as joint-executor of Bodley's will with William Hackwell of Lincoln's Inn, he was responsible for the erection of the third storey to be

2 For the negotiations leading up to the building of the Schools see Wood, Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. (ed. Gutch), n, p. 787 seq. Wood's account is based on the registers of Convocation. For notes on the later history of the Schools I have to thank Sir Edmund Craster and Mr. Strickland Gibson. For assistance with the more technical architectural history I have to thank Mr. E. H. Swain, Surveyor to the University, and particularly Mr. W. C. Walker, O.B.E., one of the governing directors of Messrs. Benfield & Loxley.
3 For Bodley's will see Macray, Annals of the Bodleian Library, p. 402 seq.
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built with Bodley’s bequest. According to an account rendered to the University in 1618 the money available from Bodley’s estate was £12,758 which was to cover the payment of legacies and debts, the building of the Gallery, and two other building projects specified in the will, the building of ‘a faire staire case to make the ascent more easey and gracefull to the first great Librarie’ and ‘the performance of some bewtiful enlargement at the west end of the said Librarie towards Exeter College’. In 1618 the executors showed that they had spent £2,497 on building the Gallery and had lent £1,464 to the University for building the lower two storeys, for which the University, according to Wood, received £4,500 as a result of public appeals in the years 1613-19. By 1621 the executors had spent another £767 on further work in the Gallery, and the University’s debt to the executors had risen to £1,884. Borrowing from the Bodley fund must have begun soon after building started, for as early as 1615 a statute was enacted ordering that the ceremonial entertainments and gloves given by members of the University should be commuted for money payments to be devoted to the building of the Schools and the repayment of the debt to the executors, and by this means the University was able to complete the building and to undertake the continual expense of maintenance of the building which was then erected. By the 1630’s serious faults were apparent and the University wisely decided that the Schools contribution should be levied in perpetuity. It was no doubt wise, but rather illogical, that the University should thereafter devote all the money not required for the upkeep of the Schools, not to repaying the debt to the Bodley account, but to the establishment of a University Press.

Meanwhile the Bodley account had suffered from its own executors, for Sir John Bennet was prosecuted for bribery in 1621, and as a result of his own financial embarrassments was unable to produce the £450 which he held as executor. It was perhaps because of this scandal that the University began to keep proper accounts of expenditure on the Schools, and from July, 1621, all expenditure, both on the Schools and the Gallery, is set out in one detailed account. For the period of actual building, unfortunately, apart from the

4 Convoc. Reg. N. fol. 55v seq. The legacies amounted to £4,973, Bodley’s debts were £1,398, and the funeral charges £972 (shillings and pence have not been transcribed in the greater sums of money mentioned in this note).
6 For statutes relating to ‘glove money’ and the subsequent history of the Schools account, see S. Gibson, Statuta antiqua Univ. Oxon., pp. 516-18, 520, 560, and J. Johnson and S. Gibson, Print & Privilege at Oxford, pp. 16, 17.
7 The accounts from 1621 to 1697 are in roll form (Univ. Arch. N.E.P. Pyx C.), but they are also entered in the Vice-Chancellor’s account books. The accounts for 1621-55 were written on the blank pages at the beginning of the Vice-Chancellor’s account book for 1556-1666; from 1656 they were written immediately after the Vice-Chancellor’s accounts for the year.

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general accounts of Bodley’s executors, there appear to be only two documents which throw any light on details of building operations. The first is a note of so much hathe bene layd forth upon the third story over the Schools from the beginning till the sixt day of November 1615 laid before Convocation on 25 November in that year, and the second is a note entered at the end of the Convocation register for 1615-28 entitled ‘Monies layd out by Sir John Bennett and not reckoned in Dr. Hawley’s accounts’. Dr. John Hawley, Principal of Gloucester Hall, took great pains over the building of the Schools and received a Doctorate of Civil Law in recognition thereof, but unfortunately his accounts cannot be traced.

