

Building Work on the North Range of the Front Quadrangle of St. Edmund Hall, 1741–8

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SUMMARY

*The discovery in an Accounts- and Letter-Book of Robert Thomlinson, who was the main benefactor of St. Edmund Hall during the reconstruction of the north range of its front quadrangle during the 1740s, of a series of letters and other items from Thomas Shaw, then principal of the Hall, has made possible a precise dating of the stages in which the work was undertaken. The eastern half of the range was refurbished by Shaw in 1741, largely at his own expense. The construction of the western half, thereafter known as the Thomlinson Building, was begun in 1746 and was essentially complete by the end of 1747. In conjunction with St. Edmund Hall's Book of Benefactors, Shaw's papers show how he raised the funds to complete the Thomlinson Building, as well as the problems that he encountered. There are details of the building costs. Shaw's letters also make clear the significance for the building work of the Oxford University Almanack for 1747, which depicted St. Edmund Hall and a number of its alumni and benefactors, including Thomlinson. The paper concludes with an edition of Shaw's letters and associated items.**

Between 1659 and 1748, three principals of St. Edmund Hall were mainly responsible for building work in what is now its front quadrangle, to which work the quadrangle, except for its south side, largely owes its present appearance.¹ In each case, an outstanding principal undertook the erection of a new building of character and usefulness. Each contributed handsomely to the cost and successfully solicited considerable donations from former members of the Hall and present well-wishers, taking care that their generosity should be suitably recorded. In 1659, Thomas Tullie (1658–76) rebuilt the refectory or dining hall and rooms above it. He recorded the money that was subscribed in what Anthony Wood (1632–85) said was 'a fair character on parchment, & set in a table of wood hanging still in ye Principal's Lodgings'; Wood copied the list of benefactions, according to

* The following abbreviations are used: AA: *Archaeologia Aetiana*; BB: *Book of Benefactors* of St. Edmund Hall, now in the Hall's archives; BL: British Library; Bodl.: Bodleian Library; DNB: *The Dictionary of National Biography*, edd. L. Stephen and S. Lee, 21 vols. (London, 1908–9); Foster 1500–1714: J. Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses: the Members of the University of Oxford, 1500–1714*, 4 vols. (Oxford and London, 1891–2); Foster 1715–1886: J. Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses: the Members of the University of Oxford, 1715–1886*, 4 vols. (Oxford and London, 1888); GL: Guildhall Library; Hearne, *Collections: Remarks and Collections of Thomas Hearne*, edd. C.E. Doble, D.W. Rannie, H.E. Salter, and others, 11 vols., OHS 1885–1921; LB: *The Principal's Ledger Book* of St. Edmund Hall, now in the Hall's Archives; OHS: Oxford Historical Society; PCC: Prerogative Court of Canterbury; PRO: Public Record Office; RCHM Oxford: *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments England: an Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City of Oxford* (London, 1939); SEH: St. Edmund Hall; SEHM: *The St. Edmund Hall Magazine*; Venn: J. and J.A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses, i: to 1751*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1922–7).

¹ For the buildings of the Hall, see RCHM Oxford, pp. 100–3 with Plates 171, 182; A.B. Emden, 'St. Edmund Hall', *Victoria History of the County of Oxford*, iii (1954), 319–35, esp. 322–4 with Plates opposite p. 324; J. Sherwood and N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Oxfordshire* (1974), pp. 191–4 with Plate 80.

which Tullie contributed some £200.² The dining hall occupied most of the west end of the quadrangle. Between 1680 and 1688, there was constructed at its east end the chapel with a library over the antechapel which was planned and for the most part built and furnished by Stephen Penton (1676–84); his work was completed by John Mill (1685–1707). Penton, who himself contributed a generous but unspecified sum, instituted the Hall's magnificent Book of Benefactors to record donations, making entries in it retrospective to 1659 so that it perpetuated the record from Tullie's time which hung in the principal's lodgings.³ The north range of the quadrangle was partly restored and partly built during the 1740s by Thomas Shaw (1740–51). Although the Book of Benefactors contains a detailed record of the benefactions which made this work possible,⁴ there has hitherto been uncertainty about the dates of the two stages of Shaw's work. In 1939, the Inventory of Oxford buildings published by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments said only that 'The *N. Range* . . . is of two dates, the eastern half of late 16th-century date and the western of c. 1741',⁵ and its date for the western half has been widely accepted.⁶ As early as 1927, A.B. Emden had deduced that the medieval buildings which Shaw replaced were demolished 'about 1746', probably because he had in mind a copy of the document which is edited as no. 7A at the end of this paper; however, in 1954, Emden showed caution in assigning precise dates to the stages of Shaw's work.⁷ Fresh evidence has recently come to light which enables dates to be confidently assigned: Shaw rehabilitated the eastern half of the north range in 1741; in 1746 he began a rebuilding of the eastern half which was largely complete by the end of 1747. It is the purpose of this paper to publish this evidence and to discuss the light that it sheds upon how Shaw's building works in the 1740s were financed and carried out.

The evidence is to be found in one of two manuscript books which belonged to a sometime member of St. Edmund Hall, the Rev. Dr. Robert Thomlinson.⁸ The books have been placed on deposit by the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne in the Northumberland Record Office at North Gosforth, where they bear the references ZAN M13 C7 and ZAN M17/67. The first contains accounts and letters which mostly date from the 1720s, 1730s, and early 1740s; it is only partly paginated. The second and larger book, which is paginated throughout, comprises letters and other material which mostly relate to Thomlinson's charitable interests in Cumbria between 1743 and 1745.

Largely upon the strength of an entry in St. Edmund Hall's Book of Benefactors, his munificent contribution towards Shaw's building work there in the 1740s has always been

² For Wood's transcription of the list, see Bodl. MS. Wood F. 28, fo. 382. According to Wood, the parchment comprised three columns, the first of which was of benefactions made in 1659–60 for the new Refectory, while the other two recorded donations of silver, books, and other items between 1664 and 1674; he transcribed the whole on fos. 382–5. He also referred to the parchment in *The History and Antiquities of the Colleges and Halls of the University of Oxford*, ed. J. Gutch (Oxford, 1786), p. 667 n. 30, with a summary of the items in the first column. The entries on the parchment were the source of *BB* pp. 1–16.

³ *BB* pp. 17–42. On the work of 1680–8, see A.B. Emden, *An Account of the Chapel and Library Building, St. Edmund Hall, Oxford* (Oxford, 1932).

⁴ *BB* pp. 51–9.

⁵ *RCHM Oxford*, p. 102.

⁶ e.g. by Sherwood and Pevsner, *Oxfordshire*, p. 192.

⁷ A.B. Emden, *An Oxford Hall in Medieval Times* (Oxford, 1927, repr., with a new preface and supplement, 1968), pp. 182–3; cf. 'St. Edmund Hall', p. 324.

⁸ I am most grateful to Mr G.E. Milburn, of Sunderland, for drawing this source to my attention, and to the County Archivist, Mrs A.M. Burton, and her staff for their help. Permission to publish the items at the end of this article has kindly been granted by the Council of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne, to which and particularly to its Secretary, Mr D. Cutts, I express my warm thanks.

recognized.⁹ By then, he was a septuagenarian who was suffering from increasing blindness.¹⁰ He was born in 1668, the son of Richard Thomlinson of Aikhead (Cumberland); he married Martha Ray in 1702 and died on 24 March 1748. At Oxford, he matriculated from Queen's College in 1686; he graduated Bachelor of Arts from St. Edmund Hall in 1689 and Master of Arts in 1692. He became a Doctor of Divinity at Cambridge in 1719. He is commonly stated to have been for a time vice-principal of St. Edmund Hall. If this was so, it must have been for a brief period before 1691, since White Kennett appears to have held the office from that year until 1695.¹¹ However, the statement in the Book of Benefactors that Thomlinson was formerly John Mill's 'most diligent *coadjutor* in instructing the young' may mean no more than that he was a tutor; in the absence of further evidence, his vice-principalship must be regarded as uncertain.¹² In 1695, he became rector of Brockley (Somerset) and in 1709 vicar of Eglington (Northumberland). From 1712 until his death, he was rector of Whickham (Co. Durham), a village across the River Tyne a few miles south-west of Newcastle. He also held a lectureship at St. Nicholas's Church and the mastership of St. Mary's Hospital at Newcastle. In 1719, he became a prebendary of St. Paul's Cathedral, London.

Thomlinson, who seems to have been childless, was thus a rich man, and he gave himself unstintingly to charitable works and benefactions. To give only examples, he was an early member and staunch supporter of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge. At Oxford, he gave £100 towards the extensive building work which was being undertaken at Queen's College.¹³ He was, however, mainly concerned with his native Cumbria and with

⁹ 'Robertus Thomlinson S.T.P. Rector de Whickham in agro Dunelmensi, nec non Ecclesiae Divi Pauli apud Londinenses Prebendarius, olim Joanni Millio hujusce Aulae Principali literatissimo in Adolescentibus instruendis Coadjutor diligentissimus, ne plus quam dimidia pars hujusce Aulae, jam lapsura, funditus corrueret, ut eadem nova a fundamentis ipsius extrueretur, pro insigni sua Liberalitate et Munificentia D.D. Ducentas Libras': *BB* p. 54. The initial R is decorated with a drawing of the new building.

