



Jesus College Oxford 'Of Queene Elizabeth's Foundation'

The First 450 Years



Jesus
College
OXFORD
450th
Anniversary

Jesus College, Oxford
'Of Queene Elizabeth's Foundation'

The First 450 Years

edited by Felicity Heal

with Robin Darwall-Smith,
Richard Bosworth and Colin Haydon

Contents

Acknowledgements.....	3
Introduction.....	4
Introduction to web text.....	6
Abbreviations.....	7

I: History

1. From the First Foundation to the Second, 1571–1685.....	8
Felicity Heal	
2. From the ‘Glorious Revolution’ to the Tercentenary c.1688–1871.....	26
Colin Haydon	
3. Into the Modern World.....	52
Richard Bosworth	
4. A College Rooted in Wales?.....	79
Rhidian Griffiths	

II: Treasures and Places

5. The Buildings of Jesus.....	90
Caroline Stanford	
6. Property and Revenue.....	100
Felicity Heal	
7. Portraits.....	104
Susan Doran	
8. College Silver.....	113
Felicity Heal	
9. The Libraries and Manuscripts.....	115
Owen McKnight and Thomas Charles-Edwards	

III: The Community of the College

10. The Academic Life of Jesus.....	123
Felicity Heal	
11. Those Who Support Us.....	130
Felicity Heal	

12. Sport.....	136
Robin Darwall-Smith	
13. Music	142
Robin Darwall-Smith	
14. After 1984: Student Life at Jesus	146
Richard Bosworth and Felicity Heal	
Afterword	150
Sir Nigel Shadbolt, Principal	
Bibliography.....	154

Acknowledgements

The 450th anniversary history has been throughout a collaborative effort. The editor's greatest debt is to Robin Darwall-Smith, College archivist, for his revitalisation of the Jesus archive, his unrivalled knowledge of how to approach the history of colleges and his constant support in managing the pictures for this volume. His predecessor, Christopher Jeens, provided much initial encouragement before his sad death in office. Brigid Allen, our archivist at the beginning of the millennium, was responsible for the production of the first full guide to the archives, and undertook very valuable research on the estates, the buildings and the early history of Jesus.

Richard Bosworth and Colin Haydon have written the two central historical chapters, taking the story of the college from the 1680s to the 1980s. They also acted as an advisory team, reading the whole text in draft and guiding the whole project. The other contributors were generous with their research and writing time and assisted in the quest for pictures.

Sir Peter North, Principal from 1984 to 2004, read the entire manuscript and offered invaluable advice: Sir Nigel Shadbolt, his successor but one, has added a current perspective in the afterword. John Walsh, Emeritus Fellow in modern history, has been a constant source of encouragement. We are grateful to all those who gave up time to be interviewed for the history – Peter North and John, Lord Krebs, former heads of house – past and present Fellows Peter Beer, Ruedi Baumann, Colin Clarke, Peter Clarke, John De'ath, Donald Hay, Katrin Kohl, Peter Mirfield and staff members Simon Smith and Helen Cordes. Simon Bailey, Philip Burrows and Andrew Dancer gave helpful access to specific materials. Many thanks are due to all those old members who have contributed memoirs or photographs: some of their memories have been included in the history, others will be added to the internal college site after publication.

Pascal Kale acted as a researcher for the history and produced a database of members of the College to 1870. The Development Office, first under Philippa Roberts and then under Brittany Wellner-James, have been a great support. Matthew Melson provided vital computer back-up. Thanks also to Ed Lawrence, JCR President. Nicola Choules-Rowe was the key assistant for the photographs of College, both with research and with the images she took herself. Colin Dunn, who took our archival photographs, extracted excellent images from material that was often unpromising.

Introduction

On 27 June 1571 Queen Elizabeth I issued letters patent for the foundation of 'Jhesus College within the City and University of Oxforth'. In 2021 the College therefore celebrates the 450th anniversary of the royal charter, and a new landmark in the history of our institution. Mere survival over the intervening centuries is impressive, but more so is the steady adherence to some of the central purposes set out by the Queen: 'the extension of good literature of every sort', 'the knowledge of languages' and, above all, 'the education of youth in [...] methodical learning'. It is true that the foundation has shed some of the ambitions of our sixteenth-century predecessors: to train up the young in true loyalty, to eradicate heresies, to see 'Sacred Theology' as the goal of all our scholarship. Instead it has acquired new visions and objectives. The College now aims at the pursuit of academic excellence in all fields, and the provision of a home for an outstanding research community. Jesus has also moved from being a small, rather introverted, single-gendered 'little college in the Turl', with a strong Welsh identity. It has become more accessible and global, reflecting the diversity of Oxford University and of the wider culture. Yet the primary purpose of our foundation remains intact: we still educate youth, and it is the duty to teach that is our primary obligation.

A major anniversary is a good time to consider our history anew. The core story has been told before, first by Ernest Hardy, Vice-Principal and later Principal, who contributed to the standard series of Oxford college histories in 1899. That volume still provides a sound account of the growth of the institution and records some of its distinguished alumni. For the 400th anniversary J. N. L. Baker wrote *Jesus College, Oxford, 1571–1971*, a book full of interesting anecdotes and biographies, which was based on his unrivalled local knowledge as the College's long-serving bursar. The present volume is not intended as a direct replacement for either of these works. Instead this is a history of the College based on systematic new work within our own archives, and on the exciting new evidence that has been uncovered. It also draws on advances in the methods of studying university and college history more generally, especially in Oxford. The wealth of illustrations aims to provide a congenial read for alumni and others; it is also integral to the project, displaying the material culture of the College as well as its documentary history. So, after following the chronology of the institution from the beginning to the 1980s, the book moves to a more thematic approach: it considers the buildings, pictures and people that make this community so special.

Writing the story of a community, especially one as venerable as Jesus College, presents some challenges to historians. The narrative can readily become too linear, contrasting the past and present, and confidently asserting that the College becomes ever more successful with the passage of time. To this the contributors to this volume can only plead deep awareness of change and acknowledge that it has not always been positive. In the case of Jesus, however, there is an objective awareness that the last generations have been more academically distinguished than those of earlier centuries. Therefore a little legitimate self-congratulation will be found in these pages. The history of an institution can also be too internalist, too focused in this case on two/three quads and their little world of donnish and student existence. There are various ways of countering this narrow focus in the case of an Oxford college. It can now be more fully linked to the history of the wider university than was possible when Hardy and Baker wrote: interested readers can now parallel the development of their College with that of Oxford at large, as presented in Laurence Brockliss's one-volume history, or the multi-volume *History of the University of Oxford*. Another possible approach is to consider the world beyond the curtilage, to ask what happened to its alumni once their years here were over. We have chosen a variant on this second theme: a chapter on the relationship between the College and Wales. For at least three centuries it was this relationship that set Jesus apart from other colleges, and so Rhidian Griffiths writes about what the College did (and did not do) for the nation with which it was most closely identified.

There is much more that each of the contributors would have liked to add to an illustrated history of this kind. Much that could have been included has perforce been consigned to footnotes, which will help to sustain the arguments of the text. There are no notes in the following chapters: instead a version to be provided on the College website will supply the supporting evidence for the book.

A college is far more than the sum of its formal history. Above all, it is built of the people who continue to live work and play here, and who will do so, we hope, to the 500th anniversary and far beyond. Each generation of Fellows and students will have their own memories and their personal histories of their time at Jesus College. Here we aim to provide a context for those memories: an opportunity to look back with fascination, to celebrate the present with pride and to look forward with hope to the future.

Introduction to web text

The text that follows is the footnoted version of the History, promised above. It is provided for reference for those interested in pursuing further the material covered in the print edition. No images are included, and not all the chapters are fully footnoted, especially those focused on the very recent life of the College. All, however, provide some guidance on where to find further evidence, usually with the College archives or the *College Record*. Chapters 1 to 3 conclude with inserts taken from the printed version, here numbered A-C at the end of each chapter. There is a general bibliography at the end of the text. Parts of the College archives have not yet been catalogued, although major work is in progress. Enquiries about documents described as uncatalogued, or those with box numbers, should be referred to the Archivist.

Abbreviations

Baker	J.N.L. Baker, <i>Jesus College, Oxford, 1571-1971</i> (Oxford, 1971).
BL	British Library
Bodl	Bodleian Library
DWB	<i>Dictionary of Welsh Biography</i>
Hardy	E.G. Hardy, <i>Jesus College</i> (London, 1899).
Harrison	B. Harrison (ed.), <i>The History of the University of Oxford: vol. 8. The Twentieth Century</i> (Oxford, 1994).
JCA	Jesus College, Oxford, Archives.
JCO	Jesus College, Oxford.
Magazine	<i>Jesus College Magazine</i> (1912-1914, 1919-51).
NLW	National Library of Wales
Record	<i>The Jesus College Record</i> (1962 – on going)
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> .
THC	<i>Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion</i>
TNA	The National Archives
Tyacke	N. Tyacke (ed.), <i>The History of the University of Oxford: vol.4. Seventeenth-Century Oxford</i> (Oxford, 1997).
VCH	<i>The Victoria County History: Oxfordshire</i> .

I: History

I. From the First Foundation to the Second, 1571–1685

Felicity Heal

Charters and Establishment

In the beginning there was White Hall, and little else beside. When Hugh Price purchased the Charter of Foundation, dated 27 June 1571, from Queen Elizabeth, he and his supporters made a bold leap of faith by believing in their ability to sustain a college.¹ The medieval hall that occupied part of the site of First Quad was one among many in the University that catered for students of the law: two others, New Inn Hall and Hart Hall, also housed law students, including a significant number from Wales.² The halls, the most common form of collegiate organisation in medieval Oxford, could provide for the practical needs of board and lodging, and often for part of the instruction offered to the young.³ They did not, however, have fixed endowment for Fellowships, or enough space and security to benefit the growing number of undergraduates now attending Oxford. Colleges had become the central feature of the sixteenth-century university, and they were the preferred choice of ambitious benefactors.

While no direct evidence about the motives for the foundation of Jesus survives, it is not difficult to discern the attitudes of the network of men who supported Hugh Price. The Oxford group consisted of three regius professors of civil law, and Fellows of All Souls: William Awbery, John Griffiths and Robert Lougher. John Lloyd, principal of White Hall, was also a distinguished civil lawyer, as were John Cotterell, a former White Hall principal, and Thomas Huycke. These six shared not only the same training but also, Cotterell excepted, they were all Welsh by origin or connection, as was David Lewis, the first Principal. Not only were they Welsh: they were mainly from the south of the Principality, particularly from the diocese of St David's.⁴ The coterie of senior civil lawyers was relatively small and was focused nationally on the London-based courts of Admiralty and Chancery. They would have known one another well and had occasion to meet socially both in the capital and at the University. So it is logical to assume that the civilians saw a

¹ JCA, CC/1.

² B. Allen, 'The Early History of Jesus College 1571-1603', *Oxoniensia*, (1998), 105-24.

³ L.W.B. Brockliss, *The University of Oxford: A History*, (Oxford, 2016), 56-60.

⁴ Hardy, 14-17; Norman Jones, 'David Lewis, the Founding Principal', *Record* (2010), 33-42; W. P. Griffith, 'Jesus College, Oxford, and Wales: the First Half-Century', *THC*, new series 3 (1996-7), 23-5.

new college as the way of protecting and developing legal training within the University, providing an initial education in the humanities and then the advanced study of law.

The subsequent history of the College is, however, curiously silent on teaching in the law. Legal study cannot be shown to have been an issue that exercised the early Fellowship or principals. Instead the second shared identity of these academics – their Welsh background – assumed a central significance. There was no mention of restriction to Welsh students or Fellows in the initial charter, and the association of the College with Wales was incomplete in these early years. Yet two-thirds of the names on the very first list of College members, from 1572/73, are Welsh, and only nine of those matriculated in 1575 were not from Wales or the Borders.⁵ This must surely have been an outcome intended by Price and his lawyer colleagues, gradually to be institutionalised as endowments trickled in from the Principality. Jesus was to be a home for the Welsh in Oxford, though only one of several homes since plenty of men of Welsh origin, especially from the north of Wales, continued to study elsewhere.

These aspects of the foundation are well known. Less discussed is the role of the Elizabethan regime in the establishment of Jesus. The College is the only Elizabethan foundation in the city. The long first half of the sixteenth century had seen far more initiatives – Brasenose, Christ Church, Corpus, St John's and Trinity. At Cambridge there were two Elizabethan foundations – Emmanuel and Sidney Sussex – both dating from more than a decade later than Jesus. While this dearth could be attributed to a lack of generous donors, it also reflects the uncertainties of the Protestant settlement: none of the earlier Oxford foundations can be said to have been prompted by commitment to reformation. Control of the universities was of great importance to the Elizabethan Privy Council, and increasing attention was paid to the appointment of heads of house, who were supposedly to promote religious conformity.⁶ By the end of the 1560s it was already becoming clear that Oxford still retained much commitment to the old faith: for example, the University's welcome to the Queen on her 1566 visitation was orchestrated by men who were crypto-Catholic, and the most approved disputation was led by Edmund Campion, later the

⁵ A. Clark (ed.), *Register of the University of Oxford, ii (1571-1622), pt. ii Matriculations and Subscriptions* (Oxford Historical Society XI) 36; Allen, 'Early History', 107, 119-20.

⁶ P. Williams, 'Elizabethan Oxford: State, Church and University'. In J. McConica (ed.), *The History of the University of Oxford: vol iii The Collegiate University* (Oxford, 1986), 397-440.

first of the Jesuit martyrs.⁷ In 1570 the papal bull excommunicating Elizabeth had intensified the fears of Catholic crusade, and the defence of the 'faith established' became critical. In these circumstances, a proposal from well-connected men to establish a new college, particularly one that might help the spiritually unregenerate Welsh, must have appeared attractive to the regime.

David Lewis and William Awbrey, the lawyers with most political influence, chose this period of crisis to present the plan for a new college, and were, we must suppose, met with a gratifying response. Two curious features of the initial charter are best explained by these circumstances. The document established a group of eight commissioners to confer about the preparation of statutes, and the eight included Sir Nicholas Bacon, keeper of the great seal, Gilbert Gerard, the attorney-general, and Elizabeth's chief minister, William Cecil, about to become Lord Burghley. This number of political grandees seems excessive for the relatively simple task of copying and adapting statutes of a form already common in the University. And one of the problems for the College proved to be that these privy counsellors were too grand to pressure the academic lawyers into prompt action. The second curious feature of the charter is the queen's own insistence that the College should always be known as 'Jhesus Colledge within the City and University of Oxforth of Queen Elizabethes foundation'.⁸

This pronouncement miffed Hugh Price, who saw himself ousted from his primary role: it was also a marked exception to the practice of Henry VIII's children.⁹ While Henry himself claimed the foundation of Christ Church and of Trinity, Cambridge, all the other Tudor colleges were founded and endowed by subjects. The queen's enthusiasm as founder did not much outlast the first charter, but the difficult moment when the College was born helps to explain its name (one of the few acceptable Protestant names for one of the person of the Godhead), and the aggressive tone of the founding language. The realm, it claimed, had a need to defend itself against 'illicit enormities, nefarious abuses, malign heresies and pestiferous impieties' – that is, the threat posed by Catholicism. And the College therefore had, as its primary obligation, the duty to promote and spread the true Christian faith and to extirpate error and false argument. All the predictable duties to augment knowledge and good discipline, and to educate the poor and afflicted, to train

⁷ G. Kilroy, 'The Queen's Visit to Oxford in 1566: a Fresh Look at Neglected Manuscript Sources', *Recusant History* 31:3 (2013), 331-73; P. Kewes, ' "Plesures in Lernyng" and the Politics of Counsel in Early Elizabethan England: Royal Visits to Cambridge and Oxford', *English Literary Renaissance*, 46:3 (2016), 333-75.

⁸ JCA/CC1

⁹ See Price's insistence on his claim to foundation in his will: TNA, PROB 11/56/416.

the young in science, philosophy, the sacred tongues and finally in theology, were subordinated to this insistence on the defence of orthodoxy.

The first fifty years of Jesus's existence, until the moment in 1622 when Sir Eubule Thelwall was fully established as Principal, the third charter had been granted and the statutes were finally sealed, could be characterised as years of disappointment and intermittent failure. The early Fellowship seems to have been Protestant and conformist in matters of religion, but there is little sign of the vigorous defence of orthodoxy written into the charters. The leadership of the first Principals, in so far as it can be traced from the patchy archival sources, was not particularly effective. David Lewis resigned after a year, moving on to more profitable offices in the civil law; his successor Griffith Lloyd, another civil lawyer, had the advantage of being resident in Oxford and possessing good kinship networks within South Wales, but seems to have struggled to assert himself especially on financial issues. He married Anne Rastell, one of Thomas More's great-nieces, an intriguing Catholic connection for the College.¹⁰ The third Principal, Lloyd's kinsman Francis Bevans, was chosen in questionable circumstances by the informal agreement of the Fellows, and thereafter was usually non-resident, acting as chancellor of Hereford diocese. His successor, John Williams, the first theologian to be appointed, was more distinguished. He was Lady Margaret professor of divinity, an active controversialist in doctrinal disputes, and vice-chancellor from 1604 to 1605.¹¹ In College, however, he was often in conflict with the most forceful of the early Fellows, Griffith Powell. When Powell succeeded him in 1612, it seemed that there was now an opportunity for energetic leadership: yet even Powell failed to get the College's statutes signed and sealed, an action that was essential to secure its future.¹² The great and good were of little help. There is no evidence that the interest of the Queen or Lord Burghley was sustained into the late years of the reign, and it seems that nothing was done initially to ensure that the commissioners appointed under the charter to draw up statutes proceeded to do so. Bevans sought a second charter in 1589, mainly to renew the body of commissioners who should prepare the statutes.¹³

Active support at this stage came not from Burghley, though he was still named, but from three

¹⁰ *History of Parliament: The Commons, 1558-1603, under Lloyd*. Anne's sister was married to another of the first Jesus commissioners, Robert Lougher.

¹¹ Tyacke, 186-7, 576.

¹² JCA, ES1/1, gives Powell's account of these early years. Hardy, 19-23.

¹³ JCA, CC/2. Bevans also sought to give the College expanded control over the mortgage that provided its financial support.

churchmen – Archbishop John Whitgift, Herbert Westfaling, bishop of Hereford, and Gabriel Goodman, dean of Westminster – and one civil lawyer, Sir William Herbert. None of these worthies seems to have made the time fully to promote the interests of the College. Even Whitgift, who moaned that he had made statutes for all the cathedral churches in England ‘in lesse tyme’ than those being drafted for Jesus, did not pursue the matter to a conclusion. The relevant documents were drawn up, passed from hand to hand and lingered in in-trays for years. In about 1609 Griffith Powell was claimed to have said that ‘if he weare a Bysshope [...] he would confirme them’ – yet there was still a gap of more than ten years before the third charter and the establishment of the statutes.¹⁴

Underlying these difficulties was the perennial problem of finance. Price had not left any assured funding to his infant institution: his only large gesture of land to produce revenue was mortgaged property and yielded a very insecure £600. It took fifteen years to agree that this should be deposited with the Goldsmiths’ Company, at which point Jesus finally gained £5 for each £100 in annual income. Though a trickle of endowments began to yield a little more from the turn of the century onwards, there was not enough to fund proper Fellowships, and neither new building nor the purchase of further property in proximity to the College could be contemplated.¹⁵ There were inevitable disputes between the Principals and Fellows, dramatically described in the memorandum of Griffith Powell, probably dating from 1613. He alleged that one of the reasons for the reluctance of the Principals to secure statutes was that it gave them direct control of the income from the mortgage money. It enabled them to favour certain Fellows over others, to withhold stipends from some individuals and to allocate chambers to ‘friends’. This caused resentment and petty politicking among the early Fellows: Powell reported that ‘the fellowes complayne that they are not used like Fellowes by Mr Dr Williams, and yet they use him like Principall’.¹⁶ There was also an understandable sense of grievance from Principals who were so constrained by a limited income. It meant that there were few Fellows in residence, and that stipends were sometimes not paid for years on end. When Lloyd became Principal, for example, none of the original Fellows or scholars was in residence, and undergraduates often had to be taught extramurally.¹⁷

¹⁴ JCA, ES1/1; CC/3.

¹⁵ Benefactors’ Book JCA, RE/BE/1, 1-7; 1st College Act Book, JCA, RE/1, fos. 13, 20.

¹⁶ JCA ES1/1.

¹⁷ Hardy, 25-32.

Yet a disproportionate focus on the structural difficulties of the foundation can mask the real achievements of the fledgling College. It did swiftly become a centre of Welsh interest in Oxford, which must surely have been one of the objectives of its early backers. The College from its inception offered a focus for ambitious youths from the Principality. Though detailed lists of resident members are not available until the beginning of the buttery books in 1637, there is early evidence of distinguished Welsh careers that began at Jesus. Two future Irish bishops, Richard Meredyth and John Rider, were among the very first graduates, and John Davies, reviser of the Welsh Bible, took his BA in 1594. A slightly later entrant was Morgan Owen, elected bishop of Llandaff in 1640 but famous mainly for funding the south porch of the University church, Oxford, built in a style identified with Baroque Catholicism.¹⁸

A few scions of Welsh gentlemen also chose Jesus: James Perrot, illegitimate son of Sir John Perrot, a Lord Deputy of Ireland, Rowland Meyricke, son of Sir Gelly, and William Vaughan, from the family of the Vaughans of Golden Grove, Carmarthenshire. The University matriculation lists are a very inadequate guide to membership of the College before the Civil War, since many who did not intend to proceed to a full degree were not entered. Nevertheless, they show fitful advance during the half-century to 1622. The overall tally was 542 matriculations and degrees, with significant growth in some of the Jacobean years. Of that total 426 students claimed Welsh origin, and many of the rest came from the border counties of Hereford, Shropshire and Cheshire. The numbers also indicate that Jesus had acquired a reputation as an appropriate destination for the young, despite its financial and organisational problems.¹⁹

Though very little evidence survives of the undergraduate experience of these early students, the 1622 statutes laid down rules and structures they were expected to follow. The day was to begin with prayers in chapel between five and six o'clock, and then three days a week the scholars and junior students were instructed by the Praelector Dialecticae on Porphyry or Aristotle's *Categories*, while the seniors were lectured by the Censor Philosophiae on some book of natural philosophy. Other classes were to be held each day in hall on dialectics, rhetoric, physics or moral philosophy, and at every stage the students were to be trained to engage in formal disputations to consolidate what they had learned. Younger members of the College were to be instructed on the elements of faith by the catechist, and their seniors were to dispute on a

¹⁸ These examples are taken from *DWB*. For Owen, see article in *ODNB*. He was a keen supporter of the High Church policies of Archbishop Laud.

¹⁹ Figures from the Jesus College database, prepared by Pascal Kale, researched from J. Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714*, 4 vols (Oxford, 1888-92).

theological theme every fortnight. Then there were University obligations to attend lectures and disputations, as well as hearing public sermons.²⁰ These solemn and strict schedules may reflect a certain expectation of behaviour. But much closer to actual experience is surely the advice of William Vaughan. While Vaughan was a serious scholar who chose to graduate and subsequently studied civil law, his gentle status made him aware of the flexible side of University learning. In his *Golden Grove Moraliz'd* (1600) he advised parents on how to choose a good tutor: he should be learned, mature and at least an MA, and crucially he should be closely involved in 'reading' to his charges. They should live in his chamber and be supervised to avoid idleness, dicing, swearing and the like, their income should be managed for them and their tutor should be 'well friended' in the University so that he could protect the interests of his students.²¹

While this was valuable advice for gentry families, many of the Welshmen arriving at Jesus were poor and no doubt relatively friendless. They were also by definition culturally distinct from their English contemporaries. This meant they readily turned to their countrymen for support, a process that did not always meet with parental approval. Sir William Maurice did not send his son Cadwallader to Jesus at the end of Elizabeth's reign precisely because he wanted him to escape from his countrymen. He advised the boy to befriend 'studious honest Englishmen', to avoid the Welsh, who were riotous and quarrelsome, and to use the English language whenever possible.²² Though one stabbing and one advice letter scarcely prove that the Welsh were more quarrelsome than other students, the stereotype was readily invoked.²³ In a book of Oxford jests from the 1630s the story goes that at a local play the action demanded that a Cornishman wrestled and defeated four Welshmen. A scholar of Jesus was so angry at this slight 'of the British nation' that he leapt on the stage and attacked the Cornishman in earnest.²⁴ And when the Welsh were not identified as aggressive, they were labelled as poor and cheese-eaters. In a play performed in London in 1607, *The Puritaine, or The Widow of Watling Street*, George Pye, scholar, complains that he was expelled from the University, 'onely for stealing a cheese out of Jesus Colledge'.²⁵ Sometime in the early seventeenth century a libel wrapping a piece of toasted cheese was deposited at the gates of Jesus, claiming the College was built by Price for 'Jesus Christ and the Welsh geese'.²⁶

²⁰ JCA, ST.1 (a). This is the copy of the statutes signed by four commissioners, including the earl of Pembroke.