The first note shows that the fabric of the Gallery, that is the main beams and masonry, which cost £2,497, was completed by November, 1615. (The roof of the Gallery was a University liability and is not included in this account.) Payment for the rent of a quarry is included, but its site is not mentioned, nor are the names of any masons or carpenters given. It shows, however, that Bodley’s executors paid a fourth part of the expense of foundations and a fifth part of the ‘coare of the wall’ for the entire structure as these had to be increased and strengthened to bear the weight of a third storey. The payment of £52 3s. 8d. for ‘the stayre cases for the increase of height, thicknes, and for the mullett worke’ shows that the executors paid for a similar proportion of the staircases in the western corners of the quadrangle and bore the whole expense of the trefoil headed panelling cut to match the wall of Arts End; and another, sometimes disputed, feature of the original building is settled by the payment of £90 16s. for 32 double transome windowes. The note of Bennet’s expenditure shows that the timber for the Schools was bought from Lord Norris, this being, as at Wadham, oak from Cumnor.

Bennet’s note introduces the names of the masons, John Acroyde, paid £6 13s. 4d. for his coming out of Yorkesheire to Oxford building of the Schools’, and Michael Bentley. Three men have, posthumously at least,

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9 Ibid., fol. 169.
10 The building with its essential fittings (doors, locks, etc.) was finished in 1618, the date given on the waterpipe near the Library entrance (see also R. L. Poole, History of the University Archives, p. 17), but masons, glaziers, painters and smiths continued to be employed for another ten years on various parts of the building, and the accounts show an expenditure of just over £1,100 on fabric, fittings and paving in the period July, 1621 to July, 1624. One item in these accounts suggests that to the accountant the building programme seemed to be interminable. £38 was paid to ‘Jeremy Lawes of London in full discharge of all plummery done by him at the schooles from the beginning of the world to this day’.
11 Headington stone was used for the whole structure, see W. J. Arkell, Oxford Stone, passim.
12 It has been suggested that Bodley himself coined the phrase ‘mullet work’ for this form of decoration. His is the only use of the term recorded in N.E.D.
13 These form a conspicuous feature in Loggan’s engraving (pl. iv).
14 C. S. Gibson, ‘Brian Twyne’, Oxoniensia, v, p. 108. Timber for the Schools gates was bought in 1621-4 from Wytham.
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claimed the title of architect of the Schools; John Acroyde of Halifax, chief builder of Bodley's Arts End extension, described in a monumental inscription as 'chief builder of the Schools', John Bentley of Sowerby, Halifax, also employed on both buildings, described as 'novae parti bibliothecae novarumque scholarum architectus peritissimus', and Thomas Holt, another Yorkshireman, 'scholarum publicarum architectus', but, as Mrs. Lane Poole pointed out, there is no evidence that Holt was anything but a carpenter, and there is no evidence of any mason's bargains nor of any plans or models being made by Acroyde or Bentley to suggest that either could claim the credit of the general design. Indeed, it is doubtful if the term architect, as now understood, could be properly applied to any of those who were concerned in the Schools. In the letters which Bodley wrote to the University suggesting the rebuilding of the Schools there are no suggestions about the form of the proposed new building, but in Bodley's will, which is dated 2 January, 1613, it is assumed that a quadrangle is to be built. The decision to build a quadrangle was probably taken by the Delegacy appointed in April, 1612, which may have been influenced by suggestions made by Bodley and Bennet, but the form of the quadrangle must have been largely dictated by the University's desire to have a certain number of schools of a specified size erected on the site available, and by the necessity to harmonize the frontage with the eastward extension of the Library, which had just been completed. As Dr. Hawley received his honorary degree in October, 1613, it must have been mainly in recognition of his work in planning the building which was then in the early stages of construction and it is significant that when, in the 1630's, the faults in the building were all too obvious, Archbishop Laud, who as Chancellor of the University was well-informed on such matters, firmly blamed Hawley, and not any of the masons or carpenters employed by the University. The details, however, would have been left to the actual builders, and here there is much that is probably accidental, for the variation in details of the masonry, such as the external mouldings and the interior cusping, or lack of it, in the windows, is probably due partly to economies enforced