¹⁰ Thomlinson's career is summarized by Foster 1500-1714, iv.1494, and Venn, iv.249. For fuller details, see W. Shand, 'Memoir of Dr Thomlinson', *AA* NS x (1885), 59-79, and 'Researches into the Family Relationships of the Rev. Robert Thomlinson', *AA* NS xv (1892), 340-63; E.H. Adamson, 'Some Further Notices of Dr Thomlinson, the Founder of the Thomlinson Library', *AA* NS x (1885), 80-7. There are many references to Robert Thomlinson between 1717 and 1722 in the diary of the Rev. John Thomlinson: London, BL MS. Addit. 22560, edited by J.C. Hodgson in *Six North Country Diaries*, Surtees Society, cxviii (1910), 64-167; cf. C.M. Lowther Bouch, 'The Family of Thomlinson of Blencogo', *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, NS xlv (1945), 119-25. For Thomlinson's epitaph in Whickham church, with a list of benefactions, see R. Surtees, *The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham*, 4 vols. (London, 1816-40, repr. Wakefield, 1972), ii. 240. Thomlinson's blindness, which seems to have been progressive, is referred to in his Letter-Books. In the second, he wrote on 16 Feb. 1743 that 'I am now in the 76th year of my age have been blind near 8 years and go no whither but to the House of God': pp. 809-10. In an unpaginated part of the first book, there is an opinion of the London physician Sir Hans Sloane about cataracts and other ophthalmic problems. Blindness no doubt accounts for the dearth in the Letter-Books of material which dates from after 1745. For a study of Whickham in modern times, D. Levine and K. Wrightson, *Making of an Industrial Society: Whickham 1560-1765* (1991); Robert Thomlinson's incumbency is referred to at pp. 325, 370-4.

¹¹ For Kennett's vice-principalship, see G.V. Bennett, *White Kennett 1660-1728, Bishop of Peterborough* (London, 1957), pp. 13, 18.

¹² In his manuscript notes, A.B. Emden cautiously assigned no dates to Thomlinson's tenure of the office: SEH Archives, Historical Collections, no. 5: Notes on Vice-Principals of St. Edmund Hall, c. 1612-1705. The last known reference to a vice-principal before 1691 is to Richard Codrington on 23 June 1688: *LB* p. 337; the succession of vice-principals during John Mill's early years as principal is very obscure. For the use of tutors at the Hall, see Emden, 'St. Edmund Hall', p. 330. I acknowledge once and for all my debt to Emden's manuscript notes which are preserved in the SEH Archives, especially Historical Collections, nos 2 and 3: Notes on Principals, 1610-1685 and 1685-1857.

¹³ An entry in the Book of Benefactors of Queen's College runs: 'Robertus Tomlinson S.T.P. Rector de Whickham in Com. Dunelmensi huius Collegii olim Alumnus ex innata erga Matricem suam Academicam Pietate D.D. Centum Libras ad Aedificia promovenda' (p. 99); the receipt of this sum is recorded in the College's Building Account Book 1720-1770 under the year Aug. 1733 to Aug. 1734 (p. 31). (I am grateful to Mr J. Kaye, Keeper of the Archives at Queen's College, for this information.)

Newcastle, near which he spent most of his ministerial life. Much of his first Letter-Book records his activities as executor of his elder brother John, rector of Rothbury (Northumberland),¹⁴ which included the setting up of a hospital at Wigton (Cumberland) for widows of poor clergy, to which he himself also contributed. At Newcastle, he took a leading part in setting up a public library which was opened in 1741 and which bore his name. Much of his second Letter-Book is concerned with the building, against intense Dissenting opposition, of a chapel-of-ease at Allonby (Cumberland) for which he provided the money and which was completed in 1744 and consecrated in 1745 by the sometime St. Edmund Hall undergraduate, Sir George Fleming, Bt, bishop of Carlisle.¹⁵ By 1744 Thomlinson had seen most of his charitable works brought to successful fruition. But he was not minded to rest content with what he had done. His second Letter-Book preserves an exchange of letters in May 1744 between him and his exact contemporary at Queen's, Edmund Gibson, bishop of London (1723–48). Thomlinson reviewed his many benefactions in the past, and with an expression of profound religious fervour he dedicated himself to seeking fresh good causes as part of his final preparations for the meeting with his Maker which could not be long delayed.¹⁶

Of this resolve, St. Edmund Hall became the principal beneficiary. How this occurred is shown by a series of letters and other material from Thomas Shaw, principal of St. Edmund Hall, beginning in March 1745, which are pasted into some unnumbered pages at the end of Thomlinson's first Letter-Book.¹⁷ They provide a commentary upon his munificence to St. Edmund Hall which is commemorated in its Book of Benefactors.

Thomas Shaw, who approached him at so opportune a time, was a remarkable character.¹⁸ Born at Kendal and therefore another Cumbrian, he was educated at Queen's. From 1720 to 1733 he was chaplain to the English factory, that is, to the merchant community, at Algiers; he travelled extensively in Barbary and the Levant. After returning to a Queen's College living, he published his *Travels or Observations Relating to Several Parts of Barbary and the Levant* (Oxford, 1738) in which he recorded his meticulous observations of topography and antiquities, animal taxonomy, and geology. There is confirmation that, when Shaw was admitted as principal of St. Edmund Hall in November 1740, its buildings were as dilapidated as he was to describe in the first of his letters to Thomlinson. His predecessor as principal, Henry Felton (1722–40), was a considerable preacher and writer on divinity and the classics.¹⁹ But the antiquary Thomas Hearne (1678–1735), who was resident in St. Edmund Hall for many years before his death, bewailed the erosion of discipline,²⁰ while the Hall's Buttery Books for the 1730s show that, during Felton's final years, matriculations virtually ceased.

It was not that Felton was slack on the Hall's behalf. Like many active principals, he wished to be remembered by the buildings that he had constructed. Hearne observed that,

¹⁴ John Thomlinson (1651–1720) was rector of Rothbury 1678–1720. For his career, see Venn, iv. 248.

¹⁵ For the chapel at Allonby, see W. Hutchinson, *The History of the County of Cumberland*, 2 vols (Carlisle, 1794–7), ii. 296–7. For Fleming, bishop of Carlisle 1734–47, see Foster 1500–1714, ii. 507; Emden, 'St. Edmund Hall', pp. 330–1. The connections of his family with Queen's College and St. Edmund Hall between 1650 and 1700 are the subject of *The Flemings at Oxford*, ed. J.R. Magrath, 3 vols, OHS 1904–24.

¹⁶ pp. 401–12.

¹⁷ Edited below, pp. 296–304. The numbers on the back of Items 1, 2, 4, 6, and 8 suggest that they were originally collected in a different order.

¹⁸ For Shaw, see Foster 1500–1714, iv. 1341; *DNB* xvii. 1384–5.

¹⁹ For Felton, see Foster 1500–1714, ii. 491; *DNB* vi. 1169.

²⁰ Hearne, *Collections*, viii. 41, 50, 69, 94, ix. 63, 69–70, 309, x. 150, xi. 24, 254. For Hearne's life, see Foster 1500–1714, ii. 685; *DNB* ix. 335–8.

in 1727, he was preparing plans for the complete rebuilding of the north range of the front quadrangle;²¹ Hearne's disquiet must have been the greater since this would have involved the demolition of his own chambers. An engraving in 1733 of the proposed elevation of the new buildings shows that Felton intended to replace both the north range and the early 17th-century cottage to the south of the chapel, which was known as the vice-principal's lodgings, by classical buildings with sheer walls topped by balustrades to the height of the roof-line of Tullie's dining-hall range; they would have been considerably higher than Penton's chapel and library.²² Felton's running down of undergraduate numbers may have been in preparation for this building work, which would scarcely have been feasible with men in residence. He may not have been as absolutely unsuccessful as is generally believed in raising money towards this transformation.²³ But he did not raise enough even to begin it, and St. Edmund Hall was spared a rebuilding which would have been overpowering and out of proportion with the work of Tullie and Penton.