²¹ W. Vaughan, *The Golden Grove Moralized in Three Books* (London, 1600), bk. 3, chapter 38.

²² NLW, Clennennau MS 44.

²³ On the stabbing see insert 1B below.

²⁴ H.L. Oxon, *Gratiae Iudentes Iests* (London, 1638), 19.

²⁵ W.S., *The Puritaine or the Widdowe of Watling-street*, (London, 1607), 5.

²⁶ JCA, uncatalogued Box 87/ item 13.

The institutional story of the College becomes more positive in the second decade of James I's reign. Griffith Powell may not have finalised the statutes, but he did adopt a new and vigorous approach to fundraising. Soliciting support from alumni and others was not a new idea in the University: colleges regularly approached individuals for benefactions, and Sir Thomas Bodley had initiated a campaign to support his library. What Powell did was different: he probably recognised that the Welsh gentry were reluctant, or unable, to provide much permanent endowment. Instead he began a county-by-county plea for funding for 'the now erecting building and finishing of the said Colledge'.²⁷ Powell made it clear the donors might have expected the Fellows of the College to travel with the begging bowl in the same way, but that this would involve great expense and 'loss of time', so the task was handed to agents such as Sir Henry Williams in Brecon. The Benefactors' Book records that £764 5s. 6d. was collected by this method, most of it from South Wales, though with significant sums from the Welsh interest in London. The collecting was still in train at Powell's death. Monmouth and Glamorgan provided little because the plan to solicit gifts was abandoned at this point.²⁸ However, the yield from other counties was sufficient to allow the College to proceed with building the hall and chapel.

Mansell's College and the Civil War

Sir Leoline Jenkins, the Restoration Principal, is often described as the second founder of Jesus. While it was he who finally put the College on a sound financial basis and secured its role as the Welsh 'national college', its future success as an institution must surely be attributed to his mentor, Francis Mansell. Mansell, who came from a family of Carmarthenshire gentry, was Principal no fewer than three times. Elected in 1620, he resigned the following year in favour of Sir Eubule Thelwall. After Thelwall's death in 1630 he was elected once again, and so was the first Principal to be chosen under the new statutes. Royalist defeat in the Civil Wars led, in 1648, to his removal by the Parliamentary Commissioners, but Mansell lived on, finally to be restored in 1660. In 1661, in failing health, he ensured that Leoline Jenkins succeed him. Even when he was not formally in charge of the College he must have been a looming Oxford presence: he was a Fellow of All Souls in the 1620s and was only temporarily in internal exile in Wales during the

²⁷ JCA, RE 1, fos. 35r-38v

²⁸ JCA, RE/BE/1, 69ff. Specific gifts included £60 for wainscoting the Hall and £27 for glass.

Interregnum. By 1651 he had returned to Oxford and was living above the College gatehouse, taking on pupils to provide himself with a living.²⁹

Mansell's college was an altogether more comfortable place than it had been in earlier times. The buildings now included hall, kitchen, buttery and some chambers, library and chapel (both built under Thelwall). Powell's funding campaign had helped to prompt further endowments, and Thelwall's northern Welsh background meant that more was now secured from an area that had not been much identified with Jesus in its first fifty years. Mansell had resigned in 1621 because Thelwall could do more for the College through his local and national connections, though there were other issues: Mansell's appointment had been opposed by at least three Fellows and four Scholars, and the All Souls Fellowship he took up was financially attractive. At least under Thelwall enough money was coming in to meet the costs of a more secure foundation: Oxford antiquary and gossip Anthony à Wood commented, 'I have heard his successor Dr Mansell say that the College was about £5,000 the better for him'.³⁰ This meant that there was more chance that the sixteen Fellows and sixteen Scholars who made up the Foundation after the 1622 charter would be resident and active. Yet theory and practice often diverged: collective decisions were signed off by only six to eight Fellows, and in 1638 Mansell had finally to proceed against three absentee Fellows, one of whom, he claimed, had not been seen for six or seven years.³¹ This was an extreme case, but a relaxed view of residence was not uncommon: for example, one of Jesus's most interesting graduates, the essayist James Howell, was chosen as a Fellow in 1623 with no intention of residing. The previous year Howell wrote to Principal Thelwall thanking him for the offer of a Fellowship, remarking, 'I cannot make present use of this your great favour, or promotion rather, yet I do highly value it and humbly accept of it'.³²

It is in Howell's correspondence with Mansell, Thelwall and the influential Vice-Principal Thomas Prichard that we get the first specific reference to the 'national college' of Wales. Howell also wrote to Mansell at All Souls expressing the hope that Thelwall 'be not over-partiall to North-Wales men'.³³ This anxiety about North versus South Wales in patronage rumbled on throughout the years before the Civil War. When Mansell tried to eject the three absentee Fellows in 1638,

²⁹ L. Jenkins, *The Life of Dr Mansell, D.D., Principal of Jesus College, Oxford*, (London, 1854), 1-14.

³⁰ Hardy, 59.

³¹ JCA, PR Mansell/A1.

³² J. Howell, *Epistolae Ho-eliae: Familiar Letters Domestic and Forren* (London, 1650), 6.

³³ JCA, PR Mansell/A1.

Michael Roberts, later his successor, accused him of favouring the south. Mansell denied the charge but pointed out that more Fellowships and Scholarships were endowed from the south than the north, and that some of the latter were endowed 'very meanly'. Though he promised to act flexibly, he also insisted that at least two or three Fellowships should be held by Englishmen, because of the nature of the endowment, and because Jesus needed the friendship of other colleges. Isolation and focus on one regional identity would prevent promotion within the collegiate system, and, if that happened, Mansell concluded with some exaggeration, it might be better for the Welsh nation if Jesus had never been founded.

One of the major projects undertaken in the Thelwall and Mansell years was the completion, and then extension, of the chapel. The two decades before the Civil War were a period of competitive chapel-building and renovation in Oxford, the years when Archbishop Laud as Chancellor promoted the 'beauty of holiness' and a view of the Church centred on the sacraments and formal worship. Jesus Chapel has been so comprehensively altered by later generations that it does not offer a sense of this period as do Lincoln or Wadham. All the College has left is the entrance canopy with its motto '*ascendat oratio, descendat gratia*' – 'let prayer ascend, let grace descend' – and the record of payments made for the enlarged building in 1637–38, which include new steps up into the sanctuary. These features point to a form of theology and ecclesiology widely accepted in Oxford in the 1630s: an expression of faith that emphasised human agency, rather than the Calvinist perception of man's unworthiness for the receipt of God's redemption.³⁴ While there is no direct evidence about Principal Mansell's doctrinal beliefs, he seems to have been notable among his peers for the strength of his loyalism to the monarchy and the ecclesiastical establishment. That devotion led Charles I on the eve of the Civil War to advocate Mansell for the role of vice-chancellor, but it was judged that he was too divisive for the position. It was surely also Mansell's firm leadership, and his choice of Fellows, that made Jesus the College most resistant to the Parliamentary Commissioners after 1648: only two Fellows are known to have submitted to their authority, though several avoided oath-swearing by simply leaving Oxford.³⁵

³⁴ On 'Laudian' theology in Oxford see Tyacke, 584-90 and Brockliss, *Oxford*, 197-202. The chapel was consecrated by the bishop of Oxford in May 1621: JCA, Box 151/2.

³⁵ Jenkins, *Life of Mansell*, 10-14. T. Richards, 'The Puritan Visitation of Jesus College, Oxford and the Principalship of Dr Michael Roberts (1648-1657)', *THC* (1922-3), 12-17.

The Civil War and the arrival of the king's court in Oxford made life in Jesus as difficult as in other colleges. New developments, especially the library that was to have replaced Eubule Thelwall's rickety structure, were set aside. The College was, to quote Leoline Jenkins, 'dismantled into part of a garrison', and the ordinary academic life of the University was severely disrupted.³⁶ In place of students the chambers were filled by a miscellany of courtiers and soldiers, including Lord Herbert and other Welshmen. Sir Edward Stradling, whose brothers were students, died in the College in 1644 and was buried in the chapel. Lord Grandison had died there of wounds in the previous year, and his widow apparently stayed on until the fall of the city, building up debts to the buttery.³⁷ The Principal's lodgings are reputed still to be haunted by a young woman looking for the body of her soldier lover.³⁸ The cost of the war and its aftermath looms largest in the College's records. Damage had been done when parliamentary soldiers occupied the city at the very beginning of the war; over 86lb. of plate was surrendered to the king during these years, Mansell not holding anything back unlike some of his fellow heads; additional payments had to be made for soldiers and fortifications. The temporary residents failed to pay chamber rents, and, to make matters worse, the College tenants in Wales were understandably laggard or in default with rent payments. Between 1644 and 1648 there was no bursar to pursue these debts and, as Mansell wrote in the latter year, the accounts were made up by the Principal and Fellows when they 'happened to be at home'.³⁹

Mansell was ordering the accounts to satisfy the 1648 Parliamentary Visitors who had removed him from office and appointed Michael Roberts in his stead. It is difficult to write the college history of this period without casting Mansell as hero and Roberts as villain in a protracted power struggle. Roberts, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, had been elected a Fellow of Jesus in 1625 and was made bursar in 1631. He appears to have been assiduous in signing documents and began an effective set of account books. But he and Mansell fell out, and it was Roberts who was the target of the latter's attack on three Fellows in 1637–38. While his fault was formally that he had not taken his doctorate within the required terms, Mansell's attack spoke of the greed of his bursar, who had taken £50 revenue per annum for himself, while making a permanent loss of £200 for the College.⁴⁰ Though Roberts was ejected, he remained in Oxford, and his chance for revenge came when the visitors appointed him head of house and ordered Mansell to hand over

³⁶ Jenkins, *Life of Mansell*, 11.

³⁷ Hardy, 104-5; JCA, BU/AC/GEN/1, 134-5.

³⁸ Communication from the former Principal Peter North, though the Norths say they never encountered the ghost.

³⁹ JCA, PR Mansell/ Accts. 1644-8.

⁴⁰ JCA, PR Mansell/A1.

the keys. Everything was done in due order, if painfully slowly. Inventories of the College's goods, and of the library, were drawn up and signed by Roberts. Only in March 1649 did Mansell finally surrender the College seal and retreat to Wales.⁴¹

Roberts inherited a mess. Income levels had fallen because of the decline of rents from tenants, and there were, as far as we can tell, few students. In 1647 the excess of outgoings over income was £452, and there was still no bursar to arrest the decay. The Principal and few surviving Fellows all seem to have travelled to collect rents from the estates in person. The Fellowship was also in flux. Before Roberts's arrival new elections had led to the promotion of five Englishmen, most of whom moved on to other places after a few years. They cannot have felt welcome: resistance to these incomers took the form of physically denying them entrance to their chambers, until the University's provost marshal was called in. Later elections and some drifting back by earlier Fellows provided some stability after 1650, and in 1651 a new bursar, Jenkin Lloyd, was appointed.⁴² This, however, was only the beginning of Roberts's troubles. Though the details of the conflicts are convoluted, the behaviour of the Fellowship seems, as Anthony à Wood later described that of Oxford men in general, to have been 'false, factious [...] delighting in petty plots'.⁴³ The essential point was that Roberts was not trusted, especially as he was believed to have been defrauding the College and the Fellows of income and allowances. The various groups that formed pro and contra the Principal may also have been divided on ideological grounds: Roberts had an uncertain religious background and certainly did not embody the same staunch Anglicanism as Mansell. Of course, the old Principal, no doubt sitting quietly in his chamber, denied any involvement in the stirs. By 1656 the Fellows had been told firmly by Oliver Cromwell's University Visitors to cease resisting their head of house and to observe the statutes. However, the conflict had gone too far, and Roberts either 'resigned' or 'was removed' in favour of Francis Howell. Howell was acceptable to the Visitors. He perhaps also had the merit of being a Cornishman, a little detached from what the *Oxford History of the University* calls the 'dark and cymric feuds'.⁴⁴

⁴¹ JCA, PR Mansell/ C1/ fos. 18r-48r. See chapter 8 for the inventory of the library.

⁴² Richards, 'Puritan Visitation', 31-69.

⁴³ A. Wood, *Life and Times of Anthony Wood, antiquary, of Oxford*, vol. 1, A Clark (ed.), (Oxford Historical Society, 1891), 296.

⁴⁴ B. Worden, 'Cromwellian Oxford', in Tyacke, 765.

Restoration

The restoration of Charles II and the revival of Anglican Oxford set the seal on Mansell's image as a symbol of legitimist resistance to the Commonwealth. Leoline Jenkins proudly relates how his mentor did not glory in this role: instead he waited several months before advancing his claims to be returned as Principal of Jesus, thoroughly disapproving of the scramble for office that the return of the king unleashed. It may have been in these months of 1660 that Mansell was approached with offers of a bishopric: his tomb in the chapel claims that such an offer was made more than once and was turned down. Instead he retired and, apparently as second choice, the Fellowship elected Jenkins 'with the good liking of our Common-Father'.⁴⁵

Leoline Jenkins is a unique figure in the College's history. He balanced a deep attachment to Jesus with a stratospheric political career that led to him becoming secretary of state in the late years of Charles II's reign. Jenkins's early history was not particularly distinguished: he came from a relatively poor background in Glamorganshire, arrived in Jesus College in 1641 as a servitor and then had to struggle to maintain his studies because of war. His biographer William Wynne says that 'a good opinion was soon taken up of him', and his 'settled gravity and serious deportment' were praised by his seniors.⁴⁶ He seems to have fought for the king, and then withdrew to Wales in 1648. There he lived with Sir John Aubrey and was closely associated with Mansell, returning to Oxford in 1651 to tutor, like his mentor, at Mr White's house, a place nicknamed 'Little Welsh Hall'. Unlike Mansell, he found Oxford dangerous and went abroad for five years, teaching and studying civil law. When he finally returned to Oxford in 1660 and became a Fellow of Jesus, he was already marked out as a knowledgeable lawyer and someone with the right contacts – above all, with the future archbishop of Canterbury, Gilbert Sheldon. By the mid-1660s he was playing a crucial role in the legal business of the University and was a judge of the admiralty court and of the archbishop's prerogative court (in charge of the proving of wills).⁴⁷ While this looks a little like the career trajectory of David Lewis or Eubule Thelwall, the difference lay in the growth of English trade and the expansion of its politics in the intervening century. Jenkins was moved from

⁴⁵ Jenkins, *Life of Mansell*, 30.

⁴⁶ W. Wynne, *The Life of Sir Leoline Jenkins, Ambassador and Plenipotentiary for the General Peace of Cologn and Niimeguen*, 2 vols (London, 1724), vol. I, ii.

⁴⁷ Wynne, *Jenkins*, vol. I, v-xii.

work in the Admiralty into international diplomacy, became chief negotiator for the Treaty of Nijmegen between the Dutch and the French and in 1680 was made secretary of state.

It was only in 1673 that Jenkins acknowledged that he could not manage Jesus alongside his demanding public roles and resigned. His biographer insisted that until then he had always had the interests of Jesus in the forefront of his consciousness, and that he made an energetic start on reversing the damage done during the Interregnum. This involved attempts to improve income and gradually to undertake more building, and a restoration of discipline, 'long interrupted by the late distracted and licentious times'.⁴⁸ The Fellowship apparently reviewed the statutes, and the Principal tried to return to the academic structures laid out in them. Wynne's account describes a vigorous and effective institution. However, the surviving evidence also shows difficulties and points to an old villain as partly to blame.

The income of the College was in arrears all through the Restoration years, and full recovery waited on Jenkins's benefactions. Meanwhile, the College was distracted by the need to fight Michael Roberts once again. Roberts had remained in Oxford and, during the many years that he survived after his ejection, was committed to regaining monies that he claimed as his due or, better still, the Fellowship he had lost in 1638.⁴⁹ Jenkins had to defend the College both locally before the Vice-Chancellor and in national courts, and the issues were finally resolved in the Jesus's favour only in the year he ceased to be Principal.⁵⁰ Roberts was no doubt an irritating distraction, but the prolonged struggles might also suggest that Mansell and Jenkins had made enemies by their self-righteous defence of established order. They would certainly have liked to airbrush Roberts out of the history of their times: it is striking that Jenkins did not once mention his name in his short biography of Mansell.

By the early 1660s the decline of the war years had certainly been replaced by a growth in student admissions, including the acceptance of more sons of Welsh gentlemen. Thirty-seven undergraduates, in addition to the twelve Scholars, had been in residence in 1637; by 1669, at the height of the post-war recovery, there were fifty-nine.⁵¹ Life was also becoming more comfortable for the wealthier undergraduates: in 1659, for example, Edward Kynaston, son of

⁴⁸ Wynne, *Jenkins*, vol. I, x-xi.

⁴⁹ JCA, PR Roberts/B10, d 1-7; All Souls College, Wynne MS. 239.

⁵⁰ Richards, 'Puritan Visitation', 92-103.

⁵¹ Andrew Clark's calculations from the Buttery Books – JCA uncatalogued Box 23.

Sir Roger, needed the services of a mercer, tailor, barber, laundress and fencing master. He was not expected to overdo his studies either: when at home, he was recommended by his tutor Thomas Ellis to work only in the morning, leaving the afternoon for recreation and visiting friends.⁵² More Fellows were in residence, and after 1679 they had the benefit of the new library funded by Sir Leoline. There were some distinguished Fellows in these Restoration generations: William Lloyd, who became bishop of St Asaph and was one of the seven bishops who opposed James II's Declaration of Indulgence; Henry Maurice, who wrote powerfully in defence of episcopacy; and Humphrey Humphreys, bishop of Hereford and a Celtic scholar.⁵³ The College remained firmly orthodox and committed to theological studies, though there were a few antiquarians. It was in this period that the College failed to honour one of its most distinguished sons, Edward Lluyd, naturalist and antiquary, who left after two years to become a keeper of the Ashmolean. He was later called 'the best naturalist now in Europe', yet Jesus refused even to buy in his books after his death.⁵⁴

After Jenkins's resignation in 1673 he was replaced by John Lloyd, who remained in post until 1686, when he became bishop of St David's. Anthony à Wood described him as 'a clowne, pedagogue, sot, not speaking Latin', though Dean Fell of Christ Church insisted he was 'a good honest man'.⁵⁵ The College now had a sufficiently high reputation for its defence of the established Church to ensure that Lloyd, Wood's opinion notwithstanding, was Vice-Chancellor from 1682 to 1685. He played a part in the notorious book-burning in the Bodleian quad when Thomas Hobbes's *Leviathan*, John Milton's two defences of the execution of Charles I, and Richard Baxter's *Holy Commonwealth* went up in flames.⁵⁶ After Charles II's death the University had the painful task of adjusting to the succession of the Catholic James II. Nothing much is known of the loyal Welsh College in these years, though Lloyd's deputy, Jonathan Edwards, organised scholars from Jesus into a militia to oppose the duke of Monmouth. Fortunately, they were not needed when the rebellion collapsed.⁵⁷

⁵² JCA, uncatalogued Box 151/ item 6.

⁵³ Hardy, 142-9.

⁵⁴ ODNB, *Edward Lluyd (1659/60-1709)*- Lluyd is spelt in a variety of ways, and even the ODNB has changed from the original Lloyd or Lhwyd.

⁵⁵ Wood, *Life and Times*, iii, 27.

⁵⁶ TNA, SP29/429, fo. 181; Wood, *Life and Times*, iii, 62-5.

⁵⁷ T. Hearne, *Remarks and Collections*, 5, D.W.Rannie (ed.) (Oxford Historical Society, 1901), 247-9. The troop was made up roughly equally of Jesus and Christ Church men. The pikemen included Edward Lluyd, who had already left the college to join the Ashmolean: Baker, 21.

The Fellowship otherwise must have spent much of its energy in assimilating the great endowment left by Jenkins, who died in 1685. It was Leoline's landed estate that changed the financial fortunes of Jesus, eventually increasing income by about £700 a year. The College had to agree to use this bounty to fill all its Fellowships and Scholarships, to ensure that they were adequately funded, to augment the stipend of the Principal, to establish lectureships in Latin and Greek and to assume responsibility for Cowbridge School in Glamorgan. The last provisions show Jenkins's own commitment to the education of Welsh youth: the lecturer was to offer what we might call remedial reading to help 'raw youths that come out of country schools in Wales'.⁵⁸ The will was largely fulfilled in the settlement agreed in 1687. With this re-ordering the Foundation finally became virtually the closed prerogative of the Welsh. Jenkins followed very closely on the proposals made earlier by his mentor, though in even more restrictive form. Seven of the sixteen Fellowships were to go to North Wales, seven to the South, one was reserved for the Channel Islands under the earlier endowment of Charles I, and just one was open to the English. But, to all intents and purposes, Jesus had now formally become the Welsh College in Oxford.⁵⁹

Sir Leoline Jenkins was buried in Jesus College chapel in September 1685, 'attended to his grave with all the decency and splendor becoming those high employments he had undergone', accompanied by music and anthems; the burial service was read by John Lloyd as both Principal and Vice-Chancellor.⁶⁰ Never again was a Jesus Principal to occupy so high a position in the state.

IA The True Founder: Hugh Price

The wary eyes of Hugh Price, or more properly Hugh Aprice, regard the College from the back of the hall dais. His is the name that appeared twice in the Foundation Charter, as benefactor and as the leading commissioner nominated to establish statutes. And his will, dating from three years after the foundation, makes it clear that he saw himself, rather than Elizabeth, as its originator.⁶¹

It was in many ways an unlikely initiative. Price was an old man. Born about 1495 in Brecon, he was trained in canon law, to which he later added a doctorate in civil law. He moved steadily

⁵⁸ JCA, BE/Jenkins.

⁵⁹ See the revised statutes of 1685: JCA, CC/4.

⁶⁰ Wynne, *Jenkins*, i, p. li. Wood also gives an account of the burial, *Life and Times*, iii, 161-2.

⁶¹ TNA, PROB 11/56/416.

through the ranks of the Church, holding several benefices in conjunction and conforming to all the great religious changes of the Reformation. He was, among other things, treasurer of St David's Cathedral.⁶² External conformity to the Protestant faith of Elizabeth barely concealed his conservative sympathies. In 1572 he showed his views by hesitating to subscribe to the Church of England's Thirty-Nine Articles: he read the articles at St David's in the shortest possible form and wearing (inappropriately) a pair of slippers and a riding gown.⁶³ His will included an endowment for a priest to say prayer in his native parish church of Brecon in perpetuity, virtually reviving the proscribed belief in purgatory. Though Price did not warm to the new Elizabethan order, he saw himself as helping other men of modest background to successful careers like his own. He helped to fund educational scholarships for Brecon men before founding Jesus, and he knew the group of Welsh civil lawyers who were prepared to support his educational initiatives.

All might have been well had Price been able to bear the financial burden of his foundation. He paid for the purchase of the first site, but the promise of £60 income made in his will came from Brecon land that was mortgaged, not in freehold, and was of little use. The claim, on the College gates, that he was the founder was derided by a university wit:

'Hugh did not build yet, he barely laid the foundations;

May God give so that you can say "Hugh built"'"⁶⁴

1B A Student Death

It is difficult to discover much about the experience of undergraduates in the early years of the College. But a tragedy from the Jacobean period offers a rare glimpse into their life. In 1613 William Powell was accused of the killing of fellow student Walter Williams, and the University recorded the charge in detail in order to claim jurisdictional authority over the case. Witnesses at the coroner's inquest described a fight in the chamber that Powell shared with Francis Robart. The conflict between Powell and Williams may have started as little more than horseplay. Williams apparently wanted to go to bed, feeling that 9.00 p.m. was the proper hour, and was annoyed by five friends who were crowded round his fire, no doubt gossiping in Welsh or English, not the Latin that they were required to use. Words and blows were exchanged – Williams was

⁶² G. Williams, 'Hugh Price, LL.D.', *Brycheiniog*, 25 (1992-3), 57-65.

⁶³ NLW, SDKL/B/1, p.240.