15 The Architect of the Schools and the Tower of the Five Orders (Bodleian Quarterly Record, m, 263). For biographical details, and particularly for the work of Acroyde and Bentley at Merton, see T. W. Hanson, Halifax builders in Oxford (Halifax Antiq. Soc., 1928, p. 253 seq.).
16 In a petition made in 1625 for balance of payment due to the widows of Thomas Holt and Thomas Austin the petitioners describe their late husbands as 'the carpenters that built the Schools'. (Univ. Arch. N.W.3.2.)
17 Cf. R. L. Poole, op. cit.
18 See p. 44.
19 It seems likely, however, as Mrs. Lane Poole suggested (op. cit.), that Sir Henry Savile may have suggested the design of the Tower, which bears a general resemblance to the slightly earlier structures at Merton and Wadham, and as Savile had brought Acroyde and Bentley from Halifax for the new building at Merton he may have influenced all their work at the Schools. (Cf. Hanson, op. cit., passim.)

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as the work progressed, and partly to the change in masons, for Acroyde
died six months after building began, John Bentley died in December, 1615,
and Michael Bentley in June, 1618.20

It is doubtful if Thomas Holt, had he survived even until 1625, would
have claimed the title of architect, because by then it was quite apparent
that the carpenters' work was generally bad and that the faulty design and
construction of the floors was aggravated by the use of unseasoned timber.
Brian Twyne had noted that the timber for the Schools came 'out of Cumnor
wood; being very goodly timber trees both for length and bignesse (as I
well remember, when they laye about the street in Catestreet . . . ) had they
not byn so much pared awaye and thereby very much empayred when they
came to be used'.21 Twyne was right in thinking that the bearing strength
of the main beams was insufficient when so much was cut away for mouldings.
But there were other faults in design, for the carpenters, anticipating a possible
weakness in the centre of the main beams in the wide span of the floors, intro­
duced at this point secondary longitudinal beams fixed to the main cross beams
by mortice and tenon joints. The cutting of the mortices may not have
reduced the bearing strength of the main beams, but when the unseasoned
timber shrank, the joints opened, and the longitudinal timbers ceased to per­
form any useful function, and merely added a further load at the weakest point
of the cross beams. The effects of this were soon seen, but the remedies
applied were themselves inefficient. As early as 1625 two 'arches' had
to be erected in the Philosophy School (in the south-west corner of the quad­
rangle) to support the floor of the Anatomy School,22 and clamps and bolts
were supplied to 'truss up' the floor of the Music School (then on the first
floor) which was also supported by arches. These arches were curved beams
braced from stone corbels, and similar beams and corbels were erected in
1627-28 to support the floors of the Astronomy, Geometry and Law Schools.
Next year the University began to buy trees from Brill and 'Paunsell'23 and
saplings (for scaffolding) from Tubney, which were used for the roof in 1630
when Thomas Mayoe, carpenter, was paid 'for a special peice of worke in
strengthening the southeast corner of the rooF of the schools gallery'. The
trouble in the roof may have been caused simply by the shrinkage and warping