Immediately upon becoming principal, Shaw embarked upon a programme of rehabilitation of the buildings of the Hall which was more prudently conceived than Felton's and which involved no stylistic change or demolition of the structurally sounder buildings of the north side of the quadrangle. An entry in the Book of Benefactors makes it clear that he proceeded at his own expense, to the extent of some £400.²⁴ Shaw's initial approach to Thomlinson in 1745 indicates that he first undertook repairs and decoration of a major kind in all parts of the Hall, including those built by Tullie and Penton. Much of his expense was upon the eastern half of the north range of the quadrangle which had been well built c. 1596 by Thomas Bowsfield (principal 1581-1601).²⁵ The letter makes it clear that Shaw had also intended to extend Bowsfield's building westwards to Queen's Lane, using for his foundation the walls of the buttery and kitchen which dated from the principalships of John Thamys (c. 1438-c. 1459) and Thomas Lee (c. 1438-c. 1470).²⁶ As may be seen from David Loggan's print of 1675 and from his plan of Oxford of the same year, the 15th-century buildings formed a low structure which left the north-west end of the quadrangle incomplete. But no funds were available for this work. Shaw's best efforts to raise more money had met with no response when he first approached Thomlinson in March 1745.

Thomlinson's exchange of letters with Edmund Gibson in the previous May indicates that he was open to be persuaded to great generosity towards a needy institution such as St. Edmund Hall. Some persuasion was, no doubt, necessary; it was Queen's, not St. Edmund Hall, which he had already favoured, and such evidence as there is in his Letter-Books

²¹ Hearne, *Collections*, ix. 373.

²² W. Williams, *Oxonia Depicta* (Oxford, 1732-3), Plate 61; the plate is dedicated to Felton, and survives in more than one version with minor differences.

²³ An undated entry from Shaw's time in *BB* p. 53 records that Sir Thomas Reeve, of Windsor, contributed forty guineas 'ad aream hujusce Aulae amplificandam et ornandam'. If this refers to the judge of that name who died in 1737, the benefaction must have been settled during Felton's principalship. For Sir Thomas Reeve, see Foster 1500-1714, iii. 1244; *DNB* xvi. 857.

²⁴ 'Thomas Shaw S.T.P. hujus Aulae Principalis ad reficienda Aedificia, jam prope collapsa, nec non ad Capellam, Refectorium, et Hospitia exornanda impendit plus minus Quadringentas Libras A.D. MDCCXLV: p. 51. It should be remembered that a principal could be empowered by the vice-chancellor of the university to dispose of plate and money in order to build, as was Penton in 1679: Bodl. MS. Wood F. 28, fos. 380-1.

²⁵ Emden, 'St. Edmund Hall', pp. 322, 327. The junction between the 16th- and 18th-century parts of the north range can today be seen from the quadrangle by a vertical line in the masonry just east of the sundial, and, better, from the churchyard on the north side of the range. See also the photograph of the north range from the quadrangle before its restoration in 1931 in *SEHM* iii (1932), facing p. 18.

²⁶ For the 15th-century buildings, see Emden, *An Oxford Hall*, pp. 170-2, 181-4. The relevant part of Loggan's plan is reproduced on p. 183; for the print, see Emden, 'St. Edmund Hall', Plate facing p. 324. The evidence of the plan and the print for the north-west corner of the Hall is not altogether easy to reconcile.

indicates that it was upon Queen's that his thoughts at first settled when they reverted to his Oxford days.²⁷ It does not seem that Shaw was well acquainted with him, for it was not until Shaw addressed his second letter to him that he adopted Thomlinson's accustomed spelling of his surname. Yet there were links. Shaw and Thomlinson had Cumbrian backgrounds in common, and when Thomlinson was building his chapel at Allonby he dealt with a bishop of Carlisle, Sir George Fleming, who was a St. Edmund Hall man. Shaw and Thomlinson had friends in common, such as the London physician Sir Hans Sloane, whom Thomlinson consulted about his health while Shaw wrote him many letters on scientific and other matters.²⁸ Whatever the importance of such circumstances in creating a favourable background for an approach by Shaw, his letters as preserved in Thomlinson's Letter-Book make it clear that the principal intermediary between them was a friend of Shaw named Dr. Askew (below, nos. 1, 2, probably 3, 4, 6, 8).²⁹ He was almost certainly the Newcastle upon Tyne physician Adam Askew (1694–1773), who had resided in that town since 1725. Askew, too, had Cumbrian connections.³⁰ He was married to Ann Crackanthorp of Newbiggen Hall (Westmorland), and his eldest son, Anthony, was born in 1722 at Kendal, where Adam was then resident.³¹ In Newcastle, Askew's practice thrived, so that he became known as the Radcliffe of the north; he is said to have built himself houses in Westgate Street, Newcastle, and in Thomlinson's parish of Whickham.³² The origins of Askew's friendship with Shaw are not known, but in the 1740s his second son was at St. Edmund Hall – another Adam Askew whose name appears, in a variety of spellings, in its Buttery Books from 1742 to 1756.³³ Conversations at Whickham with the younger Adam Askew may have revived Robert Thomlinson's memories of the Hall and acquainted him with the personality and plans of its principal. Moreover, between 1746 and 1749, Anthony Askew travelled in the Levant;³⁴ the family may have sought Shaw's preliminary advice about the hazards and opportunities of travel there. At all events, the elder Adam Askew's good offices with Thomlinson left him well disposed towards St. Edmund Hall and prepared the way for Shaw's first approach of 30 March 1745 (below, no. 1). By 14 February 1746, Shaw received from Thomlinson the promise of a benefaction of £100. He accompanied his acknowledgement of it with a plea for further help at which Thomlinson may have hinted. If it were forthcoming, by the end of the summer a new building over the kitchen and buttery might be completed which would bear Thomlinson's name (no. 2).

²⁷ e.g. his correspondence in 1744 with Gibson.

²⁸ For Thomlinson's consultations with Sloane, see, besides that referred to above, note 10, BL MS. Sloane 4077, fos. 271r–274v. For Shaw's letters to Sloane from Algiers (1729–30), Naples (1732), and Queen's (1735), see MSS. Sloane 3986, fos. 45r–75v; 4051, fo. 156r–v; 4052, fos. 210r–211v; 4054, fos. 74v–75v.

²⁹ Hereafter, numbers thus indicated in the text refer to the material edited below, pp. 296–304.

³⁰ The Askews were a northern family, for which see *Burke's Landed Gentry*, 3 vols. (18th edn., London, 1965–72), i. 25–6. Its medical members are listed by P.J. and R.V. Wallis, *Eighteenth Century Medics* (2nd edn., Newcastle upon Tyne, 1988), p. 17. For Adam Askew senior, see Venn, i. 48; also studies of his more famous eldest son, the London physician and bibliophile Anthony Askew (1722–74), esp. W. Macmichael, *The Gold-Headed Cane* (London 1827, new edn. 1968), pp. 119–32; W. Munk, *The Roll of the Royal College of Physicians of London, ii: 1701 to 1800* (2nd edn., London, 1878), pp. 185–9; H. Barnes, 'On Anthony Askew, M.D., F.R.S., and his Library', *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine*, ix (1916), 23–7; *DNB* i.664–5; Venn, i.48. (I am grateful to Ms H.B. Sutton, of the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, and to Mr A. Welton, of Carlisle Library, for information about the Askews.)

³¹ Anthony's baptism was entered as follows in the Kendal Parish Registers: '1722, March 7. Antho. son of Dr Adam Askew and Ann his wife of Market Place bapt.'; Barnes, 'On Anthony Askew', p. 23. The Askews were clearly resident in Kendal.

³² P.M. Horsley, *Eighteenth-Century Newcastle* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1971), pp. 122–4; neither dates nor documentary references are given.

³³ Foster 1715–1886, i.36.

³⁴ Macmichael, *The Gold-Headed Cane*, pp. 119–21; Munk, *The Roll*, pp. 185–6.

Events now developed quickly; Shaw's correspondence with Thomlinson, when compared with the St. Edmund Hall Book of Benefactors, shows that the Thomlinson Building was planned, financed, and at least virtually completed between the spring of 1746 and the end of 1747. Thomlinson's promised £100 arrived by 13 March 1746 (no. 4). After Shaw could say that it was coming, he had begun to receive other sums of money. By 25 March, £20 had come from the bishop of Carlisle, Sir George Fleming. Ten other gentlemen promised a pound each, so that Shaw could claim to have available a sum of £131 10s. 0d. (no. 4). He procured building estimates of approximately £300 for completing the work or of £200 for constructing a weatherproof shell. He sent Thomlinson a 'Plan and Ichnography', or ground-plan, and an elevation of the projected building, and he made clear his urgent need of another £70 (nos. 4, 7A). Early in May, Thomlinson responded with the promise of a further £50 which would be forthcoming at Lammastide (1 August). Shaw therefore felt confident of being able to go far towards completing his new buildings, especially because he had collected another sixty-three guineas, including five each from John Potter, archbishop of Canterbury (1737-47), Edmund Gibson, bishop of London, and Thomas Secker, bishop of Oxford (1737-58) (no. 5).