⁶⁴ Williams, 'Hugh Price', 64.

claimed to have said that he would not be abused by a freshman – and as both parties naturally carried knives the scrap became a fatal clash, with Powell stabbing Williams in the left side. The latter lived for long enough to attest that the attack was not premeditated. This probably enabled the University to gain its way and protect Powell by claiming benefit of clergy. We can find out a little about the group who crowded around the chamber fire and later testified about the attack. All were young, between seventeen and nineteen, and presumably early in their time in College. Only one can be identified as receiving a BA. Richard Wade, the BA, was matriculated as a gentleman: there is nothing that suggests that the rest had much social standing. Four of the six have Welsh surnames. So the fate of the luckless Williams may reinforce the stereotype of Welsh students as fiery and quarrelsome. Perhaps the most surprising aspect of the story is that no senior member of the College intervened in the crisis, or even played any role in the subsequent investigation: there is no evidence in the surviving record of the tutorial care of the young that was an expected feature of the seventeenth-century University.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ Oxford University Archives; NEP/supra/Reg.K - Register of Congregations 1606-15, fos. 170r-190v. I am very grateful to Professor John Maddicott for drawing my attention to this important case.

2. From the 'Glorious Revolution' to the Tercentenary c.1688–1871

Colin Haydon

The years from the Revolution to the reign of George IV saw the erection of some of Oxford's most celebrated architecture, including new College buildings at All Souls, Christ Church, Corpus Christi, Magdalen, The Queen's, Trinity and Worcester. Yet how little changed, after the Second Quadrangle's completion in 1713, at Jesus, its buildings and narrow gardens constrained by the surrounding four streets! The Principal's lodgings and the first quadrangle were altered, and in the 1750s the frontage was 'much improved', with a classical entrance; but little else was done.¹ How far, then, do such limited architectural adjustments betoken either confident stability or complacent, even lamentable, torpor (or mere necessity) during the period?

The Noiseless Tenor of Their Way?

The late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were crucial for the College's long-term development. The will (1685) of Sir Leoline Jenkins, Jesus's 'great benefactor', both consolidated the finances of the College and confirmed it as Oxford's Welsh foundation.² Jenkins had wanted the College's resources to benefit candidates from North and South Wales with Monmouthshire equally, with seven Scholarships and seven Fellowships reserved for each part's applicants. That balance was, however, tilted after 1713 by the closely drawn will of Edmund Meyricke, landowner and clergyman, since it augmented the value of the North Welsh Scholarships and endowed six North Welsh Exhibitions.³ By the mid-nineteenth century there were twenty-nine Welsh and Monmouthshire Exhibitions, with students from North Wales enjoying twenty-four of them.⁴ With so many Scholarships, Exhibitions and Fellowships restricted, or preference given, by benefactions to natives of specified Welsh dioceses, Welsh counties or Monmouthshire, former pupils of grammar schools in those counties or 'founders' kin' (benefactors' descendants), ladders from school to a Scholarship to a Fellowship were created. Filling vacancies became almost casual: in 1824 it was decided that particulars fixed to the chapel door should be much more precise than hitherto.⁵ Prospective commoners were informally steered to the College by alumni who

¹ The New Oxford Guide (Oxford, 1759), 53; Royal Commission on Historical Monuments England: An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City of Oxford (London, 1939), 60.

² TNA, PROB 11/381/352; JCA, BU.AC.LEO. 1, 423^v.

³ TNA, PROB 11/536/10; JCA, RE.BE.2, 108. On the income yielded by the bequest, see Baker, 62.

⁴ JCA, RE. 5, 125.

⁵ JCA, RE. 4, 370.

had returned to Wales: clergymen and schoolmasters, fathers, uncles, cousins or friends. Two scholarships were restricted to English candidates; one Fellowship was reserved for an Englishman, another for a Channel Islander; and Jenkins's will established two 'Missionary Fellows' to serve in the navy or the colonies.⁶ Nevertheless, the Welsh nexus and patronage determined, quite overwhelmingly, the College's composition and character.

Can more be said about those who attended the College? First, there were sons of the Wales's landowners and gentlemen, 'scions of [...] county squirearchs',⁷ part of the privileged minority sharply differentiated from most of its countrymen not only by its wealth but also by its increasingly anglicised culture, use of English and, as plebeian nonconformity grew, its Anglicanism. Such students might be related and, later in life, might become MPs or join the Welsh lieutenancy, shrievalty or bench. Landowners' sons might come as commoners, the wealthiest as gentlemen commoners, and pay tuition fees and for victuals. Others came as Scholars.⁸ Much in need of Scholarships, since Wales's church livings were notoriously poor, were the sons of the Principality's parish clergy. There were many Scholars who were the sons of 'plebeians' of varying incomes. The poorer students without scholarships became battelers, with reduced charges, and the poorest were servitors, obtaining their education by undertaking menial work.⁹ Generally, the undergraduates arrived at Jesus aged seventeen or eighteen and, despite markedly different origins, had usually attended one of the Principality's endowed grammar schools, Anglican institutions teaching the traditional classical curriculum – worlds apart from the charity or circulating schools teaching basic literacy to the mass of rural, Welsh-speaking children. Most later became clergymen. Of course, changes occurred. From the eighteenth century, Wales's consciously exclusive élite sent many of its sons to English schools, thereby facilitating their admission to Oxford or Cambridge colleges besides Jesus, whose average annual number of matriculands consequently declined (thirty-one in 1711–20; nineteen in 1751–60; nine in 1791–1800).¹⁰ Correspondingly, between 1791 and 1830, some Jesus Scholarships were given

⁶ TNA, PROB 11/381/352.

⁷ E.S. Ffoulkes, 'My Tables, My Tables, -- Meet It is I Set it Down!', in H. Daniel (ed.), *Our Memories: Shadows of Old Oxford*, 5 (Oxford, 1889), 17.

⁸ Fathers' ranks or occupations are noted in a Scholars' Admissions Book dating from the 1730s: JCA, RE.AD.2, *passim*.

⁹ JCA, TU.a.5, A.B. Clough, Memorandum, n.d. [1827?]; J.N.L.B[aker], 'From the Bursary. James Matthews and his Collected Papers', *Dragon*, 9:2 (1960), 42.

¹⁰ Jesus College, Oxford, Database of Members 1571-1886.

to 'middle-class' boys – the sons of attorneys, merchants and surgeons – thus slightly raising admissions.¹¹

During the period 1688–1871 there were ten Principals: Jonathan Edwards (1686–1712), John Wynne (1712–20), William Jones (1720–25), Eubule Thelwall (1725–27), Thomas Pardo (1727–63), Humphrey Owen (1763–68), Joseph Hoare (1768–1802), David Hughes (1802–17), Henry Foulkes (1817–57) and Charles Williams (1858–77). Jesus's Principals seem strikingly similar, chosen from *cursus honorum* Fellows or former Fellows. Excepting Edwards and Thelwall, they, with numbing monotony, came from Wales and matriculated from Jesus, graduated BA and proceeded MA, BD and DD. Yet some were distinguished men. Edwards, a Tory high churchman, was Vice-Chancellor from 1689 to 1692 and a redoubtable theologian.¹² Wynne, a very conscientious Principal, was Lady Margaret professor of divinity at Oxford (1705–15), bishop of St Asaph (1715–27) and bishop of Bath and Wells (1727–43).¹³ Pardo was chancellor of St David's, and Hoare a prebendary of Westminster and a Fellow of the Royal Society.¹⁴ Pardo's surviving papers show vividly a Principal's work, difficulties and the skills needed for success. The Principal had patronage to bestow, and Pardo accordingly received requests for assistance, some of them quite exasperating.¹⁵ Sometimes he was praised for playing 'a Cunning Game', sometimes angrily rebuked ('the Manifest Injury You have done me').¹⁶ Elections to the Principalship could be divisive,¹⁷ and supporters of Pardo felt that, after his election, he wished 'to shake them off' ruthlessly, so that they would not expect future favour.¹⁸ Pardo was personally ambitious (by the 1740s, he wanted a bishopric), but his concern for the College's long-term interests was not in

¹¹ JCA, RE.AD.2, 88-162, *passim*.

¹² ODNB, 'Edwards, Jonathan (1638/9-1712)'.

¹³ Ibid., 'Wynne, John (1665/6-1743)'; Christ Church, Oxford, Library, Arch. W. Epist. 21, 58'; W.T. Gibson, 'A Whig Principal of Jesus', *Oxoniensia*, 52 (1987), 204-08; B. Gibson, 'A Welsh Bishop for a Welsh See: John Wynne of St Asaph 1714-27', *The Journal of Welsh Ecclesiastical History*, 1 (1984), 28-43.

¹⁴ W.B. Jones and E.A. Freeman, *The History and Antiquities of Saint David's* (London, 1856), 365; *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 72, Part 1 (1802), 590; <https://collections.royalsociety.org/Dserve.exe?dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqApp=Archive&dsqDb=Catalog&dsqSearch=RefNo==%27EC%2F1753%2F03%27&dsqCmd=Show.tcl>.

¹⁵ E.g., JCA, PP.PARDO/4, *passim*; PR.PARDO/2, N. Hopkins to T. Pardo, 4 July 1756; T. Hughes to Same, 2 October 1760; T. Higgon to Same, 28 January 1760.

¹⁶ JCA, PR.PARDO/1, E. Jones to T. Pardo, 3 March 1727(?); Same to Same, 27 March 1728.

¹⁷ That of 1712 was 'a great Contest': *Thomas Hearne, Remarks and Collections of Thomas Hearne*, ed. C. E. Doble *et al.*, 11 vols, Oxford Historical Society, 2, 7, 13, 34, 42, 43, 48, 50, 65, 67, 72 (Oxford, 1885-1921, repr. Chippenham, 1991-97), 3:431.

¹⁸ JCA, PR.PARDO/1, E. Jones to T. Pardo, 29 March 1728.

doubt.¹⁹ Without an able Principal, College business could be paralysed, as sometimes occurred during Principal Foulkes's last years.²⁰

Information about the Fellowship is patchy, although buttery books chart residence and surviving accounts and tutorage books can pinpoint a Fellow's role in the College at specific times. Roughly half the Fellows resided: those who did filled College offices – tutor, Greek lecturer, Latin lecturer, librarian, bursar, dean, vice-principal; those who did not took benefices, curacies or schoolmasterships.²¹ Jesus's Scholars had a preference over all others in elections. On average, a Fellowship was held for fifteen years and relinquished when a Fellow secured a satisfactory church living or other livelihood or married.²² Some Fellows published their sermons, as did Henry Harris, from 1707 to 1729/30 one of the Missionary Fellows, based at Boston, Massachusetts.²³ A former Fellow might proclaim that status on his publications. John Jones, Fellow from 1667 to 1678 and chancellor of Llandaff from 1686 to 1709, did so on the title-page of his *Mysteries of Opium Reveald* (London, 1700). William Parry, an early eighteenth-century don, was known for his exquisite calligraphy, displayed, above all, in his copy of the College statutes; though Thomas Hearne, the antiquary of St Edmund Hall, declared waspishly, 'He writes a good set Hand, but is little of a Scholar.'²⁴ By contrast, a man whom Hearne considered 'a good Scholar' was the eccentric Evan Lloyd, a don at Jesus from 1714 to 1728, who, after resigning his Fellowship, 'returned to Jesus College and [...] lived there in a strange lazy manner, keeping no manner of Company, and doing no kind of Business'.²⁵

While Jesus remained so largely the Welsh 'national college', what somewhat altered was the students' social status, which gradually declined from an overall undistinguished start. The Mostyns of Mostyn Hall were the most influential family in Flintshire. Sir Roger Mostyn (1673–1739), the third baronet and long-serving MP for the county, matriculated from Jesus in 1690; but his inheriting son, grandson and great-grandson, all MPs for Flintshire, attended, after

¹⁹ Ibid., E.Jones to T.Pardo, 18 February 1728(?); Same to Same, 8 March 1728(?); PR.PARDO/2, J.Nichole to Same, 11 March 1745; J.Philipps to Same, 24 March 1746.

²⁰ BL, Add. MS. 44381, 191^r.

²¹ JCA, BB.a.35, 44, 54, 64, 74, 84, 94, 104, 114, 123, 124, 134, 144, 154, 164, 174, 184, 194, 195, 214, 215, 234, 235, *passim*.

²² Hardy, 241-6.

²³ H.Harris, A Sermon Preached at the Queen's Chappel in Boston, upon Christmas Day, The 25th. of December, 1712 (Boston [Mass], 1712); H.Harris, A Sermon Preach'd at the Queen's Chappel at Boston, August 15th. 1713 (Boston [Mass], 1713).

²⁴ JCA, RE. 3, 218; JCO, Fellows' Library, I Arch.3.25; Hearne, *Remarks and Collections*, 8:323; 5:33.

²⁵ Hearne, *Remarks and Collections*, 11:133.

Westminster School, Christ Church.²⁶ The overall trends are clearly revealed by figures derived from the University's alumni records and other sources. From 1690 to 1719, Jesus annually provided the largest quota of freshmen who matriculated as plebeians or *pauperes pueri*; and in the nineteenth century the College financially assisted many poor students.²⁷ '[V]ery many of [...] Jesus's Victorian] students', educated in Wales, belonged, the 1881 Aberdare Report on Welsh education pronounced, 'to a less wealthy class than the students of other' Oxford colleges.²⁸ Revealingly, Thomas Wynne Edwards, a clergyman and landowner at Llanfechain, Montgomeryshire, sent his eldest son to Oxford in the 1840s, allowing him the 'choice of [...] any college [...] he] liked except Jesus'.²⁹

Daniel Durel, master of Cowbridge Grammar School from 1721 to 1763, called his pupils 'my little Rusticks', and noted in 1730 the difficulties of 'bring[ing] up & fit[ting] young Lads for ye. University, who when they come to me, can hardly speak or write English' – a problem that long beset the Principality's other grammar schools.³⁰ At Oxford, inadequate English inhibited the grasping and discussion of philosophical ideas, while a mediocre grounding in Latin and Greek was a yet more formidable stumbling-block.³¹ Nonetheless, it might be argued (perhaps complacently) that College tuition could remedy the deficiencies.³² Some tutors were plainly dedicated: Principals Wynne, Jones, Thelwall, Pardo, Owen and Hughes all were as young men.³³ Naturally, some instruction fell on deaf ears. The College Register records the 'Total absence' of some Scholars, wasting funds and accommodation, and resulting in the Scholarships' withdrawal.³⁴ More surprisingly, the classical attainments of Principal Foulkes were 'certainly not great'.³⁵ For four years undergraduates chiefly studied Latin and Greek grammar and rhetoric, and logic and

²⁶ D.Hayton, E.Cruickshanks and S.Handley (eds), *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1690-1715* (Cambridge, 2002), 'Mostyn, Sir Roger, 3rd Bt. (1673-1739)'; R.Sedgwick (ed.), *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1715-1754* (London, 1970), 'Mostyn, Thomas, [4th Bt.] (1704-58)'; L.B.Namier and J.Brooke (eds), *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1754-1790* (London, 1964), 'Mostyn, Sir Roger, 5th Bt. (1734-96)'.

²⁷ G.V.Bennett, 'University, Society and Church 1688-1714', in L.S.Sutherland and L.G.Mitchell (eds), *The History of the University of Oxford Volume V: The Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1986), 385; see below, 000.

²⁸ Report of the Committee Appointed to Inquire into the Condition of Intermediate and Higher Education in Wales (London, 1881), xxii, xxiii, 205.

²⁹ Ibid., 207; J.Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford 1715-1886*, 4 vols (Oxford, 1888), 'Edwards, John Copner Wynne', 'Edwards, Thomas Wynne'. Thomas Wynne Edwards was an alumnus of Jesus(!).

³⁰ I.Davies, 'A Certain Schoole': A History of the Grammar School at Cowbridge Glamorgan (Cowbridge, 1967), 28, 34.

³¹ Report of the Committee, 322.

³² JCA, RE.MISC.2, R.Lloyd to T.Pardo(?), 26 June 1753; SC. 7(a-d), D.Durel to T.Pardo, 21 August 1755.

³³ JCA, TU.a.1-4, *passim*.

³⁴ E.g., JCA, RE. 3, 456, 459.

³⁵ Ffoulkes, 'My Tables', 19. Cf. G.V.Cox, *Recollections of Oxford*, 2nd edn (London, 1870), 166.

ethics, through reading, work with tutors (who received fees additional to their Fellowship stipends), lectures/sermons, exercises and formal disputations. Bachelors might remain for a further three years, studying moral and natural philosophy for the MA. John Jones was an undergraduate from 1792 to 1796, and in 1794 read Demosthenes, Herodotus, Horace, Livy, Longinus, Lucan and Virgil.³⁶ Progress was monitored, and individuals deemed weak had to pass 'a second [College] Examination' before admission to 'the Senior Class'.³⁷ Dons could also exert pressure on idle students wanting satisfactory testimonials.³⁸ But, gaining the University's BA degree (and many students left without troubling to take it) was in eighteenth-century Oxford a formality, since the examination was just a viva on largely predictable questions. Glaring exposure of academic deficiency was thus rare. Weakness, or else disregard for ranking or lack of academic ambition, was, however, detectable from the early nineteenth century, when, following the creation of honours schools with stricter examinations, 'classmen' were separated from 'passmen' not taking honours, and the former, from 1807, were split into classes.

The holdings of the Fellows' Library provide a further window into the College's intellectual concerns. As befitted Queen Elizabeth's foundation, it contained classics of the Reformation: John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*, Richard Hooker's *Lawes of Ecclesiastical Politie* and Sir John Temple's *Irish Rebellion*. Important theological works were bequeathed or purchased: Anglican classics by, for example, John Tillotson, Edward Stillingfleet and William Paley; writings by the Dissenter Isaac Watts; books that excited controversy by Daniel Whitby and Samuel Clarke; and, in the nineteenth century, the greatly influential Bampton Lectures. Philosophical works naturally included those of Plato, Aristotle and Locke. The library was well supplied with Greek and Latin literature and histories, and acquired modern works on ancient history, notably Edward Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (despite its mockery of Christianity) and George Grote's *History of Greece*. There were medical and scientific volumes. The library also held, predictably, much Welsh literature, histories of the Principality, Thomas Pennant's *Tours in Wales* and Edward Lhuyd's *Archæologia Britannica*.³⁹

³⁶ JCA, P142/MS1/1, Entries, 1, 2, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31 January, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15 February, 4 March, 3, 24, 26, 29 April, 5 May 1794.

³⁷ JCA, RE.AD.3, 'The Names of the Gentlemen, who were admitted into the Senior Class', 1778-1805. Three students were admitted to 'the Senior Class' on 28 June 1791 only after 'a second Examination', whereas their other contemporaries were admitted after the first.

³⁸ JCA, RE.MISC.2, *passim*.

³⁹ The account of the Library's holdings is taken from JCA, RE.BE.2, 115; LI.3, *passim*; LI.5, *passim*; LI.6, *passim*; LI.7, *passim*; LI.8, *passim*.

Jesus College in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was a thoroughly hierarchical institution, a microcosm of a contemporary élitist society. The surviving account books parade this, the entries running from the Principal, Fellows and Scholars down to battelers, servitors and servants. Fellows and students of senior standing took precedence over those of lesser status respecting 'a Superior Seat in the Chapel'; sermons were delivered by Fellows and Scholars 'acc. to Standing'; and Joseph Hoare, when a Senior Fellow, insistently demanded a room befitting his status when one became vacant.⁴⁰ The dons themselves were studiously deferential to the hereditary visitors, the Herbert earls of Pembroke ('a Family to which we are devoted').⁴¹ Servants vied for status within their own hierarchy too; in 1794, James Langford, cook for over fifty years, secured a posthumous pre-eminence with an obituary in *The Gentleman's Magazine*.⁴² Seating in hall was by rank. Membership of the Senior and Bachelors' Common Rooms was regulated,⁴³ and the different tiers of undergraduates wore different gowns. Unwritten codes reinforced the conduct expected of gentlemen. In 1790, Thomas Morgan was 'for ever expelled' from the Bachelors' Common Room for treating a tradesman 'ungenerously'.⁴⁴

It is possible to sketch the College's social life. Regarding the resident dons, individual letters can give very different impressions: in 1740, Edward Jones, Fellow from 1722 to 1747, was deploring the dons' 'perpetual Jealousies [...] Animosities and Quarrels'; but, a decade earlier, he had told the absent Pardo that 'every thing in College goes on quietly and easily'.⁴⁵ The Fellows' accounts constitute a more reliable gauge, recording the gradual improvement of the Senior Common Room (SCR) and hence revealing it as a congenial meeting-place. In the 1770s and '80s new chairs, mahogany tables and a card table were acquired, as were decanters and glasses.⁴⁶ One account book charts the laying down of the wine cellar, from the creation of the cellar itself in 1771 to 1789/90, when the forty-sixth pipe was purchased.⁴⁷ Celebrations could become rowdy: at 'a most Splendid Entertainmt. in the C. Room,' in 1730(?), '[Pardo's] Cous: Evan got so

⁴⁰ JCA, PR.PARDO/2, 'Mr Hoare's Reasons for Still maintaining his Claim to the Room he is desirous of Succeeding to, & of requesting from the Principal Such Redress, as it is apprehended, is due to him', n.d.; RE.AD.2, Notes for 1766. Cf. JCO, SCR, Betting Book, Entry, 24 July 1824.

⁴¹ JCA, uncatalogued Box 150, T.Pardo and Fellows to H.Legge and R.Arundell, n.d. [c.1750].

⁴² JCA, PR.PARDO/1, E.Jones to T.Pardo, 11 March 1730(?); *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 64, Part 1 (1794), 387.

⁴³ JCA, CR. AC. 4, Resolution, 24 March 1798; CR. AC. 1, e.g., Resolutions, 22 February 1785, 25 November 1789, 10 November 1792.

⁴⁴ JCA, CR. AC. 1, Resolution, 17 April 1790.

⁴⁵ JCA, PR.PARDO/1, E.Jones to T.Pardo, 29 November 1740; Same to Same, 11 March 1730(?).

⁴⁶ JCA, CR. AC. 2, *passim*. From the early nineteenth century, snuff was bought and, in 1841, a chess set and backgammon board: CR. AC. 4, 5, *passim*.

⁴⁷ JCA, CR. AC. 2, *passim*.

damnable drunk, that he tumbled off his Chair [...] and he talked Bawdy with more yn. common Volubility'.⁴⁸ More decorously, and rustically, in the next century, 'the Fellows used to sit in summer outside the Bursary and regale themselves with pipes & ale'.⁴⁹

The undergraduates appear similarly clubbable: the *TerræFilius*, the University's satirical orator, described them in 1733 as 'merry Taffies'.⁵⁰ Those from the same county or locality might band together.⁵¹ In the late eighteenth century, friends from North Wales rode in groups, for safety, on horseback to Oxford or back.⁵² In College, undergraduates had ale and pipes as their 'usual carousing fare'.⁵³ If they quarrelled, they resorted to fists: Henry Foulkes, who matriculated in 1790, recalled how two 'combatants stripped to the skin & fought it out in a College room'.⁵⁴ The young men were treated with consideration: 'my acquaintances are very civil and kind to me', wrote one in 1823; and Foulkes, now Principal, was a model of kindness.⁵⁵ The Bachelors permitted the introduction of undergraduates into the BCR during the Christmas and long vacations, and the College Register records the granting of exeats to scholars who fell ill or merely wished to visit friends.⁵⁶ Understandably, dons were concerned about students' discipline and morals, with some reason. Principal Hoare admitted his handsome nephew as a servitor, hoping, unrealistically, that in a plain gown the youth would attract less unsuitable company.⁵⁷ In December 1725 a proctor went to 'a Gentleman's Room' and then apprehended two 'lewd Girl[s]'; one of them later maintained that the other 'had lay with 5 or six Gentlemen of the College, & had been' there for five days.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, between 1688 and 1871 the Proctors' Black Book lists strikingly few Jesus men disciplined for infractions of University statutes, rowdy behaviour, visiting alehouses or brothels or consorting with prostitutes: on average, just one a decade.⁵⁹

⁴⁸ JCA, PR.PARDO/1, E.Jones to T.Pardo, 11 March 1730(?).

⁴⁹ Ffoulkes, 'My Tables', 18.

⁵⁰ *The Terræ Filius's Speech*, 2nd edn (London, 1733), 20.

⁵¹ Bodl., PR1/23/3, 261^r, 299^r, 324^r; Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses 1715-1886*, 'Reynolds, Owen', 'Tudor, Griffith', 'Worthington, Matthew'.