20 The masons between them were probably responsible for one flaw in the building which does
not, however, seem to have affected its stability. The building must have been carelessly set out,
for in the south range the walls are out of square, and the floors slope slightly from end to end. The
misalignment of the masonry panelling and dripstones in the south-west corner of the quadrangle
is a more conspicuous example of careless workmanship.
21 S. Gibson, 'Brian Twyne', op. cit.
22 The following notes on repairs are based on the Vice-Chancellor's Schools accounts and the
receipts from workmen employed in the Schools. The receipts, dating mainly from 1625, are in the
University Archives (N.W.3.2).
23 Panshill, woodland at Boarstall.
of the beams, but the floors presented a more difficult problem and the University adopted three different expedients clearly summarized, and criticized, in a letter written on 13 April, 1638, by Archbishop Laud to the Vice-Chancellor: 'I am glad you and the Heads [of Houses] are sensible of the weakness of the Schools in the point of their timber, and certainly Dr. Hawley's memory will suffer in it, who was trusted with that work. I am of opinion ... that no other way than posts will secure the business, and there must be two posts in every school where there are more than one beam. I know there are other devices which carpenters may mention; but ... neither clamping with iron, nor bracers from the wall to the beams, or two half posts close to the wall can secure the middle of the beam, where the greatest weakness is, and where the danger will come.' When the south range of the quadrangle was prepared in 1946 for the installation of new steel and concrete floors all three methods which Laud dismissed as insufficient were found in the Schools, clamps, braces, and half-posts, close against the wall, wedged between the floor and the main beams of the ceiling. None of these gave the middle of the floors any effective support, and the possibility of all the floors collapsing was increased by the ravages of wood beetle, particularly in those parts of the beams where shrinkage had left open spaces round the timber at the mortice and tenon joints and where the ends rested in the walls.

The possibility of collapse was envisaged, prematurely perhaps, as early as 1630, for in the Laudian Code of Statutes, when the Schools Fund was made permanent, the University admitted that 'it has been since discovered that the whole fabric of the Schools is of bad material and there is some danger too of it coming down'. During the 19th century, as the Library took over the Schools, bookcases were erected from floor to ceiling under the middle of many of the main beams and the floors of most of the Schools were for the first time reasonably well supported, but the problem could only be solved in this way when the Schools had ceased to be used for their original purpose, and for nearly two hundred years the University spent money on unsatisfactory expedients. For some time it appears to have been thought that the foundations were at fault. The buttress at the north-west corner of the quadrangle was built about 1648, and in 1652 the Vice-Chancellor caused a post to be re-erected in Smith Gate to keep out heavy carriages from going through Cat Street to the end that the foundation of the Schooles might be

24 Laud, Works (1853), v, 195. Sir Edmund Craster first pointed out the interest and significance of this letter.
25 Laudian Cod, Tit. xx 6.4.
26 Plate v shows the original furnishing of one of the Schools, with inserted 'arches', and a corner of the same floor as fitted up for Library use.
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preserved ". This seems to have been misdirected effort, for the foundations and the walls of the building are of ample thickness and are built of good lime mortar and stone throughout their full thickness. There has never been any evidence of the walls in the south range settling because of insecure foundations, though there have been local settlements, chiefly on the interior faces, due to shrinkage of timber, and it must have been some such settlement which caused concern over the stability of the north range at the beginning of the 18th century when Wren was asked to comment on proposals made by local builders. These proposals, and Wren’s comments, are worth printing in detail, for they illustrate a more radical method of dealing with the floors, and show, too, how long-lived was the practice of using unseasoned timber and how Wren himself could advocate its use in a way best adapted to encourage dry-rot. The proposals are headed ‘To Sir Christopher Wren. 13 Febr 1708.’ The workmen at Oxford propose to save the north wall of the Publick Schooles from giving further than it has already done by anchoring it with iron in the same manner as Sir Christopher Wren proposed for the Divinity School and Publick Library . . . only in stead of iron bars one inch and an half square they propose flatt bars 3½ inches broad and full half inch thick. They propose three or four lengths joyned together as in the said paper VI. They propose to make two such anchorings, fixed to, or leaning upon the wall that separates the Jurisprudential School from the School; one immediately under the floor of the Gallery, the other at the floor of the Jurisprudential School.’

The beams of the floors of the forsaid Schooles being quite broken and cracked at the jointings, the carpenter proposes to take away the floors altogether, and in stead of two beams from wall to wall, to put in four strong, firm beams, half (or three quarters) thorough each wall, and to have no braces under them, which braces they conceive, contribute to thrust out the walls. That they may lay the beams so farr in upon both walls, they propose to cut one of the walls quite thorough, and bring in the beam thorough that hole. Nor doe they think that four such holes cut in every school will any ways weaken the wall; the outside being to be made up again immediately. The same they propose to doe with every other School as it falls."