Then, during the summer of 1746, Shaw ran into a difficulty. He had counted upon the medieval foundations and walls of the kitchen and buttery being sufficiently strong for them to be retained to a height of some five or six feet and for the new building to be erected upon them. They proved to be unsuitable for this, and had to be almost entirely demolished.³⁵ Moreover, costs in general had risen far above the initial estimates. Overall, the sum of £278 had already been expended; it was only £22 short of the original costing of £300. For work to go ahead, another £120 or so would be necessary. On 19 November, Shaw laid this situation before Thomlinson (no. 6). He did not ask him outright for more money, but he made it clear that he had responded to the crisis by redoubling, and not without success, his own fund-raising efforts. He had prepared a 'Representation', or account of the situation that had arisen, which he had circulated to friends in order to raise more money, while he had himself contributed more than twenty pounds (no. 7A). He caused to be listed on the back of the 'Representation' the benefactions that he had so far received and (he said) registered in the Book of Benefactors (7B);³⁶ with his own £20 2s., a figure that was evidently chosen to balance the account, the total of the benefactions, £278 5s., was exactly equal to that of expenditure to date (7B, cf. 7A). It was clear that the coffers were empty.

Shaw's letter of 19 November and his 'Representation' elicited from Thomlinson the response that Shaw no doubt intended: he quickly sent another £50 which Shaw acknowledged on 10 December (no. 8). Others, too, now contributed; when Shaw eventually had entered in the Book of Benefactors the record of those who contributed in 1746 and 1747 to the work of refurbishing and rebuilding, he could considerably extend his list of November 1746. Excluding Shaw's contributions but including Thomlinson's £200, the grand total amounts to £451 16s.; after the 'Representation' was prepared, a further £173 11s. had come in.³⁷ As a modern appeal director would claim, the target in the final phase of £120 had been massively exceeded. Most of the benefactions came in during 1747 (no. 8), and while the progress of building cannot be exactly followed, it is probable that the structural work was completed in that year, while the new rooms were comfortably furnished then or very soon after (no. 8, 9).

³⁵ Of the 15th-century buildings, only a single fireplace in the well of the buttery remains visible today.

³⁶ They were clearly in fact entered later; e.g. Thomlinson's benefaction was entered in its final sum of £200.

³⁷ *BB* pp. 51-9.

Shaw's letters thus securely establish that the 'Thomlinson Building' was built in 1746-7, and they show the steps by which he induced Thomlinson, by the last major benefaction of his long life, to provide nearly half the cost.

A further matter arising from the letters remains to be considered. They disclose that there was a close connection between the raising of money for the Thomlinson Building and the preparation of the Oxford Almanack for 1747 which featured St. Edmund Hall and its alumni and benefactors.³⁸ Shaw made skilful use of the almanack to seek money for his building plans. A few remarks may finally be made about how the almanack was designed and how it is to be interpreted.

Shaw's letter to Thomlinson of 14 February, thanking him for his first gift of £100, shows that by this time the choice of St. Edmund Hall as the illustration of the almanack for 1747 had been settled. The sketch or drawing for the almanack was basically complete;³⁹ it must soon go to the engraver, named upon the almanack as George Vertue, who from 1727 to 1751 engraved all university almanacks except those for 1732 and 1733.⁴⁰ Shaw was evidently concerned to use university almanacks to his advantage by stimulating further benefactions; major benefactors should be rewarded by what is today called 'name recognition'. He at once sent Thomlinson the almanack for 1746, which featured St. Mary Hall and exhibited in the frame the portraits of benefactors and famous former members.⁴¹ He also sent him a sketch of the almanack for 1747, asking for a portrait of Thomlinson so that he might appear in it (no. 2, cf. 3). In what appears to be the summary of a simultaneous letter from Shaw to Adam Askew senior, an intention was expressed of adding a bust of Thomlinson to those of two other benefactors, Dr. John Rawlinson and Sir George Thorold, who (he said) had left exhibitions to the Hall.⁴² It seems also to have been settled

³⁸ In the definitive collection of almanacks, three slightly differing versions of the almanack for 1747 are preserved: Oxford, Ashmolean Museum Library, Prov. Wadham College, Oxford Almanacks, Folder II (1738-1779). A description of it was published in the *London Magazine and Monthly Chronologer* (London, 1746), p. 682; a manuscript copy is inserted in the Folder between the almanacks for 1746 and 1747. The almanack for 1747 is illustrated and discussed in H.M. Petter, *The Oxford Almanacks* (Oxford, 1974), pp. 64-5. (The penultimate sentence on p. 64 should read: 'The busts represent Sir George Fleming, Dr Robert Thomlinson, Dr John Rawlinson, and Sir George Thorold'.) See also J.R. Bradshaw, 'A Classification by Subject of the Oxford Almanacks, 1674-1991', *Oxoniensis*, lvi (1991), 131-44. (I am grateful to Mr R.E. Alton and the Rev. J.S. Reynolds for information and guidance about the almanack for 1747.)

³⁹ Between c. 1733 and 1751, the almanacks were drawn by William Green(e); *Ashmolean Museum, Oxford: Catalogue of the Collection of Drawings*, iv, ed. D.B. Brown (Oxford, 1982), pp. 359-61, nos. 810-13; for the almanack of 1747, see p. 360, no. 811. See also Petter, *Oxford Almanacks*, pp. 12, 64, where it is noted that Green(e) was paid eight guineas for the design for 1747, with a reference to Oxford University Archives, W.P. β. 22(1).

⁴⁰ For George Vertue (1684-1756), see *DNB* xx.285-6; Petter, *Oxford Almanacks*, p. 12.

⁴¹ Petter, *Oxford Almanacks*, p. 64.

⁴² For John Rawlinson, principal 1610-31, see Foster 1500-1714, iii.1236; *DNB* xvi.774. In his will, he bequeathed to the principal of St. Edmund Hall for the time being an annual quit-rent of £6 on land at Cassington (Oxfordshire), not for an exhibition but for the maintenance of a divinity lecture: Emden, 'St. Edmund Hall', p. 320; SEH Archives, Folder labelled Cassington Quit-Rent; *BB* p. 3. The naming of Sir George Thorold as a benefactor raises a severe difficulty. There can be no doubt that it was intended; the express statement of the 'explication' as published in the *London Magazine and Monthly Chronologer* is confirmed, evidently by Shaw, in Item 3, below, p. 298. But it was Sir George's elder brother Sir Charles who certainly founded an exhibition. The brothers were members of the Ironmongers' Company of London and prominent London citizens. Charles became an alderman and was knighted in 1704, he was sheriff in 1705-6, and died in 1709. George was knighted in 1708, became an alderman and a baronet in 1709, sheriff in 1710-11, and lord mayor 1719-20; he died in 1722. For their city careers, see A.B. Beaven, *The Aldermen of the City of London*, 2 vols. (London, 1908-13), i.119, ii.120-1, and for the history of their family, *Burke's Peerage and Baronetage* (105th edn., London, 1970), pp. 2639-42. In 1707, Charles set up an annuity of £40 for the support, for ninety-nine years, of poor students at four Cambridge and four Oxford colleges and halls, one of which was SEH. The annuity was to be administered by the Ironmongers' Company. By his will, drafted in 1708 and proved in 1709 (PCC 85 Lane, PRO II/507, fos. 315r-318v) he

that the almanack should present a 'Plan of the Hall', that is, a depiction of its entire layout of buildings (no. 3). By 6 June 1746, the overall design of the almanack for 1747 was ready and sent for Thomlinson to approve; Vertue had engraved Thomlinson's bust from the drawing that Askew had procured (no. 5).

The almanack had by now probably reached the stage which is illustrated by an unsigned drawing in the Ashmolean Museum.⁴³ In the middle of the lower half, Principal John Mill presents to Queen Anne his critical text of the New Testament. To the left, Thomas Hearne points to a picture of the church tower at Godstow Nunnery, attached to which is a parchment or paper with the short title of his posthumously published sketch-book *ECTYPA VARIA*.⁴⁴ Hearne the scholar is balanced, to the right, by Stephen Penton the builder, who holds in his hand a plan of the chapel which he provided and points to a picture of trees which may recall his fondness for rural life.⁴⁵ Across the middle of the almanack are two pairs of busts of benefactors. On the left, Thomlinson, with eyes closed in token of his blindness, is now accompanied by Sir George Fleming, whom Thomlinson's example had encouraged to contribute twenty guineas to the new buildings; Rawlinson and Thorold, supposedly donors of exhibitions and so patrons of the academic life of the Hall, are to the right. The upper half of the almanack showed Shaw's 'Plan of the Hall', comprising the west, north, and east ranges; since the north range was not yet complete, it must have been