⁵² Ffoulkes, 'My Tables', 17.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ G.E.Evans, *Lampeter* (Aberystwyth, 1905), 153; P.Maurice, *The Popery of Oxford Confronted, Disavowed, & Repudiated* (London, 1837), 82.

⁵⁶ JCA, CR. AC. 1, Resolutions, 25 November 1789, 10 November 1792; RE. 4, 100, 207, 213.

⁵⁷ D.E.Jenkins, *The Life of the Rev. Thomas Charles B.A. of Bala*, 3 vols (Denbigh, 1908), 1:74-5.

⁵⁸ Hearne, *Remarks and Collections*, 9:77.

⁵⁹ Bodl, PR1/23/3, 86^r, 97^r, 101^r, 144^v, 150^r, 151^v, 162^r, 168^v, 193^v, 202^r, 241^r, 241^v, 242^r, 247^v, 261^r, 279^r, 299^r, 300^r, 300^v.

Dons' good living and students' indiscipline are the stuff of any Oxford college's Georgian history. What was distinctive at Jesus was, naturally, its Welsh culture, imported to, and concentrated in, two quadrangles. Principal Pardo's correspondence contains news about Wales, remarks about visits there and comments on 'our Countrymen', and it appears that Principal Hughes was thoroughly at home when visiting the houses of gentry families deep in the Welsh countryside.⁶⁰ The nineteenth-century SCR Betting Book records wagers about the Principality's geography,⁶¹ and the College received information about buildings in Welsh parishes where it held property or the church living.⁶² Some Jesus men, scarcely surprisingly, were prominent in the Oxford Red Herring Club, founded to celebrate and promote Welsh culture, while the College offered prizes for Welsh reading, essays and poetry, and for translation into Welsh.⁶³ 'Welsh Ale' was drunk at Jesus, and there was mockery of the toasted cheese consumed by the 'jolly *Cambro-Britons*'.⁶⁴ And when Welsh newspapers (in English) were published in the early nineteenth century, the SCR subscribed to the *North Wales Gazette*, *The Cambrian*, the *Merthyr Guardian* and the *Cardiff Advertiser*.⁶⁵ Clearly at least some of the dons had a real interest in, or some affection or nostalgia for, the Principality, and, despite their situation, did not regard the high road to England as the noblest prospect they had seen.

In the nineteenth century, Welsh services were held in chapel twice each week;⁶⁶ and between 1688 and 1871 religion was of fundamental importance to the College. The statutes enjoined attendance at University sermons and daily chapel services.⁶⁷ Undergraduates and Bachelors received theological instruction: a book of 'lectiones', among Principal Hughes' papers, lists questions and responses for this.⁶⁸ Donations were made to worthy causes: the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; the Protestants expelled in 1731–32 from Catholic Salzburg; those who had suffered in fires or through outbreaks of disease; and colleges in America and the

⁶⁰ JCA, PR.PARDO/1, E.Jones to T.Pardo, 15 June 1727; Same to Same, 23 February 1728(?); PR.PARDO/2, J.Nichole to T.Pardo, 11 March 1745; T.Williams to T.Pardo, 18 April 1763; PR.HUGHES/2, D.Lloyd to D.Hughes, 11 November 1816.

⁶¹ JCO, SCR, Betting Book, Entries, 24 June 1822, 14 July(?) 1824.

⁶² E.g., it requested reports on the church roof at Llanddewi Fach, Radnorshire, and stipulated alterations to the pews of Holyhead church: JCA, PR.HUGHES/1, Notes, 22 June 1818, 8 February 1819.

⁶³ Bodl., MS. Top. Oxon. e. 281, *passim*, MS. Top. Oxon. f. 49, *passim*; Baker, 34; Evans, *Lampeter*, 154–5.

⁶⁴ JCA, PR.PARDO/1, E.Jones to T.Pardo, 11 March 1730(?); *Terræ Filius's Speech*, 19.

⁶⁵ JCA, CR. AC. 4, Unpaginated Accounts, 14 May 1807, 4 February 1811, March 1812; CR. AC. 5, 111, 127; Unpaginated Accounts, 1831, 1833, 1834, 1836, 1837, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, 1843, 1844; CR. AC. 7, Unpaginated Accounts, 13 December 1830; CR. AC. 10, Unpaginated Accounts, 1846.

⁶⁶ G.H.Gwilliam, 'Reminiscences of Jesus College. III', *Magazine*, 1:4 (1913), 88.

⁶⁷ Hardy, 54.

⁶⁸ JCA, PR.HUGHES/1, Book of 'Lectiones'.

Protestant University of Debrecen, Hungary.⁶⁹ Sadly, the pastoralia of Jesus's incumbents and the decisions of the College as a living's patron were not always as creditable. At Cheltenham in 1781 the vicar apparently performed his duties unsatisfactorily while supplementing his income by 'his skill at whist'.⁷⁰ The rector of minute Remenham, Berkshire, thought 'the duty extremely easy' in 1827.⁷¹ In 1773, at Braunston, Northamptonshire, 115 inhabitants petitioned against an enclosure plan which threatened to 'impoverish most of the Parishioners' and be the poor's 'entire ruin'. But the rector and the College sanctioned the scheme, which they were empowered to block, and it was subsequently enacted: it augmented the living's value.⁷²

In politics, for decades after Principal Edwards's death in 1712, Jesus was a predominantly Whig college in an overwhelmingly Tory, and partially Jacobite, university.⁷³ Indeed, as early as 1689, a very capable don, Henry Maurice, had defended the Revolution in print, and two undergraduates and one Fellow had composed poems (one in Greek, two in Latin) for *Vota Oxoniensia*, a University volume honouring William and Mary.⁷⁴ The Fellow was John Wynne, and he was executing a hasty volte-face: the year before, he had published a Greek poem in the University collection that celebrated the birth of James II's son.⁷⁵ Later Thomas Hearne, a high churchman and Jacobite, denounced the then Principal Wynne as 'a rank Whigg' of 'republican Principles', and Wynne's transition to moderate Whiggery seems decisive in effecting Jesus's abandonment of the ultra-royalism evinced during and after the Civil War.⁷⁶ In 1715 the College aimed to secure the favour of George I, contributing to his fundraising for the Protestant college at Nagyenyed, in Transylvania;⁷⁷ and, so that it could incontrovertibly demonstrate its allegiance in the 'Fifteen's aftermath, it compiled a book listing the Fellows, scholars, Exhibitioners and other

⁶⁹ JCA, BU.AC.LEO. 2, 1742, 1743, 1745, 1747, 1748, 1749, 1755, 1757; BU.AC.LEO. 3, 52; DO 1a, 1731, 1734, 1735, 1739; DO.4, 1740, 1742, 1743, 1744, 1748, 1752.

⁷⁰ *The Torrington Diaries*, ed. C.B.Andrews, 4 vols (London, 1934-38, repr. New York and London, 1970), 1:13.

⁷¹ JCA, LV, Remenham, J.Jones to H.Foulkes, 2 May 1827.

⁷² JCA, Box 175, Braunston, Petition (copy), 26 November 1773; P.Weston to Anon., 20 December 1773; 15 Geo. III, c. 76.

⁷³ W.R.Ward, *Georgian Oxford* (London, 1958), 97-9, 101, 123, 126, 127, 154. It was claimed in 1759 that the College was 'about equally divided between Whigs and Tories': *The Thirty-Second Volume of the Walpole Society 1946-1948* (London, 1951), 5.

⁷⁴ [H.Maurice], *The Lawfulness of Taking the New Oaths Asserted* (London, 1689); *Vota Oxoniensia Pro Serenissimis Guilhelmo Rege et Maria Regina* (Oxford, 1689), unpaginated.

⁷⁵ *Strenæ Natalitiæ Academiæ Oxoniensis in Celsissimum Principem* (Oxford, 1688), unpaginated.

⁷⁶ Hearne, *Remarks and Collections*, 4:108, 430.

⁷⁷ JCA, BU.AC.LEO. 1, 396; W.Wake, *Good Brother* ([London], 1716); S.Nishikawa, 'Ending a Religious Cold War: Confessional Trans-State Networks and the Peace of Utrecht', in I.Schmidt-Voges and A.Crespo Solana (eds), *New Worlds? Transformations in the Culture of International Relations around the Peace of Utrecht* (London, 2017), 122-3.

members who had sworn the oaths of fidelity to George.⁷⁸ Wynne was one of only three heads of house who wanted to present a loyal address on the king's return from Hanover in January 1717,⁷⁹ and the following year and in 1723 two Jesus Fellows preached vigorous Whig and anti-Jacobite sermons at St Mary's.⁸⁰ Former students, having imbibed Whig principles, might export them elsewhere: in the 1730s one Walter Evans, a Cardiganshire yeoman's son, hoped to do so when curate of Brailes in Warwickshire but instead raised a storm, since Catholicism and Jacobitism were powerfully entrenched there.⁸¹ Some alumni rejected Whiggery, famously Sir Watkin Williams-Wynn, and it was claimed that Principal Owen harboured a nostalgic Jacobitism; but, during the 'Forty-five rising, Principal Pardo was one of few dons in Oxford who supported the national 'association', then pledging loyalty to, and promising to defend, the Hanoverians.⁸² The College 'deservedly bears [its reputation] for Zeal and Affection to His Majesty's Person and Government', Lord Chancellor Hardwicke pronounced shortly afterwards; it backed the Whigs in the fiercely contested 1754 Oxfordshire election, and in November 1791 John Philipps, MP for Carmarthen, was told that, if he came to Jesus, Dr Hughes and a few more Whigs would meet him.⁸³ Soon, however, the College's politics became divided, with increasing horror at the French Revolution and, from 1793, the war with France boosting Tory loyalism. The library swiftly acquired Burke's anti-Revolution *Reflections*, the SCR took the Pittite *Times* in 1793 and the Whig *Morning Chronicle* from 1794 to 1796, and in 1795 the BCR took the Whig *Star* (accused of Jacobinism).⁸⁴ In 1799 Principal Hoare subscribed £100 'for the prosecution of the war' and £20 for the equipment of College members in the University corps.⁸⁵ Unsurprisingly, Jesus seemed thoroughly Tory following the Reform Bill crisis, when rumours had abounded in Oxford that mobs, '100,000 strong, were about to march from Birmingham and raze the colleges'.⁸⁶

⁷⁸ JCA, RE.AD.1, 1-37.

⁷⁹ [A.Boyer], *The Political State of Great-Britain*, 13 (1717), 235-6.

⁸⁰ P.Maurice, *The True Causes of the Contempt of Christian Ministers* (London, 1719); J.Wynne, *The Duty of Studying to be Quiet, and to Do our own Business, Explain'd and Recommended* (London, 1724).

⁸¹ C.Haydon, "'The Mouth of Hell': Religious Discord at Brailes, Warwickshire c.1660-c.1800", *The Historian*, 68 (2000), 23-7.

⁸² ODNB, 'Wynn, Sir Watkin Williams, third baronet (1693?-1749)', 'Owen, Humphrey (1701/2-1768)'; An Authentick Copy of the Association Entered into by Part of the Nobility, Gentlemen and Clergy of the County of Oxford, at the Time of the Late Unnatural Rebellion in the Year 1745, together with the Names of All the Persons who Subscribed thereto ([Oxford?], [1745]); Ward, *Georgian Oxford*, 166. In 1746, the Visitor, the ninth Earl of Pembroke, inveighed against Welsh Jacobitism: JCA, Box 150, H.Herbert, Ninth Earl of Pembroke, to T.Pardo, 18 October 1746.

⁸³ JCA, Box 150, P.Yorke, First Earl of Hardwicke, to T.Pardo and the Fellows of Jesus College, Oxford, 16 February 1750(?); R.J.Robson, *The Oxfordshire Election of 1754* (London, 1949), 75, 85; Carmarthenshire Archives, Cwmgwili MS. 337, J.Davies to J.G.Philipps, 12 November 1791.

⁸⁴ JCA, LI.6, 1791(?); CR. AC. 4, Unpaginated Accounts, Newspapers, 1793, 1794-96; JCA, CR. AC. 1, Unpaginated Accounts, 8 November, 1 December 1795.

⁸⁵ J.N.L.Baker, 'Jesus College', in *VCH*, 3:267.

⁸⁶ W.Palmer, 'The Oxford Movement of 1833', *The Contemporary Review*, 43 (1883), 638.

When canvassing for Wellington as Chancellor in 1834, Arthur Butler Clough, a Fellow, contacted forty Jesus men. Thirty-seven supported the duke.⁸⁷

Decay?

In 1853 Robert Owen, the Dean of Jesus, lamented how much, since 1720, the College ‘may have lost in public estimation’.⁸⁸ Comparably, a Brasenose student of the 1840s thought Jesus was then ‘at its lowest ebb’, and the historian and prelate Mandell Creighton observed that in the 1850s Jesus’s ‘undergraduates were scarcely known outside [... the College’s] walls’.⁸⁹ The SCR’s Betting Book records one Fellow wagering in November 1824 ‘that there will be a First-Class Man from this College next Easter Term’ – a bet that he lost.⁹⁰ Was the College decaying?

Some indicators are quantifiable. Before 1871 Jesus members won only a handful of the University prizes, scholarships and fellowships established in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; and none in classics, the most prestigious discipline.⁹¹ Degree results in the first half of the nineteenth century seem similarly dismal. Between 1809 and 1830, nearly three-quarters of the forty Jesus men seeking honours in classics were placed in the lowest class (though the four gaining mathematics honours too, by ‘reading double’ (both classics and mathematics), avoided that classification in the latter subject entirely). Then, between 1831 and 1852, almost three-quarters of Jesus’s sixty-five honours classicists graduated with a third or a fourth. So did six out of the ten honours mathematicians, though, of the others, two gained firsts (only one classics candidate achieved that).⁹² It must be stressed, moreover, that those who elected to sit for honours usually constituted Jesus’s academic heavyweights and that, for instance, of the students who joined the College in the years 1845–49, only a quarter chose that path.⁹³

The dons were partly, perhaps largely, responsible for the period’s standards. So often gliding from their closed scholarships to closed Fellowships, then awaiting Church preferment while

⁸⁷ NLW, MS. 12429C, A.B.Clough to R.Howard, 31 January 1834. The Tories in Oxford were, however, split -- predictably, given that Wellington had secured Catholic Emancipation in 1829.

⁸⁸ BL, Add. MS. 44373, 273^r.

⁸⁹ *Report of the Committee*, 207; [Sir L.Stephen, Sir S.Lee, *et al.* (eds),] *D[ictionary of] N[ational] B[iography]*, 63 vols, supplements (London and Oxford, 1885-1993)], ‘Green, John Richard (1837-1883)’.

⁹⁰ JCO, SCR, Betting Book, Entries, 30 November 1824, 16 June 1825.

⁹¹ *The Historical Register of the University of Oxford* (Oxford, 1900), 121-87.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 196-254.

⁹³ Jesus College, Oxford, Database of Members; *Historical Register*, 247-56.

enjoying comfortable emoluments (the usual dividend, the Fellows' annual share of the College's profits, rose from £165 in 1821 to £241 in 1871),⁹⁴ most lacked academic distinction: 'The Fellows and tutors of my day were a very mediocre lot' was the perception of one student in the 1850s.⁹⁵ Of the Fellows who had taken their BA in the years 1831–52, and had chosen examination just in classics, those who had gained a first or a second were in a small minority.⁹⁶ Four men awarded fourths in 1841 none the less quickly secured Fellowships.⁹⁷ H. D. Harper, later Principal from 1877 to 1895, had gained a second in classics and a first in mathematics, but Charles Skottowe, elected Fellow in 1844, had obtained a third and a fourth.⁹⁸ The Fellowship was largely a young body.⁹⁹ There was much drinking: the cellar's range of wines was eagerly and greatly expanded, and, in the early Victorian Common Room, after dining, 'nobody could leave while anybody wanted more wine: and all had to drink and empty their glasses as it came round each time'.¹⁰⁰ The frivolous SCR betting of the 1820s for bottles of wine (for example, 'that there are not ten half Crowns in the Room') sometimes disconcertingly recalls a minor club for bucks.¹⁰¹ Unsurprisingly, Jesus's Principals and Fellows made little impact on the University. After Sir Leoline, the College supplied no University burgess (MP), and none of the Principals served as vice-chancellor in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.¹⁰² From 1688 to 1871 only two Fellows occupied a University chair (one for just three months).¹⁰³ Only two former Fellows delivered the prestigious Bampton Lectures; the earlier of the two, James Bandinel, a Jerseyman, was also Jesus's sole public orator.¹⁰⁴ And only Charles Williams was appointed a University select preacher, an office instituted in 1804, with five preachers nominated each year.¹⁰⁵

The College's deficiencies should not be exaggerated, however. The Fellows' childish bets can be set against the collective donation of £51 in 1816 to funds relieving the manufacturing poor and unemployed.¹⁰⁶ Jesus provided some dons with a congenial and supportive base for sustained

⁹⁴ JCA, BU.AC.FE. 6, Entries, 1821; 11, Entries, 1870–71, 1871–72.

⁹⁵ Sir O. Roberts, 'Reminiscences of Jesus College. No. I', *Magazine*, 1:2 (1913), 50.

⁹⁶ Hardy, 245–6; *Historical Register*, 220–53.

⁹⁷ Hardy, 246; *Historical Register*, 236, 237.

⁹⁸ Hardy, 238, 246; *Historical Register*, 238, 239, 241.

⁹⁹ The age for admission was between seventeen and twenty-six: Oxford University Commission. Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the State, Discipline, Studies, and Revenues of the University and Colleges of Oxford: Together with the Evidence, and an Appendix: Report (London, 1852), 162.

¹⁰⁰ JCA, CR. AC. 5, 6, 10, *passim*; Ffoulkes, 'My Tables', 19–20.

¹⁰¹ JCO, SCR, Betting Book, Entry, 19 April 1821.

¹⁰² *Historical Register*, 26–7, 39–41.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 47–79.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 43, 117–20.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 108–14.

¹⁰⁶ JCA, RE. 4, 329, 331. But £34.9.0 was spent on high table's 'Extra Allowance' in that year too: BU.AC.GEN. 9, 296.

scholarship. Robert Owen, whose prodigious reading is recorded in huge commonplace books in his beautiful calligraphy,¹⁰⁷ published his *Introduction to the Study of Dogmatic Theology* in 1858. Thomas Briscoe translated books of the Bible and theology into Welsh,¹⁰⁸ and Edmund Salusbury Ffoulkes published controversial pieces and, in 1851, his lengthy *Manual of Ecclesiastical History*. In the early nineteenth century ‘the Society’, as the Fellows formally termed the College, implemented some changes. Students noticed shifting attitudes: ‘Jesus Coll. was some time ago very idle and depraved,’ Rice Rees, a studious undergraduate, observed, ‘but it is now, through the exertions of the Principal and tutors, fast improving.’¹⁰⁹ In 1824 the College prescribed the future form of Scholarship and Fellowship examinations, written and oral; in the 1830s it refused to award scholarships to ill-qualified candidates, and in 1833 it pared down antique privileges, ‘Preference or respect (however notified)’, as part of the competition for the Northern and Southern Welsh Scholarships and Fellowships.¹¹⁰ Edmund Ffoulkes held many College offices in the 1840s,¹¹¹ but he subsequently criticised facets of the *ancien régime*. For Fellows, he observed, leave was too easily obtainable;¹¹² the Welsh Scholarships and Fellowships should not, he thought, be linked to specific localities.¹¹³ He wanted further, mostly moderate, reforms.¹¹⁴

Initially, the College’s degree results appear unsatisfactory, but further consideration is needed. If but a quarter of Jesus’s 1845–49 intake obtained honours, the figure for the whole University was then the same, with passmen and those not taking a degree constituting the rest.¹¹⁵ Serious-minded students were valued by the Fellowship at Jesus,¹¹⁶ and an academically gifted and committed undergraduate *could*, exceptionally, thrive there: Lewis Morris (1833–1907), later a distinguished educationalist, obtained superb results in classics.¹¹⁷ Moreover, in the early and mid-nineteenth century, the Welsh feeder schools were performing poorly: Christ College, Brecon,

¹⁰⁷ Bangor University, Archives and Special Collections, GB 0222 BMSS RRO.

¹⁰⁸ *DWB*, ‘Briscoe, Thomas (1813-95)’.

¹⁰⁹ Evans, *Lampeter*, 155.

¹¹⁰ *JCA*, RE. 5, 2, 36, 45, 47.

¹¹¹ Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses 1715-1886*, s.n. ‘Ffoulkes, Edmund Salisbury [sic]’.

¹¹² Oxford University Commission. Report of Her Majesty’s Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the State, Discipline, Studies, and Revenues of the University and Colleges of Oxford: Together with the Evidence, and an Appendix: Evidence (London, 1852), 359.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 225-6, 367.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 224, 225-6, 362-3, 367. He favoured, however, opening the University to students of all Christian denominations (*ibid.*, 365-7).

¹¹⁵ M.C. Curthoys, ‘The Examination System’, in M.G. Brock and Curthoys (eds), *The History of the University of Oxford Volume VI: Nineteenth-Century Oxford, Part I* (Oxford, 1997), 360.

¹¹⁶ Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre, 1953/106, J.S. Masters to J. Smalman, 2 July 1824.

¹¹⁷ *ODNB*, ‘Morris, Sir Lewis (1833-1907)’.

required reform by statute in 1853.¹¹⁸ And who were the top Oxford graduates with honours? Out of 158 performances judged first-class in 1811, 1821, 1831, 1841, 1851, 1861 and 1871, at least one third were those of former pupils from six leading English public schools – Eton, Harrow, Merchant Taylors', Rugby, Westminster and Winchester.¹¹⁹ In 1861 at least six of the fourteen examiners were former pupils of those 'Clarendon' schools (four were Rugbeians).¹²⁰ Given the competition, and the examiners' understandable expectations, Jesus's results were predictable – indeed, excusable, possibly creditable. That was especially so in classics, with examinations requiring formidable, long-acquired knowledge.¹²¹ In mathematics natural aptitude, capable of trumping lengthy training, doubtless explains Jesus's stronger results in the subject; and that also proved true in natural science, first examined in 1853.¹²² One further crucial difficulty was Jesus undergraduates' probable inability to pay private graduate tutors, who in the nineteenth century coached (or drilled) their pupils for the honours examinations, providing 'the proper answers' and imbuing 'the required knack'.¹²³ Around 1850 no more than six Jesus undergraduates apparently employed a coach.¹²⁴ Edmund Ffoulkes predictably decried private tuition, 'one of the curses of our days': it obliged 'poor men', he claimed, 'to submit quietly to [...] monstrous extra expense, or be content with a lower class'.¹²⁵

Of course, for those who attended the College, it, and the University, offered more than just study. Some hunted.¹²⁶ Jesus encouraged rowing early.¹²⁷ Non-athletic students enjoyed watching the later regattas.¹²⁸ The College had its debating society, and the Oxford Union could further broaden horizons.¹²⁹ The city itself held out other diversions: the theatre, billiard rooms, and

¹¹⁸ BL, Add. MS. 44381, 4^v; S.Slinn, *The Education of the Anglican Clergy 1780-1839* (Woodbridge, 2017), 164-9; L.V.Lester, *A Memoir of Hugo Daniel Harper, D.D.* (London, 1896), 9; Reports of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the State of Education in Wales [...] in Three Parts (London, 1847), Appendix A, 133; 16 & 17 Vict., c. 82.

¹¹⁹ *Historical Register*, 198-9, 208-09, 220-2, 236-7, 250-2, 274-7, 301-04. The other Clarendon schools were Charterhouse, St Paul's and Shrewsbury. Principal Harper contrasted the Welsh schools with England's public schools in 1878, to the former's disparagement: Lester, *Memoir of Harper*, 173-4.

¹²⁰ *Historical Register*, 274-7.

¹²¹ Boys educated at English preparatory schools began to gain it 'almost from their cradles', William Hawker Hughes, Fellow of Jesus from 1873 to 1919, noted: *Report of the Committee*, 322.

¹²² The Aberdare Report, using different figures, came to the same conclusion: *ibid.*, xxii.

¹²³ Oxford University Commission: Evidence, 226-7.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 363.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 226, 227. Ffoulkes maintained that 'private tuition [...] is three times the cost of College tuition' (*ibid.*, 227).

¹²⁶ L.B.C[ross], 'The College Plate', *Magazine* 6:85 (1947), 59.

¹²⁷ The first recorded inter-collegiate eight-oar race was between Brasenose and Jesus in 1815 (Brasenose won): C.Seward, '200 Years of JCBC Rowing', *Record* (2014), 68, 73; L.W.B.Brockliss, *The University of Oxford: A History* (Oxford, 2016), 234.