28 Ibid., 1, 251.
29 In 1938 when the subway between the Old Library and the Broad Street building was made, the foundations at the west end of the north wall were uncovered and found to be perfect.
30 Contemporary transcripts in MS. Bodl. 9077, fols. 24, 25.
31 A diagram by Wren (MS. Bodl. 9077, fols. 13, 14), illustrating joints he employed in strengthening the Divinity School and Duke Humphrey’s Library, 1699-1700. Some of Wren’s papers relating to the Divinity School are printed from this MS. in Oxoniæ, iii, p. 16 seq.
32 Blank in MS. Presumably the Schola Linguarum, east of the Schola Jurisprudentiae, is meant.
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The comments on these proposals are dated from London on 25 March.

‘Sir Christopher Wren, in answer to a paper sent him by Dr. Charleu, approves of anchoring the walls together as the workmen propose, and as he had formerly directed in his advice about the roof of the Divinity School. But he says the flatt barrs of iron are very fallacious, and unless they are closed by strong fires and mighty sledges they are not to be depended on. That if the forges at Oxford can not make barrs of one inch and a half square, he does advise taking barrs already forged of an inch square. That in the general Spanish iron is best, and Swedish iron better than English. He rather preferes two anchorings immediately under the floor of the Gallery, than one there and one at the floor of the Law School.’

‘He is absolutely for taking away the floors that now are, and putting new ones in their place. He says that in floors of 30 or 32 feet broad (such as are those of the Schools) the beams must not be above 6 feet or at most seven assunder; and that he finds that beams of firr or deal are stouter and doe not bow and swagg in the middle as doe the oaken beams. He says that seeing the windows are broader than 6 or 7 feet the beams must be laid over the arches of the windows, and the arches equally burdened at equal distances from their tops. He says furthermore that a floor of 32 feet broad in the clear, must be two feet thick or little short of this, for the joysses must be laid over the beams without mortoises or tenures [tenons]. All these things will make the upper Schooles not quite so high as now they be, but this cannot be helped. He says that if the beam be lett a foot into each wall, it is enough, and there fore it will not be necessary to cutt one of the walls quite thourough. He would not have the wall behind the end of the beam built up, though it could be done, for there must be room left for evacuating the sap at leasure. Each beam must lye upon a piece of wood in the wall.’

‘He thinks the roof of the Schooles is not good, and may have contributed to thrust over the walls. He reckons three thousand pounds would new floor and roof the whole Schooles.’

Some of the iron rods in the north range probably date from this time. At a later date additional support was given to the floor of what is now the Upper Reading Room and at the beginning of this century the west end of that floor was specially strengthened to carry the weight of the main catalogue, but the floors were not renewed and the original beams still remain in place.

It was probably because the University suffered so much from faulty workmanship and materials in the building of the Schools that an attempt

33 Wren had been misinformed. The outside width of the building is approximately 31 ft. 6 in.; the span of the floors is only 24 ft. The original main cross beams, still existing in the north range, are 11 ft. apart.
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seems to have been made more efficiently to plan the other buildings envisaged in Bodley's will. As early as 1623 delegates were appointed to consider 'de modulo frontispicii Bibliothecae publicae in parte occidentali versus Collegium Exon' , but no immediate action was taken, and Hackwell, as the surviving executor, continued to urge the University to undertake the western extension and the building of the staircase, by which means he hoped to be relieved of his charge, for in 1630 he was still holding £274 of the original bequest. Hackwell's insistence on the provision of a new staircase is in some ways surprising for the staircases leading to the Gallery from the Schools quadrangle were already built, and if openings had been cut through the walls of Arts End they would have provided an alternative to the inconvenient turret staircase at the western end, and they would have had the further advantage of giving young graduates access to Arts End without disturbance to the senior graduates in Duke Humphrey. Though Bodley did not, in his will, specify the site of his proposed staircase, Hackwell's request for something other than an approach from the quadrangle implies that Bodley intended a more commodious and ceremonial entrance to be built in conjunction with the western extension, and that this was still the general opinion is proved by the appointment of another Delegacy on 12 May, 1632, to consider the new building and the erection of a staircase. Finding what Wood calls 'inconsiderable encouragement' in the Bodleian estate, the University issued another public appeal for funds which, with the now flourishing Schools account, brought enough to allow the University to proceed. As early as November, 1632, the University purchased an area to the north of the Schools 'in usum reponendi trabes et marmora pro structura graduum qui deservirent Bibliothecae Publicae', and caused Hugh Davis, the mason, to produce what he called 'the greate moddell for a stayer - case intended at the west end of the Librarie '. The bill which Davis presented to the University in 1634 shows that the University was now considerably concerned with its building plans, for not only was there the great model, made with timber, pasteboard and paper, but four other pasteboard models, two ground-plots of the proposed staircase, 