confirmed this provision which was duly implemented by the Company: London, GL MS. Ironmongers' Company 17100. The Company entered the relevant section of the will in its Charter, Ordinance and Memorandum Book: MS. 16960, fo. 45r-v; for the benefit of SEH, White Kennett in 1709 transcribed a similar excerpt: SEH Archives, Folder labelled Part of the Will and Testament of Sir Charles Thorold, 1709; there is no entry in *BB* about a benefaction by either of the Thorold brothers. Documents preserved with White's transcript show that, at SEH, Sir Charles Thorold's exhibitions continued to be taken up until the annuity ceased in 1806. The registers of the Ironmongers' Company record receipts and payments under Sir Charles's will; there were payments to John Morley of SEH from 1743 to 1745 and to John Millner from 1745 to 1748: MS. 16989. Thus, Sir Charles Thorold's benefaction was supporting SEH undergraduates under his name when the Oxford Almanack for 1747 was being designed and published. Neither at the Ironmongers' Company nor at SEH or anywhere else is there an indication that Sir George Thorold was a benefactor of SEH. On the contrary, he had, indeed, been at first involved in his brother's bequest, both as executor of his will and as an administrator of the exhibitions; after him, his brother Samuel (died 1738) was to succeed him as administrator (will, fo. 317r-v). But by 1744, the family's active responsibility had been terminated; the Company in that year began to appoint attorneys not of the family to receive from the Exchequer the money due for the annuity bearing Sir Charles Thorold's name: MS. 17100. That Sir George had founded no exhibition of his own by the year of his death is proved by a remark of Hearne on 18 Apr. 1722 that 'There is only one Exhibition at Edm^d Hall, for a poor Undergraduate 'till Batchelor of Arts' standing, left, by his last Will and Testament, by Sir Charles Thorold, K^t, and Alderman of London': *Collections*, vii.350. There is no evidence for any other lifetime benefaction by Sir George to SEH. Hearne's remark raises the question of whether it was prompted by knowledge that Sir George was contemplating one. But his will, dated 3 Mar. 1721 with two codicils of 1722 and proved on 1 Nov. 1722, made no mention of SEH: PCC 225 Marlborough, PRO II/488, fos. 154v-156v. Thus, apart from the Almanack of 1747 and sources associated with it, there is no evidence for Sir George as a benefactor of SEH, while Sir Charles was well known to have been one. It is inconceivable that, when supervising the almanack, Shaw did not know that Sir Charles was a benefactor, and it is hard to understand how there could have been an uncorrected confusion between him and Sir George. The depiction of the latter in the almanack as a benefactor of SEH is an unexplained mystery which only fresh evidence is likely to resolve. (I am grateful to Dr P. Langford for help with regard to the Thorolds' wills and to the Rev. H. Thorold for information about the family's history.)

⁴³ Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Prov. Wadham College, Oxford Almanacks, Folder III (1780-1870), after the almanack for 1832.

⁴⁴ *ECTYPA VARIA ad historiam Britannicam illustrandam* (n.p. 1737). Plate 34 is a panorama of Godstow Nunnery from which the picture of the tower may be freely adapted. Another possible model is the print of Godstow dated 1729 by Samuel and Nathaniel Buck: [*Perspective Views of the Ruins of the Most Noted Abbeys and Castles of England*, 14 parts (London, 1726-39)], in the fifth collection, published 1730, no. 179 (4).

⁴⁵ In *BB*, the capital S of Stephen Penton's name is decorated with a picture of his chapel and library building set among trees as if in a gentleman's park: p. 17; Emden, *An Account of the Chapel and Library*, Plate II.

engraved from a drawing of the elevation of the Thomlinson Building for which benefactions were still required. The almanack in its final form differs from the unsigned drawing only by the addition of medallions of two famous former members of the Hall: next the layman Hearne was added a medallion of the judge David Jenkins of Hensol (1582–1663)⁴⁶ and next the clergyman Penton was added one of the scholar and bishop White Kennett (1660–1728).⁴⁷ On 17 November 1746, Shaw was able to reinforce his sending to Thomlinson of his appeal documents (nos. 7A and B) by the dispatch of six copies of the published form of the almanack; two days later, he followed them with a copy of the 'small paper' version and with an 'explication' of the almanack which no doubt followed the one which was published in the *London Magazine and Monthly Chronologer* (no. 6).⁴⁸

The publication of the almanack by mid-November 1746 synchronized well with Shaw's general appeal for funds. It both celebrated the past successes of St. Edmund Hall in building and in scholarship and displayed the Hall as Shaw aspired to develop it, with appropriate recognition of recent benefactors. It may well have helped to elicit the last round of benefactions from Thomlinson and others which enabled Shaw to complete the work that he intended. The preparation and completion of the Oxford University Almanack for 1747 were closely related to Shaw's plans, and it must be understood in the light of them.

DOCUMENTS

The spelling of the documents is exactly followed. Angle brackets indicate matter editorially supplied because of damage to the originals; a slash signifies the end of a page.

1 *Thomas Shaw to Robert Thomlinson 30 Mar. 1745*

Reverend S^r

In a Letter I received lately from my worthy Friend D^r Askew, he was pleased to acquaint me, that you had expressed great Kindness and Regard for Edmund Hall, which has encouraged me to take this Liberty of giving you, (what every *quondam* good Member or wellwisher may be desirous to know,) the present State and Condition of it. When I was appointed Principal in Nov. 1740, I found every Part of it in Ruins, and without an Inhabitant: occasioned by the continued Neglect and Carelessness of my Predecessors, ever since the Death of the learned and worthy D^r Mill, who from his own Care Influence, and good Example, together with that of his worthy Assistants, left it in good Repair and in a flourishing Condition.⁴⁹ But now the Tiles, the Floors, the Cielings &c. were most of them broken down, the windows likewise, even those of the Chappel, were all shattered to Pieces; and nothing certainly could make a more frightful and miserable Appearance than the whole, and every Part of Edmund Hall. Having therefore a great Desire and Ambition to enjoy a commendable Seat and Possession in this University, I immediately set about these several Repairs; I new glazed the windows; I wainscotted the *Refectorium*,⁵⁰ put the Chambers in a habitable Condition &c. in the Execution of which I laid out my

⁴⁶ Foster 1580–1714, ii.807; *DNB* x.735–7.

⁴⁷ Kennett was bishop of Peterborough 1718–28. See Foster 1500–1714, ii.844; *DNB* xi.2–6. Vertue may have wished the medallions to be added at a late stage in order to improve the design of the almanack.

⁴⁸ Above, note 38.

⁴⁹ Good upkeep under Mill and for some years after him is indicated by entries in *LB*, esp. pp. 1–37, 337–44. Unfortunately *LB* was little used under Shaw and it yields no evidence for his building activities. For a more nuanced account of Mill's principalship, see Emden, 'St. Edmund Hall', pp. 324, 330–1.

⁵⁰ However, *BB* records that Dr Joseph Smyth, provost of Queen's, gave five guineas 'ad parietes Refectorii contabulandas': p. 51.

ὅλον τὸν βίον,⁵¹ the whole Profits I received from my Book of Travels.⁵² But here I was obliged to stop. For the Expences had risen so much beyond the Calculation that / had been given in at first by the Builders, that I could not add another Story, as I intended, to that Side of the Hall which lyes over the Kitchen and the Buttery, in order to make it of the same Height with the rest of the Buildings; all which are now very decently beautified and in good Repair. Whereas these, as you may remember, are low and irregular; and being likewise of great antiquity, all the Timbers, Tiling, Floors, Cielings &c. are ready to drop down; though the walls themselves are good, and capable of bearing the Superstructure that may be required. Being therefore incapable myself of contributing any further towards putting these Buildings in the same decent and habitable Condition with the rest, I have made application to several Gentlemen for their Aid and Assistance. But Charity and Generosity run very low at present; I have met with nothing but good wishes and Excuses; and the Disposer of all things only knows whom we shall record in this manner for our Benefactor, *Latus hoc Boreale Aulae S^{ti} Edmundi extruxit Vir dignissimus* &c. &c. &c.

I beg Leave likewise to acquaint you further, that in the midst of this Scene of Ruin and Decay, which attended the rest of the Hall, the Library alone had the good Fortune to escape. For I found the Books, which is a proper Collection of Lexicographi, Commentators, Classics, &c to be intire and in good Condition, several of which were given by your Brother, whose Name is thus perpetuated in our *Liber Benefactorum* p. 46. *Iohannes Tomlinson Ecclesiae de Rothbury in Agro Northumbrorum Rector dignissimus, pro egregiā suā in Hanc Aulam benevolentia, dedit, in augmentum supellectilis Librariae, Quinque Libras, Anno Domini MDCXCV.* We have had lately, the latter end of the last Sumner, a considerable addition of more / than five hundred volumes left us by the Rev^d M^r Loder, formerly a Member of this Hall and late Rector of Nanton in Warwickshire;⁵³ so that in this Respect we are very well provided; and much better than any of the Smaller Societies in Oxford. From finding this Hall without an Inhabitant, we have now a Congregation of twelve Persons, including the Vice Principal⁵⁴ and myself: Several members likewise that were entered, have been promoted to Scholarships and Exhibitions in other Societies: it having been my constant Practice, as it shall continue to be so, to take all possible Care of the Interest as well as the Education of such young Gentlemen as shall be committed to my Care and Inspection.