¹²⁸ JCA, PP.GREEN/1, 5, 7.

¹²⁹ Gwilliam, 'Reminiscences', 89; C.Hollis, *The Oxford Union* (London, 1965), 244, 246, 247.

taverns town-and-gown riots and sexual adventures.¹³⁰ Outside and within the College's walls, Jesus's Welsh camaraderie was paraded. Leeks were painted on the rowers' oars.¹³¹ On St David's Day students, and even the Principal and Fellows, wore leeks in their caps.¹³² Some undergraduates might drink excessively. 'Attended the Meeting at the Star. Got home very drunk', John Jones's diary entry for 1 March 1794 notes; that for the next day adds, 'Very sick'.¹³³ The 1824 celebrations culminated in a 'most sumptuous dinner', attended by heads of other colleges and the Vice-Chancellor, the next year's festivities in *penillion* and harp-playing.¹³⁴

Overall, the early nineteenth-century College appears at ease with itself. Soon, however, it received alarming rebukes from an external body, a royal commission, that could not be ignored.

The Commission and the College

A still-life of the College is provided by the government's population census taken on 30 March 1851. In residence that day were Principal Foulkes and his wife and their servants: a butler, lady's maid, cook, housemaid, kitchenmaid, coachman and footman. So were four Fellows (three in Holy Orders) and twenty-eight students (about half the full number),¹³⁵ with nine Scholars differentiated. The Principal and three of the Fellows were born in North Wales, the other Fellow in Monmouthshire. Of the students, excluding one, born in India ('British Sub[je]c[t.']), thirteen were born in North Wales and fourteen in the South or Monmouthshire. Besides the Principal's servants, the census records two resident 'General College Servant[s]'.¹³⁶ One wonders how congenial the exclusively English body of resident employees found so pronouncedly Welsh an institution.

By 1851 a monstrous crow was circling the little community. In 1850, born of parliamentary and public criticism of Oxford and Cambridge, royal commissions were established to investigate the

¹³⁰ JCA, PP.GREEN/1, 5, 66-70; J.McManners, *All Souls and the Shipley Case* (1808-1810) (Oxford, 2002), 38; Bodleian L, PR1/23/3, 86^r, 150^r, 151^v, 193^v, 242^r, 247^v, 300^r, 300^v; A.J.Engel, "'Immoral Intentions': The University of Oxford and the Problem of Prostitution 1827-1914', *Victorian Studies*, 23 (1979), 79-107.

¹³¹ Seward, '200 Years', 69.

¹³² Evans, *Lampeter*, 155; Cox, *Recollections*, 122.

¹³³ JCA, P142/MS1/1, Entries, 1, 2 March 1794.

¹³⁴ Evans, *Lampeter*, 155.

¹³⁵ JCA, BB.a.193, Entries, 30 March, 2, 9 May 1851.

¹³⁶ TNA, HO 107/1728. Non-resident servants, including the barber and the gardener, are noted in the College's accounts, along with casual outside employees: JCA, BU.AC.GEN. 10, 361, 364, 365.

universities' condition. Two years later, the report on Oxford was published, and it revealed plenty to criticise at Jesus. The Principal lived 'much like other gentlemen'.¹³⁷ Of the nineteen Fellows only eight were resident, most of the non-resident ones 'holding curacies or tutorships in the country'.¹³⁸ The preference given to the College's Scholars in elections to Fellowships was a 'serious evil', damping the 'energy and industry' of a Scholar often guaranteed such advancement, and producing a 'Society [...] from a very narrow circle'.¹³⁹ Only thirteen students matriculated from Jesus in 1845, fourteen in 1846, sixteen in 1847, ten in 1848 and seventeen in 1849: about half the number from Balliol, Brasenose, The Queen's, Wadham and Worcester.¹⁴⁰ There had been no battelers for half a century.¹⁴¹ Attendance at professorial lectures was not 'required in any sense'.¹⁴² Jesus was 'a Society [...] almost closed against Englishmen', and, since South Wales's population dwarfed the North's by the 1850s, it was hard to justify the disproportionately high number of Northern Welsh awards and Fellowships.¹⁴³ Jesus was not serving Wales well, but 'no other part of the country', opined the commissioners, 'requires more the presence of men of refinement and intellect'.¹⁴⁴ 'It is a great advantage to the Principality', they continued, 'that Welsh boys shall be educated at Oxford; none that they should be educated exclusively among Welsh boys by Welsh Tutors.'¹⁴⁵ Generally, the commission wanted Oxford's Fellowships and Scholarships opened to all candidates. However, given Jesus's special character, it recommended that all its Fellowships but only half the Scholarships should be open, thereby preserving half the Scholarships, and all the Exhibitions, for the Welsh, though without restrictions by locality.¹⁴⁶

Battle was consequently joined with the commission respecting the Welsh Fellowships and Scholarships. One Fellow, William Dyke, printed a lucid remonstrance.¹⁴⁷ When a bill to reform

¹³⁷ Oxford University Commission: Report, 144.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 243; Oxford University Commission: Evidence, 359.

¹³⁹ Oxford University Commission: Report, 162.

¹⁴⁰ Oxford University Commission. Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the State, Discipline, Studies, and Revenues of the University and Colleges of Oxford: Together with the Evidence, and an Appendix: Appendix, 69.

¹⁴¹ *Oxford University Commission: Report*, 243. This was not quite accurate: see JCA, TU.a.4, *passim*.

¹⁴² Oxford University Commission: Evidence, 363.

¹⁴³ *Oxford University Commission: Report*, 177; *Evidence*, 359; G.E.Jones, *Modern Wales*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, 1994), 151-2.

¹⁴⁴ Oxford University Commission: Report, 177.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 178.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 178, 243-4.

¹⁴⁷ W.Dyke, *The Justice and Expediency of Preserving for Wales the Welsh Fellowships of Jesus College* (Oxford, 1854).

Oxford was debated in Parliament, various Fellows campaigned to mitigate its provisions.¹⁴⁸ It is naturally easy to side with the reforming commission. Or to mock dons, supposedly roused from slumber or piqued.¹⁴⁹ But it is important to understand principled opposition too, from those who knew the College best (and saw the commissioners as rash, intruding fools).¹⁵⁰ Those who feared overmuch reform wanted to preserve, at least in part, a heritage that had benefited not only themselves but also generations of Anglican Welshmen, possibly ancestors, fathers, brothers and other relations; they also wanted to honour benefactors' wishes, if not hopelessly anachronistic, and to preserve Welsh Scholarships and Fellowships, long prized and jealously guarded, within the Principality itself.¹⁵¹ Could Fellows who had sworn to uphold the College statutes conscientiously consent to amendments?¹⁵²

Besides, was Jesus so enormously different from, and more decayed than, all other colleges? Brasenose, Exeter, The Queen's and University famously had age-old regional links; indeed, Oxford generally was planted thick with local school, and family privileges.¹⁵³ If the Principal lived 'much like other gentlemen', so did the other heads of house (one thinks of Dean Liddell).¹⁵⁴ If the numbers matriculating from Jesus from 1845 to 1849 averaged but fourteen annually, matriculands from wealthy Corpus Christi or opulent Magdalen never reached double figures in any of those years.¹⁵⁵ And, in its limited space, Jesus could accommodate only some sixty undergraduates.¹⁵⁶ The College's charges were low, and financial aid was given to poorer students and, indeed, to most undergraduates after their first year: the income from the Meyricke endowments swelled substantially in the nineteenth century, permitting the augmentation of scholarships' values and considerable spending on exhibitions.¹⁵⁷ Then, faced by the Commission's calls for an abolition of 'superfluous' Fellowships, the dons, flexibly and creatively, demanded the

¹⁴⁸ JCA, RE. 5, 127-9; BL, Add. MS. 44381, 2^r-3^r, 169^r-70^v, 190^r-3^r, 198^r-9^r, 202^{r-v}, 226^r-7^r.

¹⁴⁹ Robert Owen howled that he was not one of 'a branded disgraced order of Fellows'! Ibid., 4^v.

¹⁵⁰ JCA, RE. 5, 165.

¹⁵¹ E.g., JCA, PR.PARDO/2, W.Bulkeley *et al.* to T.Pardo, 9 October 1735; M.Lewis to Same, 11 November 1735.

¹⁵² Oxford University Commission: Evidence, 358.

¹⁵³ J.Barrow, *The Case of Queen's College, Oxford* (Oxford, 1854), 53-4. The closest College-school affiliations were those of Christ Church with Westminster, New College with Winchester, and St John's with Merchant Taylors'. 'Founders' Kin' privileges at Oxford, and Cambridge, Colleges are detailed in G.D.Squibb, *Founders' Kin* (London, 1972).

¹⁵⁴ *Oxford University Commission: Report*, 144. Henry Foulkes received some £600 *p.a.* in the early 1850s: JCA, BU.AC.FE. 10, 20, 73. Liddell served on the Oxford University Commission and became Dean of Christ Church in 1855.

¹⁵⁵ Oxford University Commission: Appendix, 69.

¹⁵⁶ Oxford University Commission: Evidence, 365.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 222, 362; *Oxford University Commission: Report*, 31; JCA, BU.AC.MEY. 3, 4, 15, 46, 88, 131, 178, 218, 352, 382, 412, 452, 483, 515; 4, 25, unpaginated.

endowment of a chair of Celtic with part of the money to be saved, so as to enhance the College's Welsh character.¹⁵⁸

The man who supplied the commission with detailed evidence about Jesus was Edmund Ffoulkes, and when, in 1852 and 1853, the Fellowship pondered its response to the commission, it conspicuously followed his thinking, thereby hoping to forestall the external imposition of excessive reorganisation. It regularised the various College offices and five dons, including Ffoulkes, produced recommendations for further 'advantageous' changes.¹⁵⁹ The Principal and Fellows considered the resulting report in December 1853 and then backed the retention of all Welsh Fellowships and Scholarships solely for Welshmen, though regardless of locality and other limitations, an equalisation of the Scholarships' value, the retention of three servitorships and tight regulations concerning non-residence.¹⁶⁰ Above all, they wanted the College's Welsh associations preserved.

Parliament passed the Oxford University and Colleges Act in August 1854.¹⁶¹ The Principal and Fellows were now obliged to alter the College's statutes to a new commission's satisfaction, and therefore negotiations began. According to John Richard Green, scholar from 1855 to 1860 and the College's bitter critic, the dons had, by 1866, 'nibbled down to nothing the reforms proposed by the Commissioners'.¹⁶² The protracted will-you-won't-you? dance of the College and the commission is vividly captured in the College Register ('we beg leave to express our unanimous disapproval'; 'this point is so important ...'), but it is unnecessary to recount all its steps.¹⁶³ The changes were agreed in April 1857. The Fellowship was split into two parts, one half open, the other confined to natives of Wales, without regional restrictions, and Monmouthshire.¹⁶⁴ Later, a chair of Celtic was created. Four Fellowships were suppressed to augment the College's Scholarships, which henceforth numbered twenty-two, their values equalised at £80 per annum. All bar two Scholarships were confined to natives of Wales, again without further restrictions, and Monmouthshire, though eligibility was also extended to boys educated for four years at specified Welsh schools. All the twenty Exhibitions, worth £40 per annum, were restricted to

¹⁵⁸ JCA, RE. 5, 134, 142, 151-2, 165-6, 172.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 111-12, 116.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 119-26.

¹⁶¹ 17 & 18 Vict., c. 81.

¹⁶² *Letters of John Richard Green*, ed. L. Stephen (London, 1901), 166.

¹⁶³ JCA, RE. 5, 139, 165.

¹⁶⁴ Two, however, were reserved to Welsh speakers.

Wales and Monmouthshire. The dons' doggedness and the commission's moderation had perpetuated Jesus as 'the national college'.

There was one matter that bedevilled the mid-century College worse than any other Oxford college: that of Dissent. During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries Dissent in Wales had colossally expanded, and by 1851 more than three-quarters of Welsh churchgoers were Dissenters.¹⁶⁵ Yet, since the University still required subscription to the Anglican Thirty-Nine Articles at matriculation, Jesus, though its own statutes were no bar, could not admit Dissenting Welshmen, however able and industrious.¹⁶⁶ Although disliking 'the howling of Gospel-preachers in South Wales', Green claimed that the College blocked 'three-fourths of the Welsh people from all participation in the benefits and endowments of the place by the exclusion of Dissenters'.¹⁶⁷ Dissenters were permitted to study for undergraduate degrees from 1854, when the University stipulation was lifted, but Green maintained in 1866 that Jesus's Fellows continued to 'turn the bulk of Wales from their doors', and Ernest George Hardy implied in his College history that they continued to do so beyond that; in 1880 fewer than half the Welsh Scholars and only six of the nineteen Exhibitioners were nonconformists.¹⁶⁸ Possibly the problem was exaggerated, however, since Welsh families might worship in both church and chapel, thereby potentially smoothing the transition of sons, once accepted at Oxford, to conformity at matriculation. Did men reared in Dissenting denominations often enter Jesus unobtrusively?¹⁶⁹ Additionally, Green asked, 'what does Jesus do for the Church in Wales?'¹⁷⁰ Robert Owen, writing to Gladstone in 1853, deplored successive governments' refusal to appoint Welshmen from Jesus to Welsh sees, thereby preventing the College from providing the Church with leaders: was 'no person [...] raised within its walls, worthy of selection to the Chief Pastoral Office in his native country'?¹⁷¹ It is noticeable too that Jesus failed to acquire church livings systematically, or unsystematically, in the Principality and appoint its Welsh-speaking graduates to them. In 1855, the year of Green's matriculation, the College was patron of only five livings in

¹⁶⁵ G.I.T.Machin, *Politics and the Churches in Great Britain 1832 to 1868* (Oxford, 1977), 5-7; and see M.R.Watts, *The Dissenters*, 3 vols (Oxford, 1978-2015), 2:664.

¹⁶⁶ Oxford University Commission: Evidence, 365.

¹⁶⁷ JCA, PP.GREEN/3, 11; *Letters of Green*, ed. Stephen, 166. Green was ordained an Anglican priest after taking his degree.

¹⁶⁸ *Letters of Green*, ed. Stephen, 167; Hardy, 211; *Report of the Committee*, xxiii, 324.

¹⁶⁹ See JCA, RE.AD.2, 154, 166; RE. 5, 5; Evans, Lampeter, 156-7; JCA, P154/J1/1, Entries, 14, 21, 28 April, 1, 19, 26 May 1833. On fluidity between Anglican and Dissenting cultures in eighteenth-century Wales, see *Thirty-Second Volume of the Walpole Society*, 4, 5.

¹⁷⁰ *Letters of Green*, ed. Stephen, 167.

¹⁷¹ BL, Add. MS. 44373, 273^r.

Wales and fifteen in England (thirteen not very far from Oxford).¹⁷² Nevertheless, riders are needed. First, the English livings were chiefly purchased to ensure deserving Fellows' security in later life. Second, by the 1820s 'the Society' judged the price 'exorbitant and unreasonable'.¹⁷³ But third, and of greater importance, the College did not need to purchase livings in the Principality. Jesus's Welsh graduates, if they took Orders, were natural choices for the ministry there; and existing patronage networks facilitated, sometimes guaranteed, their appointments, as lists of parish incumbents or cathedral dignitaries repeatedly reveal. Of, for instance, the students who joined Jesus in the years 1845–49 and took honours, at least nine (half of the total) were subsequently ordained and served in Welsh parishes.¹⁷⁴ The answer to Green's question was: it supplies clergy.¹⁷⁵

A Balance Sheet

How healthy an institution was Jesus College by its tercentenary in 1871? Its accounts show that 'the Society' both shrewdly enhanced and prudently spent its income: it collected its rents and College dues, invested in farm buildings and consols, sold land when permitted and opportune, and undertook building projects: the Bath-stone gateway (1826), the gate tower and the remodelling of the Turl Street range (1854), and the refurbishment of the chapel (1864).¹⁷⁶ The partial opening of Fellowships invigorated the College academically: between 1864 and 1868 four men from other colleges, all with Firsts, were elected Fellows.¹⁷⁷ Overall, honours classifications improved too from 1853 to 1871: only slightly in classics but more solidly in mathematics, and in natural science seven of the fourteen candidates gained Firsts.¹⁷⁸ However, the fight to retain most awards for Welsh candidates, though part of an honourable struggle for the College's Welsh soul, produced a problematical result. For when, following the commission's recommendations, Scholarship restrictions at other colleges were greatly curtailed, talented

¹⁷² The Oxford University Calendar. 1855 (Oxford, 1855), 383-4; The Oxford University Calendar. 1856 (Oxford, 1856), 386-7.

¹⁷³ JCA, RE. 5, 15, 16-17, 21.

¹⁷⁴ *Historical Register*, 249, 251, 252, 253; Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses 1715-1886*, 'Edwards, Ebenezer Wood', 'Harries, Gilbert Charles Frederick', 'James, William Evan', 'Jenkins, John David', 'Jones, John Skinner', 'Parsons, Charles', 'Pryce, John [...] altered the spelling of his name', 'Richardson, William', 'Thomas, David (Walter)'.

¹⁷⁵ JCA, RE.MISC.2, *passim*.

¹⁷⁶ JCA, BU.AC.GEN. 8-11, *passim*; BU.AC.LEO. 1, 218, 394^v; BU.AC.LEO. 5, 86, 115; BU.AC.MEY. 1, 189; RE. 5, 215; BU.AC.GEN. 10, 486; J.P.D.Dunbabin, 'Finance and Property', in Brock and Curthoys (eds), *History of the University of Oxford*, 380.

¹⁷⁷ Hardy, 246; *Historical Register*, 281, 283, 290, 291.

¹⁷⁸ *Historical Register*, 254-304.

Welshmen, more than ever, shunned inward-looking Jesus and went elsewhere.¹⁷⁹ Preserving the College's Welsh inheritance came at a price.

At issue, too, were conflicting visions of the College. J. R. Green snapped that its many awards permitted 'those who can go nowhere else' an Oxford degree.¹⁸⁰ But he was prejudiced: he had attended the respected Magdalen College School. By contrast, the 1847 report on Welsh education noted with satisfaction that, in Cardiganshire, it was not 'uncommon [...] for a farmer, although living in the hardest manner, to send a son to Oxford or Cambridge'¹⁸¹ – and usually to Jesus. At Oxford some liberal dons, such as Benjamin Jowett, wanted to increase the admission of poorer students. In the later nineteenth century Jesus, because of its unusual trajectory, was ahead of the game here, admitting boys who, the Aberdare Report emphasised, 'would be altogether unable to obtain [elsewhere] a university education'.¹⁸²

The Scholars' Admissions Book yields some especially thought-provoking information on this. Between 1845 and 1871 ten Jesus men, seemingly from quite inauspicious backgrounds, were awarded scholarships.¹⁸³ The father of one was listed as a 'Village Druggist', another as a 'Hair Dresser' from Brecon, a third as a 'Sergeant of Police' at Llanidloes and so on.¹⁸⁴ Of the ten, eight took honours degrees (four gaining seconds), nine were ordained (two rose high in the Church) and one became a lawyer; and, of the clergymen, six spent at least part of their ministry in Wales.¹⁸⁵ Perhaps they had generous patrons or their parents had influential family connections or improbable wealth.¹⁸⁶ But these careers appear the realisation of some of Jenkins's and Meyricke's hopes for Jesus: poor boys winning scholarships and thereby advancing themselves, chiefly to the Principality's benefit.

¹⁷⁹ Lester, *Memoir of Harper*, 172, 192-4; Hardy, 200.

¹⁸⁰ *Letters of Green*, ed. Stephen, 166, 167.

¹⁸¹ Reports of the Commissioners, Appendix, 287.

¹⁸² Report of the Committee, xxiii.

¹⁸³ They were John Caldicott, John Jenkins, John Jones, William Jones, Rupert Morris, Thomas Owen, George Rees, Owen Roberts, Daniel Thomas and David Thomas. JCA, RE.AD.2, 186, 190, 191, 195, 206; Entries, 20 April 1861, 30 April 1862, 11 October 1865, 29 May 1871.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid. The occupations of the seven other fathers were recorded as 'Maltster' from Carmarthen, 'Brewer' from Holyhead, 'Hosier' from Edgbaston, 'Draper and Grocer' from Lampeter, 'Yeoman' from Clynnog, 'Bookseller' from Holywell and 'Grocer' from Reynoldston.

¹⁸⁵ *Historical Register*, 249, 250, 251, 267, 285, 287, 297, 321; Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses 1715-1886*, s.nn. 'Caldicott, John William', 'Jenkins, John David', 'Jones, John', 'Jones, William Hartwell', 'Morris, Rupert Hugh', 'Owen, Thomas William', 'Rees, George Edward', 'Roberts, Owen', 'Thomas, Daniel', 'Thomas, David (Walter)'. John Caldicott ambitiously read double, obtaining a Second in classics and a Third in mathematics: *Historical Register*, 250, 251.

¹⁸⁶ Further research is needed on this. Some terms for fathers' occupations in the Scholars' Admission Book potentially encompass a range of wealth; painfully problematical is the use of the blanket designation 'Farmer'.

Retrospection

Perhaps a long retrospection is needed. Jesus in the late twentieth century is today recalled as 'accessible' and 'unpretentious'. Similar adjectives were often applicable to the College between 1688 and 1871. Lacking Christ Church's grandeur, Magdalen's beautiful architecture and grounds or Trinity's country-house ambience, Jesus, 'a regular edifice although not large',¹⁸⁷ was never likely to attract the social cream of British students. Instead, besides Welsh gentlemen, it attracted, and assisted and sustained, students of lesser means. The College's modest quadrangles and small gardens, along with the benefactors' stipulations, promoted spending on –almost funnelled it to – educational provision, so that Jesus, even when its wealth grew, remained an unostentatious, even frugal, institution, preserving old habits of mind. The cramped site granted by Queen Elizabeth essentially contributed to the deep foundations of the College's distinctive character.

2A Evangelicals

Some members of Jesus College were prominent in the Evangelical Revival of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

John Williams (1762–1802), vicar of Begelly, Pembrokeshire, and Richard Bassett (1777–1852), vicar of Colwinston, Glamorgan, despite their open Methodist sympathies, remained within the Established Church.¹⁸⁸ Christopher Bassett (1753–1784), curate at St Fagans and then Porthkerry, Glamorgan, established Methodist societies in both places and preached to Methodists throughout South Wales, but the support for Methodism evinced by William Lloyd (1771–1841) cost him his Anglesey curacies.¹⁸⁹ Cradock Glascott (1743–1831), a gifted preacher, joined the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion after ordination but broke with it in 1781, becoming vicar of Hatherleigh in Devon.¹⁹⁰ The scholarly Simon Lloyd (1756–1836) promoted Calvinistic Methodism in North Wales.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁷ Oxford in 1710 from the Travels of Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach, ed. W.H.Quarrell and W.J.C.Quarrell (Oxford, 1928), 16.

¹⁸⁸ *DWB*, 'Williams, John (1762-1802)', 'Bassett, Richard (1777-1852)'.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 'Bassett, Christopher (1753-84)', 'Lloyd, William (1771-1841)'.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 'Glascott, Cradock (1743-1831)'.

¹⁹¹ *ODNB*, 'Lloyd, Simon (1756-1836)'.

More famously, Thomas Coke (1747–1814), who matriculated from Jesus in 1764, was, in 1784, ordained by John Wesley the first ‘superintendent’ of Methodists in newly independent America. Coke thereupon travelled to America and subsequently made eight further visits. He also undertook missions to the West Indies and died on a voyage to Ceylon.¹⁹² At home, Thomas Charles (1755–1814), who attended Jesus from 1775 to 1779, was hugely influenced by the evangelicals Daniel Rowland and John Newton. Ordained priest in 1780, Charles lived from 1783 at Bala, Merioneth, propagating Calvinistic Methodism through preaching, establishing schools and producing religious books in Welsh, and in 1810–11 he led the secession from Anglicanism of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists.¹⁹³ Their chapels multiplied spectacularly, reducing Welsh candidates for Anglican Oxford and Jesus College.¹⁹⁴ Charles’s grandson, and a Jesus alumnus, David Charles (1812–1878), was Principal of the Methodist Trevecca College from 1842 to 1863.¹⁹⁵

2B Some Scandals of Fellows

During these two hundred years the College was occasionally beset by scandals. Sometimes, the College Register’s record is tantalisingly and disappointingly vague about offences. Thus, at a meeting in December 1787, the Principal and Fellows present unanimously agreed that a probationer Fellow, David Stodart, could not be admitted ‘actual Fellow’ ‘on Account of the Immorality of his Conduct & other good Causes’.¹⁹⁶ Elsewhere the offence is clear, and was plainly infuriating. In 1849 the Revd Thomas Morgan Davies lost his Missionary Fellowship because, when asked at a College meeting whether he was ‘ready forthwith to go out into one of her Majesty’s Plantations’, he ‘made no direct affirmative or negative reply’.¹⁹⁷

In 1826 Philip Chambres, Fellow since 1815 and curate of Henllan, Denbighshire, was indicted for twice sexually assaulting ‘a lad about 17 years of age’. Tried at the Denbigh assizes, Chambres was acquitted of ‘the foul accusation’.¹⁹⁸ Nevertheless, the College required Chambres to

¹⁹² Ibid., ‘Coke, Thomas (1747-1814)’.