35 Convoc. Reg. R. fol. 27.
36 Among the receipts for the Schools is an undated 'note of the carpenters worke about the Schools'. This note, which appears to relate to a petition made in 1625 by Thomas Holt's widow, refers to work done about 1617-18, and includes four items relating to staircases in the quadrangle: £100 for sawing, framing, carriage and setting upp two peire of great staires , £22 for 'two other peires of staires', £6 for 'two floore in two of the staire cases' and £24 for 'faire roofs over the 4 staire cases'. The great stairs are those leading up to the Library and Gallery. The other two stairs, in the east corners of the quadrangle, led only to the first floor; on the second storey level were two separate rooms entered from the Gallery.
37 Convoc. Reg. R. fol. 46.
38 Ibid., fol. 519.
39 Univ. Arch. N.W.3.2(158).
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an 'upright drawght' of the west front of the Library and, later, a ground-plot of the new Convocation House. Davis also claimed payment for three weeks' residence in London showing his great model to 'my Lords Grace (Archbishop Laud), to Mr. Controuler (the Controller of the King's Household) and Mr. William Hackwell'. When the University decided to build a Convocation House on the ground floor at the western end, with the Library extension above, the plan for a new western staircase was abandoned, and then, and not until then apparently was entrance into the Library made through Arts End from the staircases leading up from the Schools quadrangle.\(^{40}\)

ADDENDUM

Since this article was written work on the entrance to the first floor room (the old Anatomy School) on the south-west staircase has disclosed the head of the arch of the original doorway and a wall-plate of the original landing.\(^{41}\) These are from 18 in. to 2 ft. higher than the present levels, and they clearly show that the staircases built c. 1617 must have been differently aligned from those now in use. When the old turret stairs at the west end of the Library were removed c. 1634 the staircases from the quadrangle may have had to be modified to provide landing spaces at Arts End level. The subsequent history of the staircases cannot yet be traced in detail, but the style of the existing work suggests that the present staircases were erected at an even later date in the 17th century. A more important discovery, that of the frieze painted in the Picture Gallery in 1618, has been reported in the Illustrated London News (26 November, 1949) and is the subject of an article by Mr. J. N. L. Myres to be published in the Bodleian Library Record, vol. III, no. 30.

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\(^{40}\) Cf. Wood, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 938 seq. The foundation stone of the new Convocation House was laid on 13 May, 1634. The building accounts of the Convocation House and Selden End are printed in Wood, \textit{Life and Times}, ed. Clark, iv, p. 53 seq.

\(^{41}\) Mr. A. T. Kennard, Clerk of Works in charge of the reconstruction of the Schools Quadrangle, kindly pointed this out to me.
THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY AND THE SCHOOLS (looking north)

From Loggan, Oxonia Illustrata (1675)
A. Schola Linguarum, the eastern half of the first floor of the north range of the quadrangle. Drawing, dated 8 March 1781, looking west, showing original furniture of the School, and braces (? late 17th century) to the cross beams. (MS. Top. Oxon. d. 281, fol. 137.)

B. Photograph taken c. 1939, showing part of the north-east corner of the same floor, fitted up for Library use with bookcases supporting the floor above.

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