This, S^r, is the present State and Condition of Edmund Hall; and as I have this favourable Opportunity of addressing my Self to a Gentleman of noted Candour, Benevolence and Goodness, I crave the Liberty to recommend it to your good Offices and friendly Patronage; and, intreating the continuance of your Kindness and Regard to this antient Seat of Learning, which has not yet outlived all those worthy Members of it, who knew it in a much better and more flourishing Condition, and who may still have the Generosity to contribute to the future Prosperity and Emolument of it, I beg Leave to subscribe my self, with the utmost Esteem and Regard,

Reverend S^r

Edmund Hall March 30
1745

your most obedient and most
humble Servant

The Rev^d D^r Tomlinson

Thomas Shaw

[Endorsed on the back in Thomlinson's hand D^r Shaws Letter; numbered 3^d]

⁵¹ Mark 12:44; Luke 8:43.

⁵² It is not known how much money Shaw received for publishing his *Travels*, but on 9 Aug. 1738 he wrote to the naturalist and antiquary Peter Collinson, 'I can assure M^r Collinson that I shall not clear above 400 Guineas, which is not half of the Expences I have been at in Travelling': London, BL MS. Addit. 28726, fo. 45r.

⁵³ John Loder was vicar of Napton on the Hill (Warwickshire) from 1702 until his death in 1744: Wood, *History and Antiquities*, pp. 633 n.10, 668; Foster 1500-1714, iii.934. Wood states that he left part of his books to SEH by will dated 11 Oct. 1742 and that he made provisions for the endowment of scholarships and exhibitions at Worcester College and SEH which, by 1773, failed to be effective. There is no reference to Loder in *BB*, nor can any books of his be traced in the Old Library of SEH: Emden, *An Account of the Chapel and Library*, p. 40 n. 4.

⁵⁴ The vice-principal from 1740 to 1747 was Thomas Camplin: Foster 1715-1886, i.215; Emden, SEH Archives, Historical Collections, no. 6: Notes on Vice-Principals of St. Edmund Hall, 1705-1889. Camplin designed the Holywell Music Room which was built in 1742-8. It is not known whether he had a part in designing the Thomlinson Building, but the silence of Shaw's letters about fees for plans and elevations creates a presumption that he may have done so.

2 *Thomas Shaw to Robert Thomlinson 14 Feb. 1746*

Reverend Sir,

I beg Leave to return you my hearty Acknowledgements together with those of my little Community for the Benefaction of one hundred Pounds, which my good Friend D^r Askew acquaints me you have been generously pleased to give towards the rebuilding of the ruinous Part of S^t Edmund Hall. It has a long Time wanted so kind, and bountiful a Benefactor, and without this Seasonable Assistance, which you are now ready to afford us, must in a short Time, have fallen to the Ground. And as this long desired Work cannot be set upon too Soon, you would very sensibly oblige us, in giving Instructions, how we may receive this Sum, which you may be well assured, shall be laid out to the best Advantage. And I flatter my Self, with some little further Encou<agement> from you, (as I am afraid we can obtain little or nothing from any other Quarter,) that before the End of this Summer, the whole will be complete and your Name [TOMLINSONI MVNIFICENTIA] inscribed upon it. D^r Askew will notifye to you the Plan; which is to be regulated according to the adjacent Buildings; and in a short Time I shall beg Leave to lay before you the Estimate of the whole Expence.

As the next years Almanack is to represent S^t Edmund Hall, I must intreat your Permission, that we may take the Liberty to put up your Bust among the Benefactors; and as the Drawing is ready for the Engraver, it would be a great Pleasure to us, to receive, with your first / Leisure, the outlines of your Portrait; or in Case you have more than one, that you would so far oblige us, as to send the Picture it self; as S^t Edmund Hall will become now adopted into your Family, and may petition for Favours that are usually bestowed upon Relations.

I have taken the Liberty to send you, together with an almanack for the current year, the rough sketch of what is intended for the next;⁵⁵ which my good Friend D^r Askew will communicate to you. And wishing you very sincerely the Enjoyment of your Health, and that you may outlive the finishing of this Building, I am <with> the Duty and best Regards of the rest of our Society,

S^t Edmund Hall
Feb. 14. 1745-6.

Reverend Sir,
your most obliged
and most obedient
humble Servant
Thomas Shaw

[Addressed on the back in Shaw's hand To The Reverend D^r Thomlinson; numbered 1st. Seal]

3 *Rough copy of part of a letter, apparently from Thomas Shaw to Adam Askew (Feb. 1746)*

I propose sending to you two Oxford Almanacks for the present year if you w^d be so kind as let me know what Friend of y^{rs} in London will forward them to you : viz one for y^r self the other for D^r Thomlinson who has had the goodness to show so much regard to Edmund Hall. The design of this year is of S^t Mary Hall, wherein are inserted several of the great men & Benefactors y^t have been Members of y^t Hall. If D^r Thomlinson will give me Leave I will put up his Bust, together wth those of D^r Thoml- Rawlinson and Sir George Thorold who have left exhibitions to the Hall, & must desire you to procure a Sketch from some one or other of the Picture of y^t worthy Gentleman & the sooner / this is done the better, because we now preparing to make a Drawing ready for the Engravers, as Edmund Hall is to be the Almanack for 1747. The Plan of the Hall is ready wth y^t part of it drawn & finish'd w^{ch} lies over the Kitchen & Buttery, the only part that stands in need of being alter'd & w^{ch} I hope to live to see executed by the charitable Assistance of y^r worthy neighbour and our generous member Friend & Benefactor. You will please when occasion offers to present my Duty & Regards to him and y^t nothing shall be wanting to perpetuate the memory of what Benefaction sover he shall think fit to bestow upon this ancient Seat of Learning.

[The plan of a church or chapel which follows in the Letter-Book does not concern St. Edmund Hall]

⁵⁵ See pp. 294-5 and n. 43.

4 *Thomas Shaw to Robert Thomlinson 27 Mar. 1746*S^t Edmund Hall March 27th 1746Reverend S^t

I beg Leave, as I am in all Duty obliged, to return you in my own Name, and in the Name of the Society of S^t Edmund Hall our most grateful Acknowledgements for the generous Benefaction which you have had the Goodness to bestow upon us. And it is no less incumbent upon us to let our latest Successors be acquainted with it, by transmitting the Remembrance of it, in our Liber Benefactorum, in the manner, which my good Friend D^r Askew has notified to me. Every Scholar who is the least conversant in Studies of a more serious, useful and laborious Kind, must always preserve a venerable Regard for that worthy Predecessor of mine D^r Mill, whose memory I have always honoured, and for whom I could not pay a greater Regard, than in making him the Capital Figure in the Oxford Almanack for the next year: with the Particulars of which, I doubt not, but D^r Askew, by this Time, has made you fully acquainted. The Sketch likewise of your Portrait, wherewith we are further favoured, will be inserted, with all Respect, in the Same.

I should have made these our Acknowledgements more than a Fortnight ago; but that it was on the 25th only that I was favoured with an Answer from my Lord B^p of Carlisle, whom I had applied to, some Time ago, for his charitable Assistance, and had acquainted how bountiful / you had been to us. His Lordship, (after excusing himself from not answering my Letter sooner, upon account of being confined by the Gout,) expresses a great Kindness and Regard for this Place of his Education; and after wishing all Success to the Undertaking, has contributed *his Mite*, as his Lordship is pleased to call it, by sending me twenty Guineas. I have the Promise of ten more, from some Gentlemen of my Acquaintance; which, together with your Bounty, make in all 131. 10. 0.

Since the last I had the Honour to write to you, I have had proper workmen to view the Site of that Part of the North Wing, that is to be pulled down; and, upon proper Allowance to be made for the supposed Value of the ancient materials, they gave me in their respective Estimates; as follow. viz.

The Carpenters Bill amounts to	139.	17.	9.
The Mason's	75.	16.	10.
The Slatters & Plaisterers	54.	17.	2.
The Glaziers	19.	15.	6.
For carriage of Rubbish & Labour in pulling down	10.	0.	0.
	300.	7.	3.

But, as this Sum of 300^l, is what I cannot flatter myself with the least Hopes of obtaining at present: and as it is absolutely necessary that something (by way of Repair or Support) should be done to it immediately, as I am affraid every storm will bring it to the Ground; I have enquired of the Workmen once more, what would be the Expence of building the shell, without laying the Floors, making Doors & Door Cases or Partitions; without glazing the Windows, plaistering the Inside &c. and upon making proportionable / Deductions from the general Estimates, above mentioned, the Carpenters Bill will be reduced to to betwixt 80^l and 90^l; according to the Value of the old materials. The Masons will be nearly the same as above; inasmuch as the Walls, and Chimneys are to be intirely finished. And as there will be little plaistering, the Slatters Bill will be lowered to 30^l, a little more or less. The Expence of Labour, in pulling down, and carrying off the Rubbish, will be the same viz. 10^l. So that a sum of 200^l is required for this Purpose; which is 70^l more than I have already obtained; and for the Want of which, this so necessary a Work may be for some Time obstructed, notwithstanding, no Application shall be wanting on my Part, to effect it.