¹⁹³ Jenkins, *Charles*.

¹⁹⁴ Watts, *Dissenters*, 712-17.

¹⁹⁵ ODNB, ‘Charles, David (1812-1878)’.

¹⁹⁶ JCA, RE. 4, 199.

¹⁹⁷ JCA, RE. 5, 98.

¹⁹⁸ NLW, 4/73/8, 2^r, 4^r, 18^{r-v}; *The Bury and Norwich Post*, 23 August 1826.

exculpate himself of 'an [attempted] unnatural crime'; he could not, and his name 'was erased from the College Books'.¹⁹⁹ Was more suspected at Jesus about his conduct, or was there even a separate accusation? Chambres's appeal to the acting visitor was dismissed, probably revealingly.²⁰⁰ A fourth case was quietly managed. Robert Owen, Fellow from 1845, resigned in 1864, following an allegation of 'immorality', and the resignation was accepted.²⁰¹ He died in 1902, and since he never married the allegation perhaps resembled that made against Chambres.²⁰²

William Boyd Dawkins matriculated from the College in 1857, took a first in natural science and became a very distinguished geologist and palaeontologist: he was professor at Manchester and an FRS, was knighted and, from 1882, was an Honorary Fellow of Jesus.²⁰³ But in 1862 the proctors had removed Dawkins from the University for consorting with a prostitute (an offence he admitted): he wrote a sad, or ironic, essay on leaving his 'cosy room at Oxford'.²⁰⁴ The skeleton was consigned to the closet, however:²⁰⁵ Dawkins was revered at Jesus — 'our distinguished Honorary Fellow'.²⁰⁶

That there were so few recorded scandals is, of course, greatly to the College's credit.

2C J. R. Green

Although little known today, John Richard Green (1837–1883) was one of nineteenth-century England's most successful historians, the sales of his *Short History of the English People* (1874) exceeded only by those of Lord Macaulay's *History of England* (1848–61). The College's history society is the J. R. Green Society.

After winning a scholarship, Green matriculated from Jesus in 1855 but came to feel 'disgust at my College',²⁰⁷ and, doubtless, disappointment at its constricted 'Two Quads'.²⁰⁸ Self-absorbed,

¹⁹⁹ JCA, RE. 5, 7.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 12–13.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 281.

²⁰² *ODNB*, 'Owen, Robert (1820-1902)'.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, 'Dawkins, Sir William Boyd (1837-1929)'; M.J.White, *William Boyd Dawkins and the Victorian Science of Cave Hunting* (Barnsley, 2017); JCA, RE. 5, 523.

²⁰⁴ Bodl., PR1/23/3, 86'; Buxton Museum and Art Gallery, Sir William Boyd Dawkins Archive, 'Experiences of a Geological Surveyor [1862]' (transcript), uncatalogued.

²⁰⁵ Modern biographies do not mention it: *ODNB*, *s.n.* 'Dawkins'; White, *Dawkins*.

²⁰⁶ E.B.P[oulton], 'Sir William Boyd Dawkins', *Magazine*, 3:30 (1929), 571.

²⁰⁷ JCA, PP.GREEN/11, J.R.Green to A.P.Stanley, December(?) 1863 (copy).

²⁰⁸ JCA, PP.GREEN/3, 26.

widely read and ambitious for scholarly acclaim, he felt Jesus was a shallow, fraudulent institution: 'a college of liars'.²⁰⁹ Most of his contemporaries he adjudged ignorant, lured to Jesus only by its Scholarships and Exhibitions ('some marry for pretty faces, some for full purses –some go to Balliol, others to Jesus').²¹⁰ He disliked, and quarrelled with, the Fellows too.²¹¹ Once he wrote nostalgically about his Staircase XIII rooms and 'hours of poring over musty old Chronicles while the clocks chimed the hours after midnight ...'.²¹² But later he dubbed the College 'that vile place'.²¹³

Green, an Englishman, felt that Jesus, the Welsh 'national College', neglected its duty: 'What in past time has the College done – what does it do now for Wales?', he asked.²¹⁴ Yet any liking for Wales was limited.²¹⁵ Green considered the Welsh baffled by individuality, sometimes avaricious, hypocritical and hostile to deep learning ('He is a scholar among Welchmen and a Welchman among scholars').²¹⁶ He satirised Jesus's 'snobbish Welchmen' and thought the Welsh 'Vulgas ... "… like gunpowder –each grain by itself dirty & contemptible, but mass them –and they are terrible indeed"'.²¹⁷ 'I would rather burn my old suit than have it worn by a Welchman,' he snarled.²¹⁸

Green perversely took only a degree without honours, but in 1877 he was elected an Honorary Fellow of Jesus;²¹⁹ regrettably, his feelings about his election seem unrecorded. In 1909 a memorial plaque was unveiled in the Second Quadrangle. Giants of scholarship attended the ceremony, but *The Times* noted uncomfortably that, like Edward Gibbon, Green 'was not altogether at ease in the Zion of his University'.²²⁰ The comparison is interesting. Gibbon's published account of his spell at Magdalen College was devastatingly unfavourable.²²¹ There is no memorial to Gibbon at Magdalen.

²⁰⁹ JCA, PP.GREEN/1, 4, 42, 53, 64-6.

²¹⁰ Ibid., 61-2, 65; *Letters of Green*, ed. Stephen, 167.

²¹¹ JCA, PP.GREEN/3, 42; *Letters of Green*, ed. Stephen, 198.

²¹² JCA, PP.GREEN/3, 26.

²¹³ *Letters of Green*, ed. Stephen, 166.

²¹⁴ J.R.G[reen], 'To the Editor of "The Druid"', *The Druid*, 1 (1862), 80.

²¹⁵ *Letters of Green*, ed. Stephen, 198.

²¹⁶ JCA, PP.GREEN/1, 61-2; *Letters of Green*, ed. Stephen, 198; JCA, PP.GREEN/3, 17.

²¹⁷ JCA, PP.GREEN/3, 26-7, 42. He was following Coleridge's verdict on the French.

²¹⁸ JCA, PP.GREEN/3, 26.

²¹⁹ JCA, RE. 5, 443.

²²⁰ *The Times*, 7 June 1909.

²²¹ Gibbon thought his fourteen months at Oxford were 'the most idle and unprofitable of my whole life'; 'the monks of Magdalen' was his contemptuous appellation for the College Fellows. *Miscellaneous Works of Edward Gibbon, Esquire*, ed. John Lord Sheffield, 2 vols (London, 1796), 1:34, 38.

3. Into the Modern World: Jesus 1884-1984

Richard Bosworth

Despite some modernisation, mid nineteenth century Jesus College scarcely stood in the van of educational attainment in a Britain which, to 1914 and beyond, was, in many commentators' view, falling behind such nations as Germany and the United States in its training of young minds for an efficient, modern, state and society. In a critical estimate published in 1922 by Alfred Edwards, new Archbishop of Wales and committed anti-disestablishmentarian: when he entered Jesus 'in January 1870, the College ... touched the least glorious point in its history', with a complement of some forty undergraduates, most, he thought, from 'poor' families.¹

Then, the College had fifteen fellows on its books, although few were active scholars.² Ten years later, when the existence of the 'Members' Register' makes tabulation easier, about the same number of undergraduates were admitted, 47 in total over the period 1882-4, 21 of them Welsh-born. They studied a limited array of subjects after surviving their introductory course on 'The Rudiments of Faith and Religion' ('Divvers'), with Classics and Literae Humaniores in the lead, but with a number doing Physics, Chemistry, Mathematics and what was entered in the Register as 'Animal Morphology' (Natural Sciences).³ None was female). There were no postgraduates (the D. Phil. was introduced in 1917).

One newcomer in 1882 was Canon Maurice Jones, DD, another 'poor Welsh boy', the son of a shoemaker. Reflecting seventy years later, Jones declared he had been aware that Jesus was 'not among the great ones of its kind' and applauded the changes since, whereby the diminution of Welshness had merely weakened the quality of rugby and of singing among undergraduates. Jones' worst memory was of the easy credit, which town tradesmen gave to callow students, ensuring that he began his curate's life in distressing debt (£200 to be found from an annual stipend of £120). He also claimed to have

¹ *Magazine*, Vol. II, no. 10 (June 1922), 208-9.

² Hardy, 246.

³ JCA RE.AD/5 (Admissions Register, entries for 1882-4).

regretted the way that Principal, Hugo Daniel Harper, reduced Chapel and religious practice in the College to no more than a formal undertaking, while the Dons 'did not concern themselves with the spiritual interests of the men placed in their charge'.⁴

Contrast that still Victorian scene with 1984, the year of the retirement of Principal, Hrothgar John Habakkuk, the first Welsh-born head of College for seventy years.⁵ His replacement was the lawyer, Peter North, whose election on 14 January was recorded in the minutes of Governing Body in English and not in Latin, as had been customary. The Record for that year tabulated 47 fellows, (with professionalisation now mandatory, 36 had earned doctorates and two were in process; lawyers, medics and the College bursar, a retired admiral, avoided such qualification), five emeritus and eighteen honorary fellows, an overall tally of 70. Three – Kathy Sylva and Felicity Heal, who are still active members of the College, and Patricia Clone, who departed to Cambridge in 1990 – were women. As a sign of globalisation, one of them had done her first degree in the U.S., another in Denmark and only Felicity Heal had a fully English curriculum vitae.

In May 1984 the College pledged to enrol ninety new undergraduates in the coming Michaelmas Term across a wider range of subjects than was possible in Victorian times (4 in Classics, 8 History, 6 PPE, 6 Law, 6 Geography, 8 Modern Languages, 6 Engineering, 4 Medicine, 8 Physics, 8 Chemistry plus 12 'miscellaneous'). Women, admitted from 1974, composed half of them according to an introductory pamphlet prepared at the end of the decade, with, by then, 'no distinction [being] made between men and women with regard to selection' (in the original 'Jesus Scheme', female intake was set at 25%).⁶ In 1986, when full figures are more readily available, the College accepted 45 new male undergraduates and 39 female. There were then 32 new postgraduates, eight being women.

⁴ *Dragon (Jesus College Magazine)*, Vol. 7. No. 100 (Trinity Term 1952), 11-12. For his entry to College, see JCA RE.AD/5 (Admissions Register, 1882).

⁵ See his obituary in the *Record* for 2009, 31-9.

⁶ *Jesus College Oxford* (Abingdon, nd [c 1980]). Accession No. 90.

The themes of any investigation of College history over the century after 1871 appear: laicisation, professionalisation, (some) globalisation, (some) democratisation, (some) alteration in the place of servants, staff and administrators in College life, a decline in the centrality of sport and boysie physicality, an increase of subjects studied, a reduction in the ancient ties with Wales and women's entry. Few changes were unique nor was the College a natural leader in national social and cultural change.

Setting a tone before World War I:

The election in 1877 of Harper as Principal did entail the penetration into Jesus of some of the changes that had been prompted by successive commissions into Oxford since the 1850s, most recently the Clarendon report (1872-4) into college finances and the Selborne Commission (1876-8), whereby Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli's government endeavoured to direct a greater attention to science and other modern disciplines among undergraduates. Harper had been a Fellow of Jesus in his youth from 1845 to 1852, three of those while largely absent being headmaster of Cowbridge School. But, despite family connections in Glamorgan, he had been born in Staffordshire, not Wales, and had spent much of his career as headmaster of Sherborne in Dorset. As his daughter put it, he always possessed 'that look of immaculate cleanliness which we believe to be especially English' and, on arrival in Oxford, he and his family devoted themselves to a thorough-going upgrade of the Lodgings which they complained, had been left smelly and degraded.⁷

To be sure, he was greeted by the Vice-Principal as one whose appointment 'will have a benefit to the College and with it to Wales'.⁸ However, Harper, by his death in office in January 1895, had acquired an activist reputation. In his way, he 'revolutionised' life at Jesus. 'He probed into every area of college life, analysed class lists, marked collections, kept records of chapel attendance, drew up kitchen tariffs and even supervised the furnishing of undergraduate rooms'.⁹ Committed in a schoolmasterly

⁷ [Mary Harper] 'Mrs Ernest Stewart Roberts', *Sherborne, Oxford and Cambridge* (London, 1934), 20.

⁸ JCA, PR.Harper/1, 23 November 1877, W. Eccles Jones to Harper.

⁹ C. Harvie, 'From the Cleveland Commission to the Statutes of 1882', in M. G. Brock and M.C. Curthoys (eds), *The History of the University of Oxford Vol VII, Nineteenth century, Part 2* (Oxford, 2000), 129.

way to modernisation, he was also said to think of the Welsh as ‘an inferior breed’, ‘canaille’. A hint of such attitude in Governing Body minutes, when some undergraduates were gated for too noisy singing one Sunday evening.¹⁰ Perhaps drink was a spur since Harper was proud of entertaining students six at a time and tried to overcome their ‘shyness’ by persuading them to sing *Men of Harlech* and *Land of My Fathers*. Nonetheless the Principal made little attempt to hide his dislike of the foundation of a Chair of Celtic studies in the College and funded by ‘popular subscription’ in 1876. He was stiff towards its occupant from 1881, John Rhys, destined to be his successor as Principal from 1895 until his death in December 1915.¹¹

Harper’s ‘revolution’ was partial. In his official history of the College, Ernest Hardy, reported that, in 1900, five of the nine fellows were Welsh, as were 44 of the 80 undergraduates, 30 being Welsh speakers. Jesus, Hardy reflected, was still ‘far from being Anglicised’.¹² Francis Gribble, one of the first journalists to write an account of Oxford, maintained in period imperialist phrasing that other colleges automatically deemed the Jesus Welshmen as the local equivalent of ‘Wild Men of Borneo’ and were smugly sure that ‘the Principal, the Fellows, the Scholars and the Commoners – to say nothing of the porter, the cook, and the scouts, are all alike called Jones’.¹³

The Welsh patriot, Rhys, yet another poor boy made good through academic ability, was the most distinguished scholar for many decades to hold the office of Principal. He encouraged the College’s new efficiency and seriousness of purpose and the growth in student numbers (124 in 1911), but added a liberal humanity to his predecessor’s gruff, school-masterly and Tory comprehension of education. Rhys spoke up for female suffrage and internationalism, perhaps setting a tone for Jesus that still survives. His belated obituarist, once peace had recommenced in 1919, mourned a man who ‘had been known throughout Europe, and indeed throughout the world, as one of Oxford’s

¹⁰ JCA, GBM/1 (Governing Body Minutes, 12 May 1883).

¹¹ G.A. Hartwell Jones, *A Celt Looks at the World* (Cardiff, 1946), 34-5.

¹² Hardy, 210-1.

¹³ F.Gribble, *The Romance of the Oxford Colleges* (London, 1910), 255, 257.

greatest scholars, and Wales' most famous son', presiding as Principal over 'the rise of one of the least efficient [colleges] in Oxford' to a much higher place.¹⁴

Sign of Rhÿs' openness to change came in 1902 when Governing Body welcomed 'one or two' of the new Rhodes Scholars to the College intake, expressing a preference in their regard for 'research students'.¹⁵ Over the next decade, Jesus retained and amplified its connection with the USA and its major universities. In 1907 Rhÿs addressed a Peace Conference held in New York as part of processes leading to the eventual foundation of the League of Nations. He spoke optimistically of how 'intelligence, knowledge and culture were what the Universities could contribute to the cause of universal peace', ending jocularly with thanks to the Rhodes Trust for permitting 'Americans to study British peculiarities and prejudices'.¹⁶

In more humdrum concern, the College in 1894 installed a phone in the porters' lodge and, over the next decade, extended electric lighting into all its rooms, as well as supplying improved baths and w.c.s in its new quad.¹⁷ It was under Rhÿs and his commitment to enlightened liberalism that regular publication began of a Magazine, where students were heard as much as were the dons. With Rhÿs himself holding down many offices in the Principality and, for example, inducing David Lloyd George to accept an Honorary Fellowship at Jesus in 1910 during the Liberal politician's momentous campaign for a 'people's budget',¹⁸ there was plain observance of a pledge ascribed to J.R. Green that Jesus men should always ask themselves what were they doing 'for Welsh literature, Welsh history, Welsh archaeology, Welsh philology [and] Welsh patriotism in the higher and nobler sense'.¹⁹ Rhÿs was a prime scholar in many such fields.

Under Rhÿs, the College looked outward, too. In July 1913, the Principal and Fellows gave formal welcome to a deputation of German students. After drinking health to King George V and Kaiser Wilhelm II, Rhÿs acknowledged his 'debt to German universities

¹⁴ *Magazine*, Vol. II no. 1, (June 1919), 4-6

¹⁵ JCA, GBM/1 (Governing Body Minutes, 1 November 1902).

¹⁶ *The Times*, 18 April 1907.

¹⁷ JCA, GBM/1, (Governing Body Minutes, 5 May 1894, 25 June 1897, 7 May, 1904).

¹⁸ JCA, JC:PR23/C1/1 Letter from Lloyd George to Rhÿs, in which Lloyd George says that 'as a Welshman' nothing could give him more pleasure than this appointment. He retained the position until his death in 1945.

¹⁹ *Magazine*, Vol. I, no. 2, (January 1913), editorial, 28

[where he had studied in his youth] and masters, and told some amusing anecdotes of [the great 'scientific' historian] Theodor Mommsen'.²⁰ With little sense of the catastrophe overhanging belle époque Europe, some months later Rhys joined a meeting at Mansion House hailing a century of peace.²¹ One ironical result of the close ties with Imperial Germany was that Jesus trained Jakob Wilhelm Hauer, a student of Eastern religion, who, during the 1930s in Hitler's dictatorship, preached an even more extreme Anti-Semitic racism than the Führer's.²² In a less confronting contact with pre-war Central Europe, the College football team in 1912 toured Habsburg Bohemia. When philosophical or scientific discussion or sporting endeavour palled, the players fondly recalled their exploration of the town of Pilsen and 'its far-famed beer', which they compared with the 'Jesus Old' sold back in College.²³

Graduates of Jesus also filled posts in Britain's far-flung empire and beyond, with one accepting 'appointment in the Chinese Maritime Customs Service' and another serving as a 'medical missionary' in China. Imperialist assumptions were partially conditioned by some celebration of the 'Ceylonese' graduate and, in 1908, briefly, 'lecturer in Pali and Pankrit', Don Martino de Silva Wickremasinghe, who, back home, worked tirelessly on an *Epigrafiya Zeylanica*, assembling material surviving from 'Ceylon's' ancient history.²⁴ Less remarked was the presence of Pixley Ka Isaka Seme, a founder of the African National Congress in 1912. He entered Jesus to qualify in Civil Law in 1907 but his funds ran out before completion.²⁵ College records show two Indians, an American, a German and a New Zealander enrolling that year. Two Egyptians joined in 1910, although one 'left after one term for want of means'.²⁶

²⁰ *Magazine*, Vol. I, no. 4 (December 1913), 74-5.

²¹ *The Times*, 4 February 1914.

²² See K. Poewe, *New Religions and the Nazis* (London, 2006).

²³ *Magazine*, Vol. I, no. 1, 1912, 19-20

²⁴ *Magazine*, Vol I no. 4 (Dec 1913), 75.

²⁵ For more on his embattled career running on between the wars, see <http://www.sahistory.org.za/people/pixley-ka-isaka-seme> (accessed 4 November 2016). The Jesus Admissions Register (JCA RE.AD/5) has him enrolled on 22 January 1907 and notes he achieved no results. B. Ngqulunga, *The Man who Founded the ANC: a Biography of Pixley ka Isaka Seme* (Capetown, 2017).

²⁶ JCA RE.AD/5 (Admissions Register, entries for 1910-1).

The College's belle époque openness extended to science; between 1857 and 1887, 17 of the College's sparse tally of Firsts were in that area as against five elsewhere.²⁷ Indicative of the College's commitment to pure and applied science was the opening in June 1908 of a well-equipped new laboratory, in the charge of a new fellow, David Leonard Chapman, 'one of the most mathematically talented physical chemists of his time' (FRS 1913); he lasted in office until 1944. The laboratory, eventually rendered redundant by the expansion of science facilities in the university at large, closed three years later. Once appointed, Chapman pressed Governing Body successfully for a higher budget for science in the College library and for the payment of demonstrators to assist his laboratory work.²⁸ He also inspired the creation of the Leoline Jenkins Club, designed to foster scientific thought at Jesus. According to its minutes, in May 1912, it boasted 12 members, plus 'Mr Chapman', reading papers on a variety of topics; to 1944, it met on 458 occasions.²⁹ Once war began in August 1914, the Club showed its patriotism by inviting 'Belgian professors and students' then in Oxford to join while the topic for discussion on 21 November (eight were present) was 'Explosives'.³⁰

After the war, Chapman exhibited a work commitment of a different kind by marrying Muriel Catherine Canning Holmes, one of his graduate students. Admirers praised his 'gentleness of manner and artless, unaffected nature'; critics found his tutorials 'painfully obscure'. Others may have been won over by his success in persuading the SCR 'to provide several cases of champagne for research purposes so that he could prove his assertion that the transformation of water to champagne was but a matter of small chemical changes that could be effected quite economically in the laboratory'.³¹

All in all, an expert account has concluded, Jesus early accepted that 'it should provide virtually comprehensive tuition and facilities for ... science students' and become 'one of the most successful scientific colleges', with almost 15% taking Chemistry by the

²⁷ Baker, 65.

²⁸ JCA, GBM/1 (Governing Body Minutes, 24 January 1912).

²⁹ *Record*, 1995/6, 55.

³⁰ JCA JC:O16/A1/1 (Leoline Jenkins Club Minutes, 1911-1922).

³¹ See *Record*, 1989, 18, 1995-6, 54, and R.G.W. Anderson et al., (eds), *Chymica Acta* (np, 2007), 9.

Second World War with College men joining top secret research on the atom.³² Even undergraduates in the College Laboratory were linked to University work on tube alloys and so to the eventual construction of a nuclear weapon. Concentration on science could result in grumbling from dons of traditional outlook. Bursar Baker expressed his dislike of 'chaps who spend all day in the labs' and distaste for the pre-occupation with 'research', a U.S. import.³³ In the late 1930s he and Rev. L.B. Cross combined to urge that the laboratory give way to student rooms, needed, as the latter warned, since 'living in digs they [College men] are far more exposed to the dangers of bad companionship and misalliance'. Chapman staunchly resisted such prejudice, being backed by Principal Hazel, despite his admission 'In common probably with other members of Governing Body, my preference is frankly for a Literary as against a Scientific education'.³⁴

Even more influential in College history than Chapman was the Hope professor of Zoology from 1893, Edward Bagnall Poulton, an evolutionary biologist who enrolled as an undergraduate in 1873 and never left, 'the most loyal of Jesus men'.³⁵ He died in 1943, aged 87, bequeathing funds for the annual Poulton dinner, which he urged wives should attend. Poulton had married into the Palmer family, part-owners of the Huntley and Palmer biscuit business. He therefore possessed the wealth and self-confidence to preach his Darwinian beliefs in natural selection and adopt a high public profile over that controversial cause. In 1909, to mark the fiftieth anniversary of *On the Origins of Species*, Poulton proclaimed that Darwin, along with Isaac Newton, belonged 'in the select company of the greatest men the world has ever seen'. Doughtily, he added, Darwin 'came not to bring peace on earth but a sword'.³⁶ Somewhat sentimental in his account of his friendship with the Welsh scientist, John Viriamu Jones, who died in 1901, Poulton was staunch in proclaiming that scientific education upheld 'the supreme interests of the Empire'.³⁷

³² R.Fox and G.Gooday, *Physics in Oxford 1839-1939: Laboratories, Learning and College Life*, (Oxford, 2005), 150-2; Harrison, 89.