I hope, S^t, you will excuse the Liberty I have thus taken in giving you these particulars. You are our chief and principal Benefactor, and consequently have a Right to these Informations. Inclosed likewise I send you the Plan and Ichnography of the whole, with an Upright of that Part of it which makes half the side of the Quadrangle. The Blank Part of it is what fronts S^t Peters Church,⁵⁶ and makes the North End of my Lodgings. I have requested of our mutual Friend D^r Askew, that he would explain the Plan to you, when he may have a favourable opportunity.

⁵⁶ The church of St Peter's in the East.

I beg once more to repeat our most grateful Acknowledgements for your Generosity to us; and sincerely wishing you all Health, and that you may long survive the building and finishing of this Pile, is the hearty Prayer, of Reverend S^r

your most obliged
and most obedient
humble Servant
Thomas Shaw

[Numbered on the back 2nd]

5 *Thomas Shaw to Robert Thomlinson 6 June 1746*

Oxon. June the 6th 1746.

Reverend S^r

The favour which M^r Clayton⁵⁷ wrote to me the 2^d of May, came to my Hands the fourth of this present Month, being directed to me at Oxford: at which Time I was in Hampshire.⁵⁸ But being now returned to Oxford; I acknowledge it with the greatest Gratitude; and am to pay you the highest Compliments of Gratitude and Respect, for the further Benefaction of fifty Pounds which you have the Goodness and Generosity to intend for us the next Lammas Day. With the seasonable addition of that Sum, I hope we shall go a great way to finish the New Buildings; the old ones being now pulling down; and which will be level with the Ground, on Tuesday next /

I am highly pleased that the Plan for the next years Almanack, has your Approbation. The Sketch which we received of your Bust, will be faithfully exhibited, according to the Drawing which D^r Askew remitted to me. The famous M^r Virtue, who is the engraver, has very well hit upon the Likeness, and I expect in a little Time a Copy of the Almanack, which as soon as I receive, I will transmit it unto you.

Being obliged to be lately in London, I waited upon His Grace of Canterbury, the B^p of London the B^p of Oxford; and several other Bishops and clergymen, whom I had the Honour to be acquainted with. His Grace was pleased to contribute five Guineas; as did also London and Oxford. / The others to the Number of eight, contributed each of them three Guineas. which, with what I collected from some private Gentlemen of my Acquaintance, amounted to the Sum of Sixty three Guineas. I flattered my self with obtaining a larger Sum; but this is all that I have received, exclusive of your first most generous Benefaction, and of the twenty Guineas, which my L^d of Carlisle was pleased to remit me.

But I should not omit to acquaint our greatest Friend and Benefactor, whom we shall always remember with the greatest Honour and Respect, that the Rev^d M^r Milles, who married the Arch-Bishop Potter's youngest Daughter,⁵⁹ gave me ten Guineas, of the abovementioned Sum, in / memory of his Uncle, the B^p of Waterford, who left him his whole Fortune, and who was formerly Viceprincipal of our Hall, and very probably your Cotemporary.⁶⁰

I beg Leave, worthy S^r, to wish you the viridis senectus, and with my Duty and best Respects, as likewise with those of our Society, I am, with the greatest Gratitude and Regard,

Reverend S^r
your most obliged and
most obedient humble Servt.
Thomas Shaw.

⁵⁷ From 14 Oct. 1741, the Rev. Nathaniel Clayton was the first librarian of the Thomlinson Library at Newcastle: Adamson, 'Some Further Notices', p. 71.

⁵⁸ From 1742, Shaw held the Queen's College living of Bramley (Hants), as did each principal of SEH from then until 1843; it is thus likely that Shaw had been at Bramley.

⁵⁹ The Rev. Jeremiah Milles (1714–84) married Edith Potter in 1745; for his career, see Foster 1715–1886, iii.957; *DNB* xiii.432–3. His benefaction to SEH is recorded in *BB* p. 55.

⁶⁰ Thomas Milles (1671–1740) was bishop of Waterford from 1708 until his death. He was vice-principal of SEH 1695–1707, and therefore not Thomlinson's contemporary there. For his career, see Foster 1500–1714, iii.1015; *DNB* xiii.436; Emden, SEH Archives, Historical Collections, no. 5: Notes on Vice-Principals of St. Edmund Hall, c. 1612–1705.

6 *Thomas Shaw to Robert Thomlinson 19 Nov. 1746*Reverend S^r

After craving Leave, once more, to return you my best Acknowledgements for your first and second generous Benefaction to S^t Edmund Hall, I think it my Duty, as I am only the Steward in this publick Undertaking, to acquaint you in what manner your more especial Bounty, joyned with the other Contributions, which I have been so fortunate to receive, have been employed.

When an Estimate was first made of the Expence of pulling down and rebuilding that Part of the Hall which lay over the Buttery and the Kitchin, (being 74 foot long and 17 f. broad) it was presumed, that the old Foundation would have stood, and likewise five or six foot of the Wall above it. But, upon pulling down, all the walls and even the Foundation it self were found to have been built with such bad materials, the mortar being little better than Dirt and Mud, that they were judged incapable of bearing any superstructure; and were therefore pulled down to the Ground. So that the first Estimate, which was given in of the Masons work, increased from 75^l to 161. 15. 0.

In like manner, that Part of the Carpenters Estimate for raising the Roof and making the naked Floors, including Beams and Joices, which was given in at 70^l (relying too much upon the Use that might be made of some Part of the old Timber) amounted to (90^l) ninety Pounds. /

The Slatter also, who estimated the particular Expence of tiling the Roof at 18^l, has, by the purchasing of several Thousands of new Slattes, (the new Roof being likewise 8 square larger than the old one) brought in his Bill for 21. 1. 0. all which Sums, together with the Smith's Bill of 5. 4. 0. amounting in all to 278^l have been punctually paid and discharged. And as the Calculation first given in, for the Expence of the whole, including all Mason's, Carpenter's, Plaisterer's and Glazier's work, did not exceed 300^l so it has unexpectedly fallen out, by the several extraordinary and unforeseen Expences above mentioned, that 120^l will scarce be more than sufficient to finish the whole work.

I thought it therefore incumbent upon me, as soon as I had discharged the Sums above mentioned, to give you a faithful account of the same; inasmuch as you may claim the first Right to know how your great Bounty has been employed; and why it is, that I am not in a Capacity to proceed any further. Being likewise very desirous of seeing the same finished, with all possible Expedition, I have drawn up a Representation (here inclosed) of the present State of the Hall and of these New Buildings, called by your Name, which I shall lay before or transmit to such of my Friends as have not already contributed, or who may have the Generosity further to contribute towards the perfecting of this work, which has been so successfully begun. /

On Monday last, I sent by the way of London, half a dozen Oxford Almanacks, under my good Friend D^r Askew's Cover, which I hope will arrive in due Time. By this Post I send one inclosed of the small Paper, with the Explication, w^{ch} my friend will likewise deliver, with this Letter. And wishing you all Health, and Happiness, I am with the greatest Duty and Regard,

S^t Edmund Hall
Nov. 19. 1746.

Reverend S^r
your most obliged and
obedient humble Servant
Thomas Shaw

[Addressed on the back in Shaw's hand To The Rev^d D^r Thomlinson; numbered 5. Traces of seal]

7A *Copy, not in Shaw's handwriting, of a general Appeal for funds for building work at St Edmund Hall (before 19 Nov. 1746)*

S^t Edmund Hall, in the University of Oxford, has been for many years in a ruinous Condition; occasioned as well from Length of Time, as for the want of proper Repairs, whenever they became necessary. Insomuch that when the present Principal, D^r Shaw, took Possession of it, A.D. 1741, he was under an immediate Necessity of laying out, of his own private Fortune, more than four hundred Pounds, in order to repair the Chapel and Refectory, and in making the Lodgings, together with one half of the North Side of the Quadrangle, fit to be inhabited. But as the other, and the much larger half, having been built more than 400 years agoe, was ready to drop down, and not capable of being repaired, (as all the old Materials were found, upon examination, to be rotten and decayed;) An Estimate was made the last Spring (1746) of the whole Expence of pulling down and rebuilding the

same, which was then given in to be, a little more or less, three hundred pounds. But as it was presumed when this Estimate was made, contrary to what was afterwards found, upon pulling down, that the old Foundation, together with five or six foot of the Wall above it, would have been of sufficient strength to have built upon; the above said Valuation has fallen short of what will compleat the same, in glazing, flooring, harthing and plaistering by upwards of one hundred Pounds: the Shell, (i.e. the Walls, naked Floor, and Tiling,) having cost 278. 5. 0. according to the several Bills that have been already paid and discharged by the Principal. And as the said Principal, exclusive of the several Benefactions received by him (particulars of which are hereafter mentioned,) has contributed upwards of twenty pounds towards the discharging of the said Sum, and is not able to proceed further of himself; he craves Leave to recommend the finishing and compleating of this Undertaking, so successfully begun, to the Generosity and good Offices of his Friends, and all well Wishers to this Ancient Seat of Learning; where all Endeavours are used, that good Discipline and Principles may be cultivated and improved.

[I cannot trace the copy of this Appeal which is cited by Emden, 'St Edmund Hall', p. 324]

7B *Interim list of subscribers to the Appeal, written on the reverse side of 7A in a different handwriting (before 19 Nov. 1746)*

The Benefactions hitherto received and registered in the *Liber Benefactorum* of the said Hall. viz. from The Rev^d D^r Robert Thomlinson, Preb. of S^t Pauls &

Rec ^r of Whickham in Durham	150.	0.	0
The Right Reverend the L ^d Bishop of Carlisle	21.	0.	0
His Grace of Canterbury	5.	5.	0
The L ^d Bishop of London	5.	5.	0
— Oxford	5.	5.	0
— Bristol	3.	3.	0
— Landaff	3.	3.	0
— Gloucester	3.	3.	0
— Lich: & Coventry	3.	3.	0
— S ^t Davids	3.	3.	0
— Worcester	3.	3.	0
— S ^t Asaph	3.	3.	0
— Rochester	3.	3.	0
The Rev ^d M ^r Milles Nephew to the late Bishop of Waterford	10.	10.	0
The Hon. & Rev ^d D ^r Drummond Preb: of Westminster	2.	2.	0
M ^r Arch. Deacon Hayter	2.	2.	0
Rev ^d D ^r Lavington Resident of S ^t Pauls	2.	2.	0
Rev ^d D ^r Green Preb: of Worcester	2.	2.	0
Rev ^d D ^r Pearce Dean of Winchester	2.	2.	0
Rev ^d M ^r Shipley Preb: of Winchester	2.	2.	0
D ^r Richard Mead	2.	2.	0
Rev ^d D ^r Barton Canon of X ^t Church	2.	2.	0
Rev ^d D ^r Conybeare Dean of X ^t Church	2.	2.	0
Rev ^d D ^r Fanshaw Regius Prof. of Divinity	2.	2.	0
Rev ^d M ^r Nat. Clayton of Newcastle	1.	1.	0
The Rev ^d D ^r Smith Provost of Queen's College	5.	5.	0
The Rev ^d M ^r Harrison	} Fellows of Queen's Coll: each a Guinea	8.	8.
— M ^r Hall			
— M ^r Hill			
— M ^r Fothergill			
M ^r Lowry	} Fellows of Queen's Coll: each a Guinea	8.	8.
M ^r Brown			
M ^r Wood			
M ^r Perkins			
D ^r Shaw	20.	2.	0
	278.	5.	0

ERRATUM

p. 303, letter no. 9: the date should read **19 November 1747.**

8 *Thomas Shaw to Robert Thomlinson 10 Dec. 1746*Reverend S^t

I know not how to express my Sentiments of Gratitude for your repeated Instances of Bounty and Generosity to S^t Edmund Hall. As, without the seasonable Assistance of your first Benefactions of 150^l the Part of it, that is now rebuilt, must have always continued in the same ruinous Condition wherein I found it; so with this last Token of your Benevolence, by adding fifty Pounds more, I doubt not, but with the addition of what I can now with Courage sollicit from some others of my Friends, I shall in another Summer, have the long wished for Satisfaction of acquainting you, that D^t Thomlinsons Buildings are not only fit to be inhabited, but are likewise as beautiful, large and convenient as any in Oxford. We are all of us infinitely obliged to you, good Sir, for these extraordinary Kindnesses: and that you may long survive the finishing of this work, so successfully begun by your munificence, and in so near a Prospect of being finished by the same, is the sincere and earnest Prayer, / of

Reverend S^t
your most obliged
and obedient
humble Servant
Thomas Shaw

S^t Edmund Hall
Dec. 10. 1746.
P.S.

I hope you have by this Time received the half dozen of almanacks, in large Paper, which I sent sometime agoe under D^t Askew's Cover.

[Numbered on the back 6. In the Letter-Book, no. 8 precedes nos 7A and 7B]

9 *Thomas Shaw to Robert Thomlinson 24 Apr. 1748*

Reverend Sir,

As you have a Right to know, from Time to Time, the State and Condition of S^t Edmund Hall, which has been lately rebuilt, and, I may add, flourishes at present, by your Goodness and Generosity, I took the Liberty to acquaint you a few months agoe with the great Addition of Members that we had just then received. They are every Day increasing upon me, and the next Term I shall be obliged to take in Ayrey's Buildings for their Accommodation, as our Number will then be thirty.⁶¹ This unexpected Acquisition put me upon fitting up with all haste, (which otherwise I should have done only by Degrees, as my small Income would permit) the Chambers in your two StairCases; the Expence of which, as I am unwilling to be any longer troublesome to my friends, will require some years to discharge. However, Thanks to our good Benefactor D^t Thomlinson, S^t Edmund Hall is now compleat; every Chamber and Garret of it is in good Order; your Chambers particularly are chose and granted to Scholars of the first Fashion; and the Quadrangle, by removing the *Cloaca*, the *quondam*

⁶¹ Airay's Buildings or Lodgings, later also known as Link Lodgings, stood to the east of the Principal's Lodgings on the site of the part of the present south side of the front quadrangle which was built in 1926-7. Principal Adam Airay had leased the messuage on which they stood; upon his death in 1658, his nephew Christopher Airay erected a five-storied building which was available for the accommodation of SEH men when numbers warranted. They have always been thought to have ceased to be used by SEH by Dec. 1694; there is no confirmation that Shaw resumed their use in 1748. On their history, see A.B. Emden, 'Airay's, or Link Lodgings', *SEHM* i (1925), 18-21, Plate opposite p. 18; ii (1926), Frontispiece, pp. 15-16, Plate opposite p. 15; 'St. Edmund Hall', pp. 322-4. Upon the evidence of *LB* p. 385, Emden believed that Robert Thomlinson had accommodation in Airay's Lodgings, probably in 1694, but the description in *LB* as 'the Little New Buildings' hardly suits Airay's Lodgings, and, although Thomlinson's name appears in the fragmentary Buttery Book for 1694 (the earliest to survive) he incurred no charges. The material in Bodl. MS. Wood F. 28, fos. 325-85, which draws upon earlier Buttery Books, sheds no further light.

opprobrium of it, behind the Viceprincipal's Lodgings; by this alteration, at the Expence of Thomas Reeve, Esqre, one of my Members,⁶² / it is as beautiful and delightful a Square as any in Oxford. I have often wished, Sir, that you might long survive, not only the finishing but the inhabiting likewise of the Thomlinsons Buildings; and I thank God that we can now both congratulate your self and our selves that our wishes are fulfilled. And that the gracious Providence who has raised us up so great a Friend and Benefactor, may long continue him with us to receive the due Praise of the Same, is the Sincere and constant Prayer, of

S^t Edmund Hall
Nov. 19. 1747.

Reverend Sir,
your most obliged
and most obedient
humble Servant
Thomas Shaw

[*Traces of sealing on the back*]

10 *Thomas Shaw to Mrs Thomlinson 24 Apr. 1748*

After the Expressions of Condolence, which are justly due to you, from your nearer Relations and acquaintance, upon the Death of your late very worthy husband D^r Thomlinson, permit me, Madam, in the Name of the Scholars of S^t Edmund Hall, very sincerely to joyn with them in the Same; inasmuch as we have really lost in him not only a great Benefactor, but even, as we must call him, a second Founder; inasmuch as without his assistance, one half of this Hall must have inevitably by this Time been intirely in ruins. His memory therefore will always be dear unto us, and which we shall ever hold in the greatest Reverence and Veneration. And as it would be highly ingrateful in us not to preserve some publick monument and testimony of this his great generosity to us, we have called the Buildings, which were chiefly raised by his Benefaction, the Thomlinson's Buildings, and have registred the same, in the most beautiful manner we were able, in our Book of Benefactors; the purport of which I have requested the Rev^d M^r Clayton, (who will deliver you this,) to communicate to you. We have been all along very sensible of your kind and generous consent and concurrence in promoting these good offices to our Hall; intreating therefore the continuance of these our good wishes for the / future welfare and prosperity of the Same, I beg leave to subscribe my Self, with the greatest gratitude, esteem and regard,

Madam,
your most obliged
and obedient
humble Servant
Thomas Shaw

S^t Edmund Hall Oxon
Apr. 24. 1748.

[*Traces of sealing on the back*]

The Society is grateful to St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, for a grant towards publication of this paper.

⁶² Thomas Reeve, matric. 1742, MA 1746: Foster 1714-1886, iii.1185.