³³ JCA JC:F9/MS1/3 (Edward Thompson memoir of J.N.L. Baker).

³⁴ JCA, uncatalogued Box 148.

³⁵ *Magazine*, Vol. VI, no. 64 (December 1943), 162.

³⁶ JCA, GBM/2 (Governing Body Minutes, 18 December 1940).

³⁷ E.B.Poulton, *Charles Darwin and the Origin of the Species: Addresses etc., in America and England in the Year of Two Anniversaries* (London, 1909) 55; 77. Cf his *Science and the Great War* (Oxford, 1915). He endured the loss of his promising second son, Ronald, killed soon after he reached the front in May 1915. For a eulogy, see E.B.Poulton, *The Life of Ronald Poulton by his Father* (London, 1919).

The student mood

It is fortunate that there is also an increasing amount of evidence about the undergraduates, extensive minutes of the Junior Common Room surviving from 1892 onwards. Space had been given to them in the previous decade as ‘the Jesus College Undergraduates’ room’, reserved for ‘reading, smoking, the Debating Society and other general College meetings’. By 1891-2, a zealous JCR Treasurer, Launcelot Napier Jones, was petitioning Vice Principal Rhys for a new carpet, the white-washing of walls and ceilings, and agreement that the College pay for heating coal in winter.³⁸

The JCR was supplemented by ‘Ye Elizabethane Societie’, founded in 1883; the records of this latter body from 1904 were consistently scrawled in cod-Elizabethan, with its office-holders boasting such titles as ‘Highe Mafter’ or ‘Ye Keeper of the Moneyes’. The ‘Lizzies’ grew into an avowedly hearty assembly. Already in March 1896 they pledged devotion to ‘conversation, music, song and wine’, while boasting friendly ties between the members and ‘certaine fellows of ye college yclept “Dons” in the vulgar tongue’. After 1919 ‘Lizzies’ increasingly indulged in the rumbustious behaviour of boys maturing into men in a patriarchal society. Earlier, Ye Elizabethane Societie had defined itself as ‘literary’ in its purpose, with members reading papers in a soundly Victorian manner on Browning, ‘the service of man’, ‘the rise of British India’ or ‘Non-conformity in Wales’.³⁹

The Junior Common Room debated a wider range of topics with some formality – office bearers were obliged to wear ‘evening dress’ and, at least for a while, beer consumption was banned; future Principal Hazel was, however, unsuccessful when he moved that Bovril become the JCR’s drink of choice.⁴⁰ Members varied in their politics. It was agreed in 1896 by 15 votes to 10 that ‘the present growth of Socialism is a menace to the State’, and Jesus men joined ostentatious local rejoicing at the news in 1900 of the successive relief of Ladysmith and Mafeking, ‘led by five eights men in weird masks armed

³⁸ JCA, uncatalogued Box 90, item 42.

³⁹ JCA, JC:O6/A1/2 (Elizabethane Societie Minutes, 1896).

⁴⁰ JCA, JC:O2/A1/1 (JCR Minutes, 4 February 1892, 14 February 1893, 11 March 1893).

with trumpets and drums' during the Boer War.⁴¹ However, members disapproved of any introduction of compulsory military service in 1909 and 1913, while also objecting to the dispatch of troops to Peking (Beijing) to suppress the Boxer rebellion in 1901. Remarkably, the outbreak of war (which severely cut the number of undergraduates in college) left members deciding in January 1915 that 'the complete defeat of Germany would be a disaster to the best interests of Europe' (nine votes to five) and, in June that year, that 'internationalism rather than nationality was the best way forward' (a narrow 6 votes to 5).⁴²

The state of gender (and class) relations in the College was most vividly displayed in 1886, when an undergraduate was detected 'in the habit of holding communications with a maidservant' and 'calling across the Ship St. from his room at the top of number XII Staircase at about 11.30pm or later and especially that he had attempted to make an assignation with her by asking when she was going to Church on the evening of Sunday November 21'.⁴³ The result of this romance was that the student was gated for a term and moved to the bottom of VII Staircase, 'where no possibility exists for him speaking to anyone'; the maidservant was sacked on the Monday morning.⁴⁴

In the belle époque, Jesus boasted its own celebrity in T.E. Lawrence, who reported one of his early Syrian ventures in the second issue of the new College Magazine.⁴⁵ Most of Lawrence's fame lay ahead⁴⁶ and his activity while an undergraduate 1907-10 was limited; as a historian acerbically noted 'I do not think there was anything very remarkable about his life in College'.⁴⁷ In the twentieth-first century much of his 'achievement' might be challenged, given the manifold disasters that have beset the Middle East and its post-First World War settlement to which Lawrence contributed, however idiosyncratically, or because modern (French) scholarship has found reason to doubt Lawrence's specific

⁴¹ J. Baker, *A Leader of Men (Major Sydney Harold Baker)* (London, 1920), 21, 23.

⁴² JCA JC:O2/A1/1-2 (JCR Minutes, 9 February 1895, 2 March 1896, 9 November 1899, 26 January 1901, 1 May 1909, 18 January 1913).

⁴³ JCA GBM/1 (Governing Body Minutes, 11th November, 1886).

⁴⁴ JCA, uncatalogued Box 151, where there is an extensive file of Harper's dealing with student 'problems'.

⁴⁵ *Magazine*, Vol. I, no. 2 (January 1913), 37-9; cf. also Vol. I, no. 1 (October 1912), 6.

⁴⁶ For a brilliant and humane account, see N. Faulkner, *Lawrence of Arabia's War: the Arabs, the British and the Remaking of the Middle East in World War I* (New Haven, 2017).

⁴⁷ JCA, uncatalogued Box 67, 19 December 1957, J.N.L. Baker note.

measurements and description.⁴⁸ Yet, after Lawrence's death in a motor-cycle accident in May 1935, his family and the College collaborated to establish his memory site in Jesus, especially in the room named after him, bolstered by his portrait hanging in hall. A literature survives where he is respectfully portrayed as 'an instinctive leader of men and, above all, a hero'.⁴⁹

A sceptical historian might twin Lawrence with the gay novelist, Frederick Rolfe, 'Baron Corvo', author of *Hadrian VII*, since 'this entertaining if contrived story of a hack writer and priest who becomes pope sheds vivid light on its eccentric author – described by DH Lawrence as a "man-demon"'.⁵⁰ Rolfe was never a Jesus student. However, while he was writing *Hadrian VII*, he found sanctuary with Vice-Principal Hardy, who was going blind, acting as his amanuensis, translator and proof-reader. In his book, Rolfe took care to praise a character called not Hardy but Strong as his 'dear and intimate and honoured friend', a reliable protector in a wicked world. In his *Quest for Corvo*, the book that 're-discovered' Rolfe, A.J.A. Symons recalled Rolfe complaining that the student essays that he was forced to read aloud to Hardy were 'perfectly appalling. The vilest, vulgarest scripts, the silliest spelling, infinitives split to the midriff. I asked Hardy what was to be done with these crimes against fair English, and he answered sedately: "Pass them over with silent contempt"'.⁵¹

Another historical partner to Lawrence might be the eminent Jamaican politician, Norman Washington Manley, who became an Honorary Fellow in 1959. Manley arrived as a Rhodes scholar in 1914 to study law, went off heroically to fight in the war, where he won the MM (and his brother died in his arms), and then returned. His experience at Jesus may not have been the happiest, however. In 1919, he wrote to his sister about his student life, 'I have not made a single friend here. I haven't fallen in with any set or tradition. I have been an alien first and last. I cannot get behind the barrier that is always there; I feel chained. The case is different when I meet any of the West Indians that I

⁴⁸ See, for example, M.Dinshaw, *Outlandish Knight: the Byzantine life of Stephen Runciman* (London, 2016), 250-1.

⁴⁹ M.Korda, *Hero: The Life and Legend of Lawrence of Arabia* (New York, 2010), xv.

⁵⁰ <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2015/aug/17/the-100-best-novels-written-in-english-the-full-list> (accessed 8 November 2017). For further consideration see *Record*, 2017.

⁵¹ A.J.A. Symons, *The Quest for Corvo: An Experiment in Biography* (London, 1934), 182.

know. I feel with them an altogether different person'. Nonetheless, Manley was cheered by a comforting tutor, won the 120 yards hurdles and high jump in a contest against Merton and, in 1922, returned to Jamaica, 'with a wife, a baby, a profession and a clear sum of £50'.⁵²

An ominous symbol of the end of the pre-war era at Jesus was the fire that broke out at 5.30 am on 4 December 1913 at the top of Staircase V, destroying the Bursar's room (but not his papers), the kitchen and buttery. The Volunteer Fire Brigade arrived in time to save the Hall and, at least in retrospect, the College congratulated itself that its silver was garnered undamaged from the buttery and a kitchen was immediately improvised in the Laboratories, ensuring that it was 'possible to dine in College on the same day'.⁵³ In March 1914 rebuilding costs were assessed at a hefty £3325.⁵⁴

From one Great War to the next

The First World War inflicted severe casualties, as can be seen in the memorial opened in the Ante-Chapel in 1921, where the 64 who lost their lives have their names inscribed. The Archbishop of Wales led a dedication service.⁵⁵ By 1916-7 the College housed more trainee members of the Royal Flying Corps than it did undergraduates.⁵⁶ On the day that the (disastrous) Gallipoli campaign was launched, the Dons signalled their patriotic dedication by following King George V (and Tsar Nicholas II of Russia) in renouncing alcohol for the war's duration. Soon, they ended the award of prizes or the filling of vacant fellowships until victory.⁵⁷ Rhys was not replaced as Principal until 1921 and then by the elderly, frail and blind, Hardy who himself died four years later in the Lodgings, just after Sunday service.⁵⁸

⁵² R.Symonds, *Oxford and Empire: the Last Lost Cause* (Oxford, 1986), 267-8; P.Sherlock, *Norman Manley* (London, 1980), 60-2.

⁵³ *Magazine*, Vol. I no. 5 (March 1914), 121-2.

⁵⁴ JCA GBM/1 (Governing Body Minutes, 13 March 1914). College plate had been assessed as worth £8800 in 1911 (Minutes 8 May 1911).

⁵⁵ *Magazine*, Vol. II, no. 8 (December 1921), 161-2.

⁵⁶ Baker, 117.

⁵⁷ JCA, GBM/1 (Governing Body Minutes, 25 April, 9 June 1915). The JCR expressed their disapproval of the idea (JC:O2/A1/4, Minutes 8 May 1915).

⁵⁸ JCA, GBM/1 (Governing Body Minutes, 26 October 1925).

14.48% of soldiers with a background at Jesus fell in the war against a University average of 20% and a national 8%. 15% of Jesus men did not take an officer's commission, a much higher figure than, for example at Corpus Christi (5%), a sign both of the College's relative lack of social *éclat* and of the concentration of some of its students in the laboratory and expert scientific work.⁵⁹ The unluckiest man, admitted in January 1918, was despatched to the front as a Second Lieutenant a few weeks later, to be re-admitted early in 1919 only to die 'of injuries received in a football match on October 11. The war lingered in College, with 35 of 52 admissions that month being ex-soldiers; there were two thirty-year olds and two twenty-nine-year olds among them.⁶⁰

For a brief time, such seniority and life experience fostered discontent about the College's old ways, the rudimentary quality of bathing and toilet facilities among them (eventually the introduction of softer paper brought some relief, but hot water by no means always flowed into the baths and one memoirist recalled preferring to pay 6d to use the City washing facilities off High St.).⁶¹ As a contemporary novelist has reconstructed it: 'Jesus College. Bitter cold. When I went to the lavatories this morning I put on a hat, my coat and a scarf to cross the quad and then I had to break the ice in the pan. These buildings are medieval'.⁶² Another lamented how hard it was to wash after a rugby match and how impossible for a poor Welsh boy to launder his playing kit; it 'cracked', he remembered, when we put it on for the next game'.⁶³

Throughout the academic year of 1919-20, the JCR pressed ahead with demands that students be 'accorded a large share in determining the domestic policy of the College'; the JCR, they believed in a demand finally achieved in 1969, should nominate a committee that could discuss controversial issues with the SCR.⁶⁴ Returned soldier radicalism soon faded, however, with pre-war patterns re-emerging, if anything in more conservative vein. In May and again October 1920 the JCR declared women 'out of the

⁵⁹ J.M.Winter, 'Oxford and the First World War', in Harrison, 19.

⁶⁰ JCA, RE.AD/6 (Admissions Register, entries for 1914-9).

⁶¹ JCA, JC:O2/A1/8 (JCR Minutes, 30 January 1932); GBM/2 (Governing Body Minutes, 24 January, 8 December 1934); *Record*, 2004, 60.

⁶² W.Boyd, *Any Human Heart* (London, 2003), 86.

⁶³ I.E.Hughes, *The Memoirs* (np, 1979), 121.

⁶⁴ JCA, JC:O2/A1/4 (JCR Minutes, 1 November 1919, 13 June 1920).

place' in university 'pursuits', altogether rejecting female 'emancipation'.⁶⁵ Ye Elizabethane Societie revived in 1919, with drinking predominating in its activities. Setting up a 'Commytee of ye punishment', it also enjoyed 'firting' 'ye buttocks' of those who infringed its rules with 'ye goade', confirming its self-appointed status as the College body initiating new members into student life.⁶⁶

Perhaps the post-war spirit was best expressed in an article about the 'dance craze' sweeping Oxford as the 1920s began. 'I once danced with a good lady from the Antipodes', a commentator in the Magazine recalled with geographical confusion, 'whose conception of ballroom dancing was ... based on what she had actually seen of the round games of the Choctaw Indians'. 'If beset by a hearty lady who rides to hounds', he added knowingly and with a more English setting, 'stuff her with éclairs and claret cup and talk feverishly about intervention in Russia, the integral calculus [sic] or the catalytic formation of some chemical compound' and she will flee.⁶⁷

Jesus remained strong in science – rewards in its application could be considerable; in 1933 Leoline Jenkins Society members were entertained by a firm at Hounslow seeking staff with a five-course lunch and 'an adequate gargle of excellent sauterne'.⁶⁸ Some pre-war liberalism lingered. With Vice-Principal Hazel's favour, a branch of the League of Nations Union was established in College in 1921 and, later, the JCR endorsed liberal internationalism, while 'deploring' the possible importation of Fascism to the UK.⁶⁹ Jesus men did not take the lead that other undergraduates did in 'volunteering' to break the General Strike of May 1926.⁷⁰ In October 1930 the JCR even favoured 'the disintegration of the British Empire' by 25 votes to 10.⁷¹

From November 1925 to August 1944, Hazel, a lawyer who had been Liberal M.P. for West Bromwich 1906-10, before he failed to hold his seat in the second election that

⁶⁵ JCA, JC:O2/A1/4 (JCR Minutes, 2 May, 30 October 1920).

⁶⁶ See, for example, JCA, JC:O6/A1/6 and 8-10 (Elizabethane Societie Minutes, 1919-20, 1929, 1936). Cf. I.E. Hughes, *The Memoirs*, 146.

⁶⁷ *Magazine*, Vol. II, no. 2, (December 1919), 29.

⁶⁸ *Magazine*, Vol. IV, no. 44 (December 1933), 243.

⁶⁹ *Magazine*, Vol. II, no. 8 (December 1921), p. 178; JCA JC:O2/A1/6 (JCR Minutes, 17 January 1924, 24 January 1925).

⁷⁰ But see *Record*, 2002, 78-9, for one volunteer, the son of a policeman.

⁷¹ JCA JC:O2/A1/7 (JCR Minutes, 18 October 1930).

year by two votes. He was the last of Jesus Principals to die in the Lodgings like a monarch in his palace.⁷² During his latter years, Governing Body divided over whether the College's commitment to Wales was eternal and the linked matter of the ideal ration of grammar school or public school entrants. A later analyst believed that the place was thereby possessed of 'an inferiority complex – showing itself in defensive and hostile attitudes to the rest of the university'; another deemed it 'modest and unfashionable'.⁷³

Such negativity may be exaggerated. Hazel, with his attachment man and boy to Jesus and efficient business skills, expressed a College spirit matched by that of Fred Sirman, who retired as Steward in 1933, an office that he had held for forty years, his first college employment having been in 1877.⁷⁴ A similar timelessness found expression on 4 March that year with the 50th anniversary dinner of the Elizabethane Societie; V.G.J. Jenkins, the Welsh rugby player, double Blue and probably the best sportsman produced at Jesus, held office as Highe Maftere.⁷⁵

Although the place was no longer 'exclusively Welsh', as the Archbishop of Wales suggested 'we are still ... the National College of the Principality in the sense that Jesus is a centre and the resort for Welsh students at Oxford', who composed half the undergraduate tally.⁷⁶ Yet internationalisation continued; in 1929 it was reported that 8 old members of the College lived and worked in Europe, 32 in 'Africa', 50 in India, 21 in the U.S.A., 9 in Australasia, 135 in London and 74 in Glamorgan.⁷⁷

The 1930s are often recalled for political contestation when Oxford students earned notoriety for voting twice in 1933 that their Union 'would not fight for King and Country'. At Jesus, in November 1936, the JCR agreed politely to scrub out graffiti urging 'Support Spanish Democracy' that had been painted on the Chapel wall; Franco had risen against the parliamentary Republic in July. Most vociferously radical was the History student and communist, Albert Hanson, destined after 1945 to leave the Party

⁷² JCA GBM/2 (Governing Body Minutes, 20 May 1944).

⁷³ C.Ray, *In a Glass Lightly* (London, 1967), 4.

⁷⁴ *Magazine*, Vol. IV, no. 43 (June 1933), 206.

⁷⁵ JCA JC:O6/A1/9 (Elizabethane Societie Minutes, 1933).

⁷⁶ *Magazine*, Vol. III, no. 17 (December 1924), 344.

⁷⁷ *Magazine*, Vol. III, no. 30 (March 1929), 570.

and become foundation professor of political science at Leeds. In 1933 Hanson thought the Union's motion had not gone far enough, excoriating the ruling class for 'the decadence of civilization' and 'the growing danger of war'. 'To decide war is an unpleasant business and that therefore you are going to have nothing to do with it', he told his fellow students, 'may ease your individual conscience, but it cuts no ice', he added, if kept in the ivory-tower of Oxford. 'Only in alliance with the workers does our pacifism become of practical value'. He hoped in victory. But 'whatever happens', he concluded with callow confidence, 'we can be certain that Oxford will never return to the lazy intellectualism of the past. We have had enough of dreaming spires'.⁷⁸

Hanson took his First in 1934, one of a series of brilliant College History students who owed much to Albert Goodwin, who had come up to Jesus in 1924 as an undergraduate and stayed until his departure to the chair at Manchester in 1953. Leftist in his interpretation of his research field, the French Revolution, Goodwin in 1927 argued in liberal continuity from Rhÿs that Germans should be welcomed back into the international system; nations' wartime militarism, he believed, had been occasioned 'not so much ... by nature as by necessity'.

From September 1939 College life was again fretted by almost six years of war. As a Lizzie minuted in characteristic prose: 'of alle bastarde varlets known to Mafteres ... Hitler is ye most abominated, a plaguey, poxy turd he is indeed, a woman among men'.⁷⁹ A more sophisticated message was drawn by another student when he predicted that a people's war would ensure that 'the preposterous backwardness of Oxford in respect of student self-government is nearing its end', meaning the Colleges might 'catch up' with provincial universities; now the Jesus JCR did finally join the National Union of Students (founded 1922). All in all, he added, the spirit of the times suggested that study should thereafter forge 'scientific intellectuals who would be able to plan society both in peace and war', rather than 'gentlemen in the Pickwickian sense of the term'.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Article by A.H.H. in *Magazine*, Vol. IV, no. 44 (December 1933), 237-9; cf another Hanson piece in no. 45 (March 1934), 259-61, demanding support for the hunger marchers and organising students to join them. Cf. also *Man: an introduction to history* (London, 1940), a school textbook he wrote soon after taking up teaching. It is forgiving of the troubles of 1930s USSR, ignores the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact and sees Soviet peasants as having achieved a prosperity second only to the USA.

⁷⁹ JCA, JC:O6/A1/10 (Elizabethane Societie Minutes, 1939).

⁸⁰ *Magazine*, Vol. IV, nos. 63 (March 1940), 643-5, 64 (June 1940), 688, no. 65 (December 1940), 690.

38 College men perished in the Second World War, not many more than half of those who fell between 1914 and 1918. Jesus had all but suspended its normal activities, in World War One, while in the Second some student life did continue. From late 1939, College valuables were stored in the reinforced strong room of the Butler's kitchen, Barclays having refused to provide protection in their own strong room and, later, the College was protected against fire-bombing through the installation of two 5000 gallon water tanks and the provision of iron or steel ladders.⁸¹ But, despite Nazi fondness for 'Baedeker targets' in their bombing, Oxford escaped serious damage. From a student viewpoint, as an editorialist remarked in the *Magazine*, now 'the undergraduate, apart from the Damocles threat of military service, has on the whole fewer worries or responsibilities ... than anyone'.⁸² Memoirists have recalled that, under rationing, which continued until 1954, 'the food was austere, though not intolerably so for those arriving from boarding school'; 'squares of dried egg' surrounded by baked beans could be enriched by 'buns' from the JCR store; members could also smile at 'the frequent appearance for dinner of a brown-coloured rissole described on the menu as Cambridge steak'.⁸³ Bathing remained problematic, with a 'Plimsoll line' of 8 inches limiting water use, while bathwater warmth was uncertain. Chamber pots acted as place of relief for many students; their contents could still be flung out windows onto whatever or whoever stood below. College 'Rear Admiral' remained a key JCR office.⁸⁴

Finding a new course after 1945

The wartime devotion to welfare and planning was exemplified in the College's choice of a new Principal in November 1944, when it also stipulated that, in future, College leaders should retire at 70.⁸⁵ Sir Frederick Ogilvie was not Welsh nor had he been an undergraduate nor held a Jesus fellowship. An economist by training, he had spanned academe and public service, being the second Director-General of the BBC from 1938 to 1942. A new fellow told an American colleague appreciatively that he was a 'great

⁸¹ JCA GBM/2 (Governing Body Minutes, 7 September 1939).

⁸² JCA, GBM/2 (Governing Body Minutes, 15 August 1941).

⁸³ *Magazine*, Vol. IV, no.66,(March 1941).

⁸⁴ See, for example, JCA, 02/A!/9 (JCR Minutes 28th April 1937).

⁸⁵ JCA, uncatalogued Box 110, motion of 30 May 1945.

personality'.⁸⁶ Ogilvie, however, was not long destined to preside over the post-war College. Soon ill, he died at Guy's Hospital in London in June 1949.

The next Principal, John Christie, to retire in 1967, was, quite a throwback to earlier times. Already a majority candidate for a Governing Body faction in 1943-4 anxious that Jesus take fewer grammar school boys, viewed as 'gauche, sullen, unfriendly, and almost completely lacking in social graces or real intellectual interest', failings worsened if they were Welsh.⁸⁷ Christie was a classicist and schoolmaster, Head of Repton and Westminster schools, a pious and muscular Christian of Tory sympathies; under his aegis student devotion prospered.⁸⁸ A frequent speaker on the BBC, Christie pronounced that the Welfare State was destroying society's 'sense of adventure' and self-reliance. He noted that the government gave greater subsidy to science students than those in the arts but implied regret since the College and University should stand for 'Christian Humanism'. He similarly doubted the rise of the graduate student, asking 'whether Oxford has not gone too far in its efforts to keep up with the times' in such matters. Most egregiously, he maintained that 'State School boys' had to absorb in 'three years' what those from the public schools and 'respectable' families had acquired in 'twenty'.⁸⁹ He preferred posher or older boys, who had done their national service before coming up, even if they had undistinguished academic records; they were, he told one such student after a rich dinner, 'a breath of fresh air', compared with 'dull boys from grammar schools'.⁹⁰

When being interviewed, Rees Davies, a 'poor Welsh boy', son of a farm worker and a dairy maid, who was destined to be knighted, become a Fellow of All Souls and the most celebrated Welsh historian of his generation, recalled that Christie had asked him 'about the fairy tales and myths of my home area; I largely volunteered the information, but realised that it was ... lost on him since the place-names and personal names were all

⁸⁶ JCA, uncatalogued Box 152, 11 October [1947], G. Young to J. Wolfenden.

⁸⁷ JCA, uncatalogued Box 68, item 2, L.B. Cross memorandum.

⁸⁸ *Dragon (Jesus College Magazine)*, Vol. VII, no. 113 (Michaelmas 1956), 15-16.

⁸⁹ David Lindsay, Roger Young and Hugh Lloyd-Jones (eds), *J.T. Christie: A Great Teacher*, (Maldon, 1984), 57; 89-91; 96; 102.

⁹⁰ A. Fletcher, *Maverick Gadfly: the Autobiography of Anthony Fletcher* (Horsham, 2016), 37. Fletcher took a Third in Law. For exclusion, see Colin Clarke, 'A Geographer at Jesus: Academic Life as a Junior and Senior Member of the College' in JCA, Accession No. 416.

Welsh'. With a hint of his own ethnic priorities, Davies remembered that he felt he 'was being treated as a member of the Dinka or a Nuer. So Jesus College was not for me!'⁹¹

In such circumstances, there were many reasons why the already existing divisions among the Dons deepened. Relations between them and the Principal have been evocatively described as 'in a state of heavily-armed non-belligerency'. Matters were further complicated by J.N.L. Baker's possessive comprehension of a Bursar's task (however financially productive) and his preference for a traditional common room where ancient rituals and reverence for College seniority survived. As an account of his stewardship phrases it, Baker's 'temperament was inclined towards benevolent despotism, and he was conscious of his own benevolence'.⁹²

By the 1960s such attitudes seemed antique to many, notably when Christie reacted with predictable disfavour to the 1961 Robbins Commission's demand for modernisation and even to the 1964-6 Franks Commission's careful deflection of the most damaging suggestions that College independence be curtailed.⁹³ In the 'Golden Age of the Don',⁹⁴ mutterings grew against the Principal, despite Christie's pleased announcement in 1965 that Jesus held 3rd place in the new Norrington Table.⁹⁵

Student response to the post-1945 College is harder to gauge. Much life continued as normal, although Jesus followed the lead of others in setting up a Common Room for graduate students in 1961. Among the undergraduates, the Lizzies, after the war, were for a time back in business, supervising what they thought mattered in College behaviour. According to one memoir, they 'policed' the quadrangles, imposing their

⁹¹ Rees Davies, 'A Farewell Speech' in Huw Pryce and John Watts (eds), *Power and Identity in the Middle Ages: Essays in Memory of Rees Davies* (Oxford, 2007), 262.

⁹² JCA, JC:F9/MS1/3 (Edward Thompson memoir of J.N.L. Baker).

⁹³ For such critique, see *Record*, 1966, Editorial.

⁹⁴ N. Annan, *The Dons: Mentors, Eccentrics and Geniuses* (London, 2000), 127.

⁹⁵ *Record*, 1965, 4. The old student-created *Magazine* ceased to exist after 1965. However, in 1962 the Principal and Fellows had produced the first issue of a new, more "official", College magazine, the *Record*.

rules and 'firking' any opposition. By the mid-1960s, Ye Elizabethane Societie terminated its rugged history.⁹⁶

What was deemed a tradition but, if it was, certainly grew in macho extent after 1945, was raiding backwards and forwards with Lincoln and especially Exeter College, either on St. David's Day or to mark the final week of Michaelmas term. In cruder vein, one 1890s' student had remembered losing his first tooth in a punch-up, but it was contested between 'Town' and 'Gown' and not among the Turl St. colleges.⁹⁷

In 1954 a journalist stated that Jesus was 'notorious for its tradition of violence', adding that a 'colonial riot' might be paralleled to 'dinner at Jesus'.⁹⁸ Sconsing was a frequent part of the dining experience even though some disdainfully dismissed it as drunken stupidity 'still prevalent in some of the smaller colleges'.⁹⁹ In 1947, the Magazine unrepentantly explained that it could be prompted by late arrival, sitting out of proper seniority, wearing a short gown, tipping a soup plate incorrectly, putting elbows on the table, talking shop, mentioning a 'lady's' name, let alone a 'non-lady', looking at the pictures on the wall, speaking Welsh (except on 1 March) or some language other than English, Latin, Greek or Hebrew, wearing a scarf, blazer, white or polo sweater or white trousers. 'Beards, long hair, bow ties and coloured waistcoats are governed by the discretion of the Senior Scholar, subject to appeal'.¹⁰⁰

For some students, such conformism palled. In the late 1950s, the Magazine contained a disgruntled review of intellectual life at Jesus where, a undergraduate claimed, 'solid mediocrity' was 'the most respectful assessment which the College has received throughout its history'. Still labelled the 'Welsh College' in the university at large, 'the most striking thing about public opinion of Jesus College is its absence. ... Jesus has never acquired outstanding fame because it has always moved with and never against

⁹⁶ JCA, reminiscences of Peter Dean (Chemistry, 1959). He did add that 'bullying' had been much worse at his public school. Cf. JCA, JC:O6/A1/14 (Elizabethane Societie Minutes, 1959).

⁹⁷ Magazine, Vol. II no. 1 (June 1919), 15.

⁹⁸ N. Longmate, *Oxford Triumphant* (London, 1954), 82.

⁹⁹ P.Crawfurth Smith, *Oxford in the Melting Pot* (London, 1932), 17.

¹⁰⁰ Magazine, Vol. VI, no 85 (June 1947). 50.

the Oxford stream'.¹⁰¹ Students naturally enough reacted to College tutors in a varied manner but most often with appreciation and pleasure in their memories.

On 3 May 1967 Christie retired to resume public school teaching. His replacement was Hrothgar John Habakkuk (as time passed he used the second name rather than the formidable first). After being refused entry to Jesus, his place of prime application,¹⁰² Habakkuk had obtained a starred First in History from St. John's College, Cambridge in 1936, becoming an eminent economic historian, Chichele professor at All Souls after 1950. He was therefore the epitome of a Golden Age don, whose appointment marked the full arrival of academic professionalization at Jesus. Habakkuk took office just as the era of student radicalism began, whether in the United States, where the bloody Vietnam war continued, or in France, Germany and Italy, where 'God professors' were increasingly out of place in a democratising world. Oxford was not an epicentre of student 'revolution' like Paris or Berkeley, but there were some demonstrations and occupations, notably of the Delegates Room in the Clarendon building from 24 February to 2 March 1970, and many angry words.

Already under Christie there had been hints of change, when, for example, in 1964 the JCR demanded that Apartheid South African goods be banned from College sale to be met with rejection by Governing Body; a few years later, the poet Arthur Nortje, a graduate in 1969 but troubled by classification as a Coloured in his home regime, died of drug overdose, leaving behind an extensive and complex diary of undergraduate life.¹⁰³ Back in 1965 two men had represented the JCR at a Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament meeting.¹⁰⁴ Rumbling discontent developed over the refusal to allow machines selling contraception devices in College and over restrictions on 'visiting hours', although a cynical undergraduate stated that, if his confrères could not get what they wanted by 10pm, they never would.¹⁰⁵ A few years earlier, one student from the colonies, in his

¹⁰¹ Magazine, Vol. VIII, no. 1 (Michaelmas 1957-Hilary 1958), 6-12

¹⁰² Rees Davies, 'A Farewell Speech', 262.

¹⁰³ JCA, JC:02/19 (JCR Minutes, 19 January 1964). Cf. Oxford journal of Arthur Nortje, 1965-1969 (<http://hdl.handle.net/10500/9776>).

¹⁰⁴ JCA, JC:02/A1/20 (JCR Minutes, 12 January 1965).

¹⁰⁵ JCA, JC:02/A1/18 (JCR Minutes, 4 February 1962).

own mind a successful lover, concluded that his British fellows believed that procreation occurred 'vegetatively, like rhododendrons'.¹⁰⁶

Women and the end of the traditional college

Habakkuk's first major speech as Principal depicted a 'loyal and harmonious' College.¹⁰⁷ Yet, over the next four years, he was confronted with much discontent, spurred by the issue of gate hours and despite the nomination in 1969 of four members of the JCR, three of the MCR and one other student to join staff debate on 'Domestic Committee'.¹⁰⁸ In Hilary Term 1970 JCR members decided as their revolutionary gesture to elect 'A Goldfish' as their president to indicate that their negotiations had been going round and round and, in any formal discussion with the Principal or Governing Body, they were opening and shutting their mouths to no effect. The fishy and silent JCR chief resigned at the second meeting in Trinity Term. Habakkuk preserved in his papers a letter asking if the election was 'constitutional', since he could not find 'A. Goldfish' anywhere inscribed on College lists. He also kept a scurrilous page-long anonymous 'Habakkukiad', directed against himself.

By this time, the most pressing issue was a student sit-in with female companions and the fines that were imposed on 39 male participants, named by the Junior Dean. In a successful defusing of an issue, which had prompted a formal student appeal to the Earl of Pembroke as Visitor, the penalty was charitably paid by one of the College's best-loved tutors in the humanities. However, even when calm returned, there was further excited talk of picketing the College over the pay and conditions offered its servants or in support of striking rubbish collectors or of a food boycott against College meals or just of 'direct action'. At its second meeting in Hilary Term 1971 the JCR voiced its 'dissatisfaction with the whole internal management of college'.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ Reminiscences of Terry Darlington (1955 English).

¹⁰⁷ *Record*, 1968, 8

¹⁰⁸ JCA, GBM/3 (Governing Body Minutes, 22 January 1969).

¹⁰⁹ For these events, see JCA PR.Habakkuk 3/5-6, JC:O2/A1/21 (JCR Minutes, 1969-72), JCA, GBM/5-6 (Governing Body Minutes, 1969-72). Cf. also Christopher Schenk's recollections of his leading role in the affair, *Record*, 2008, 53-6.

The admission of women in 1974 marked the gentlest of revolutions, perhaps because it had become so silly for Oxford Colleges to remain single sex, even if Habakkuk in 1982, while acknowledging that 'the College is a pleasanter place for senior and junior members alike; the intellectual levels are higher – not spectacularly but significantly so' and 'there had been remarkably few problems either with the domestic or the social side', still believed there 'probably should still be a single sex college for boys and girls'. Were he a fellow of Pembroke, then contemplating belated change, Habakkuk was not sure how he would vote.¹¹⁰ Certainly initial worries about whether females should be 'scattered' or congregated in their rooms – in 1973 Habakkuk opposed 'scattering' and, in 1984, there was still a 'girls' staircase' - or just how much accommodation should be equipped with full length mirrors soon dissipated.¹¹¹

Other changes simultaneously began, if they proceeded very slowly. Susan Ward took up a JRF in Medicine in 1973-4 and there were further short-term female appointments in Philosophy and Archaeology, Governing Body agreeing in 1976 that Miss A.D.D. Raphael whose lectureship in Philosophy was shared with Pembroke, should reside in College. The Principal, it was solemnly recorded, 'would be grateful if she would be willing to make informal contact with women members of the College; she would be recompensed for reasonable expenses incurred in entertaining'.¹¹² Eight years later, Felicity Heal became the first formally named 'Tutor for women', following a JCR campaign to prevent sexual harassment.¹¹³

Among the students there may have been glitches. Perhaps it was adroit of the Acting Principal Geoffrey Young (who served as Head of House when Habakkuk was Vice Chancellor 1973-7) to state in his annual review of 1977: 'in sports both the girls [sic] and the men have contributed to our success'.¹¹⁴ Yet for a time, the arrival of women did not stem the raiding of Exeter and Lincoln, culminating in the 'Turl St. Riot' of 2 December 1979, which brought unwelcome police and press attention and led to formal

¹¹⁰ JCA, PR Habakkuk 3/4 Habakkuk to Master of Pembroke College.

¹¹¹ JCA, PR Habakkuk 3/4 Habakkuk to Warden, Wadham. See above.

¹¹² JCA, GBM/9 (Governing Body Minutes, 9 June 1976).

¹¹³ JCA, GBM/13 (Governing Body Minutes, 8 February 1984). Cf. also material in JCA, uncatalogued Box 36.

¹¹⁴ *Record*, 1977, 10

discussion between 'the Proctors, the Principal of Jesus, the Rector of Exeter, the Rector of Lincoln, the University Marshal and senior representatives of the police and fire services' about how to prevent recurrence.¹¹⁵

Initial lack of enthusiasm for women students, especially from some of the staff, is scarcely surprising but by 1979, women (Alison Beardsley and Vanessa Fry) were elected President and Treasurer of the JCR. If there were still few female dons, women had become a normal part of student life at Jesus. Gays, however, kept a low profile, and married graduate students were not always impressed with the attitudes of the powers that be.¹¹⁶ In general, however, the College was moving on, with Habakkuk's success on the wider university stage adding to its lustre. Technology made its mark; in 1979 the College acquired photocopying machines and in 1982 it computerised its accounting system. Its students now came from many countries, with one sad case of globalisation reflected in the murder of Bahram Dehqani-Tafti, son of the Anglican Bishop of Iran 1961-90. An undergraduate at Jesus 1973-6 before moving to graduate work in the US, Dehqani-Tafti fell victim to fundamentalist revolutionaries in Teheran on 6 May 1980.¹¹⁷

On a happier level, the cellar, always a key site of the SCR's sociability,¹¹⁸ now took wines from a wide market extending to the New World. Habakkuk's choice to retire in 1984 did not seem to carry any ominous implications from George Orwell's novel. Yet, by that year, neoliberalism had taken charge of UK and US political leadership, and the impact on Oxford and Jesus over the decades of its hegemony would prove great since government funding needed to be replaced by private sources of some kind (83% state money 1968-9, declined to 62% 1988-9),¹¹⁹ while the demand for better education, deeper research and 'transparency' (at least to bureaucratic satisfaction) in all activity kept growing. In the Records of 1985 and after, the Classicist and University Orator,

¹¹⁵ JCA, GBM/10-11 (Governing Body Minutes, 5 December 1979, 23 January 1980). Cf. *Daily Mail*, 4 December 1979; *Oxford Times*, 7, 21 December 1979 and *Cherwell*, 1980. There had been a not dissimilar raid in December 1975, while on St. David's Night 1973 police took into custody one Jesus man pushing a barrel of beer along Turl St. It had been violently purloined from the Hertford JCR. JCA, uncatalogued Box 120.

¹¹⁶ See reports, reminiscences of Tom Brown and Martyn Lyons, in JCA.

¹¹⁷ M. Dehqani-Tafti, *Bahram William Dehqani-Tafti 1955-1980* (np, 1993).

¹¹⁸ JCA, uncatalogued Box 60, contains extensive correspondence on liquor purchases during the 1860s and a cheque book recording payments of £2478/15/10 to wine merchants, 1871-80.

¹¹⁹ M. Brock, 'The University since 1970' in Harrison, 765.

John G. Griffith, a maverick Tory, inveighed against the Thatcher government, lamenting as ‘the son of an Oxford physicist’ (science students found him receptive in a way not all Arts academics were)¹²⁰ that ‘it is intolerable that many of the outstanding scientific intellects of the country should be compelled to take time off from research or teaching, which they are uniquely qualified to do, in order to think out ways of coming to terms with the arbitrary constraints from outside to which they should never be subjected’.¹²¹ In quite a few arenas, ‘Donnish dominion’ was now in decline,¹²² and, as a new millennium approached, the challenges to Jesus College, Oxford and its members were numerous and novel.

3A Harold Wilson

His portrait in Hall, painted in 1969, ensures that few members of Jesus College are not aware that Harold Wilson was our only alumnus to become Prime Minister of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (October 1964 to June 70; March 1974 to April 1976) for the Labour Party. His reputation is currently on the rise among academic historians. Wilson had been born in Huddersfield in March 1916 to a lower middle class but politically aware family of leftist and Protestant Christian beliefs. A grammar school boy, he won a £60 exhibition to Jesus, arriving for the start of the 1934 academic year. Ben Pimlott, a biographer states rudely that, had he waited a little longer before accepting the offer of £60, not enough to fund fees and board, ‘he might have obtained a more valuable award and a better college’ than the ‘backwater’, Jesus.¹²³

Nonetheless Wilson survived and flourished academically, helped by extra support from his old school, the Congregationalist Church and his own thrift. Wilson’s memoirs include a careful account how he kept his battels below £2 per week by sending his ‘handkies, vests, pants, socks’ and collars home to his mother to wash; he kept wearing

¹²⁰ J. Houghton (with G. Tavner), *In the Eye of the Storm: the Autobiography of Sir John Houghton* (Oxford, 2013), 25; 48.

¹²¹ *Record*, 1985, 2.

¹²² See A. H. Halsey, *Decline of Donnish Dominion: the British Academic Professions in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford, 1995).

¹²³ B. Pimlott, *Harold Wilson* (London, 1993), 28; 37. The College gave him a book prize of £6 to add to the Gladstone money which he had won as an essayist. JCA, GBM/2, Governing Body Minutes, 6 May 1936.

the shirts. He added that, prompted by historian Alfred Goodwin he 'speedily learnt what hard work meant', scrupulously tallying 46 hours a week. In his final year he won the prestigious Gladstone prize for a historical essay, tutored by Albert Goodwin whose students repeated this success for the next three years in a row. Wilson's student politics followed the Principal's path by opting for the Liberals, not Labour. 'One meeting of the Oxford University Labour Club was enough for me. ... I could not stomach ... all those Marxist public school products rambling on about the exploited workers and the need for a social revolution'.¹²⁴

After getting an excellent First in PPE, Wilson switched to University College, as apprentice to the liberal economist, William Beveridge, soon to be a key forger of the Welfare State. Despite his exceptionally busy life, Wilson remained generously loyal to Jesus and to the university as a whole, always ready to give a paper or speech or to head funding schemes; in 1938, for example, he talked to an undergraduate debating group on 'Economics and Mr. Hitler', in 1950, he chaired a meeting of 70 old students, assembled to meet the new Principal (1949-1967), John Christie, and, in 1964, the Prime Minister, fresh from being made an Honorary Fellow of the College, utilised Trevor Lloyd-Hughes, another ex-student of Jesus, as his Press secretary. He deserves his portrait.¹²⁵ He died in May 1995.

3B Women

There have been many changes in College life over the last century. But the most momentous was the admission of women that began in 1974. By world standards Oxford and Cambridge Colleges were extraordinarily backward in regard to gender, although women's colleges date from 1879, the first being Lady Margaret Hall and Somerville. Oxford permitted women to take degrees from 1920; Cambridge waited till 1948.

¹²⁴ H.Wilson, *Memoirs: the Making of a Prime Minister 1916-1964* (London, 1986), 28-39. JCA, Uncatalogued Box 120 includes some correspondence between Wilson and Habakkuk.

¹²⁵ *Magazine*, Vol. IV, no. 59 (December 1938), 573; *Record*, (1964), .2; (1969), 3 (installation of Wilson's portrait in the Hall)

As the Victorian era came to an end, the attitude of College men on gender matters was predictably sexist. In 1895 a motion welcoming 'women's assertion of equality with men' was lost 9:22; in 1901 the JCR resented 'the presence of female students at Oxford' (10:8) and in 1908 members opposed female suffrage by 19 to 7.¹²⁶ The fact that liberal Principal John Rhys' two daughters were suffragettes had no positive impact on College men.¹²⁷ Nor did the First World War and the first granting of female suffrage change attitudes. In May and again October 1920 the JCR declared women 'out of the place' in university 'pursuits', altogether rejecting female 'emancipation'.¹²⁸

It was therefore only in the 1960s that pressure began to grow for colleges to become 'co-educational', as had become the norm in secondary schools and as in universities elsewhere in Britain and throughout the world for many decades? The primacy of Jesus in the cause is sometimes exaggerated – it was New College where, in 1963, the idea was first bruited; Christie's College sniffily deemed it an 'adventurous proposal'.¹²⁹ Eventually, in 1975, Harold Wilson's third government passed the Sex Discrimination Act making permanent ban impossible. Yet Habakkuk and his colleagues in the SCR did play an important role in the admission of women. So did the student body.

At a time when 'the spirit of 1968' meant students were politically active on many fronts, in May 1971 a combined meeting of the JCR and MCR endorsed a move to co-education (152:36).¹³⁰ A month later Governing Body similarly approved the admission of women by a two-thirds majority. By then Habakkuk, as Vice-Chancellor, had become a leading figure in university-wide discussions, which, after some delay, brought the first 26 women students into College in October 1974 on an 'experimental basis' joined by four other colleges (Brasenose, Wadham, Hertford and St. Cath's).

¹²⁶ JC:O2/A1/1 (JCR Minutes, 21 October 1894, 26 October 1895, 9 February 1901) and JC:O2/A1/2 (JCR Minutes, 7 March 1908). On 19 January 1901, this view was reversed.

¹²⁷ *Record*, 1992-3, p. 17.

¹²⁸ JC:O2/A1/4 (JCR Minutes, 2 May, 30 October 1920).

¹²⁹ J.Batson, *Her Oxford* (Nashville, 2008), 285-6.

¹³⁰ JC:O2/A1/21 (JCR Minutes, 1971).

4. A College Rooted in Wales?

Rhidian Griffiths

The Welsh character of Jesus has hardly ever been in doubt. Hugh Price may not have founded the College for Welsh students alone, but for at least the first three centuries of its existence Welshmen formed the bulk of the College's intake and many of its Principals, Fellows and Scholars were Welsh. From its early years the College acquired extensive properties and advowsons in Wales and forged links with Wales's grammar schools, such as Ruthin and, above all, Cowbridge, following the bequest of Sir Leoline Jenkins in 1685.¹

Jesus was thought of as the 'national college', 'the principal institution of higher learning for Welshmen' and a 'Welsh enclave' at Oxford until at least the end of the nineteenth century,² and its reputation as 'the Welsh College' has persisted.³

More difficult to determine is the College's impact on Wales itself.⁴ The letters patent of foundation emphasised the obligation of the young College to propagate the true Christian (Protestant) faith, something needful in Wales, a religiously conservative country which only slowly embraced the Reformation. The College's apparent role was to nurture 'an educated and evangelising body of clergymen within the Welsh Church',⁵ and it was this commitment that ensured a strengthening of ties with Wales in the early years through the appointment of commissioners with strong Welsh associations and

Sources in Welsh are marked *.

¹ I. Davies, 'A Certain Schoole': a History of the Grammar School at Cowbridge, Glamorgan (Cowbridge, 1967).

² W.P. Griffith, 'Jesus College, Oxford, and Wales: the First Half-Century', *THC* 1996 (1997), 21–44, at p. 21; the phrase 'Welsh enclave' is used by G. V. Bennett, 'University, Society and Church, 1688–1714', in L. S. Sutherland and L. G. Mitchell (eds), *The History of the University of Oxford, vol. V: The Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1986), 359–400, at p. 384.

³ A former Fellow of the College, Richard Grassby, describes his election in 1963 thus: 'In my final year at Corpus I was elected to a tutorial fellowship at Jesus College, *the Welsh College in Oxford ...*' (my italics): R. Grassby *A Scholar's Tale: Reminiscences of a Peripatetic Historian* (London, [2017]), 27.

⁴ 'The full significance of the College to Wales has yet to be determined': D. Ellis Evans, *'Rhagymadrodd', in D. Ellis Evans & R. Brinley Jones (eds.), *Cofio'r Dafydd: Cymdeithas Dafydd ap Gwilym 1886–1986* (Abertawe, 1987), 10 (translated).

⁵ Griffith, 'Jesus College, Oxford, and Wales', 24–5.

the garnering of financial support from Welsh gentry and clergy.⁶ So the infant College put down roots in Wales, and its impact was perhaps to be felt most strongly in Wales's religious life and in the sphere of education.

Welshmen had, of course, studied at Oxford before the foundation of Jesus, but their numbers increased dramatically from the sixteenth century onwards: 2,004 Welsh students have been identified at Oxford, Cambridge and the Inns of Court in the period 1540–1640, compared with only 420 in the early centuries of the University.⁷ Jesus provided a natural home for Welsh students, though there were always more students from Wales outside the College than within.⁸ And though most of these were destined for the Church, there was an increasing number of laymen among them. Those who returned to Wales brought the benefit of their education back with them to their native land, which had comparatively few grammar schools and was to have no institutions of higher education of its own until the nineteenth century. The College's links with Wales were strengthened in the early years by the financial contributions of Welsh gentry families, the same gentry who could afford a university education and who benefited most from Oxford.⁹ There may even have been some tuition available in Welsh during the early years, and as late as 1661 two new Fellowships were reserved for Welsh-speakers,¹⁰ but the popularity of this pathway to advancement also increased the tendency to anglicisation among the propertied classes in Wales. Indeed the foundation of the College has been viewed by some as the death knell of traditional poetic education in Wales and the imposition on Welsh students of an alien form of learning.¹¹ Traditionally the gentry had been patrons of those poets and musicians who wrote and

⁶ Griffith identifies 208 supporters who gave cash to the College between 1617 and 1620, 'Jesus College, Oxford, and Wales', 40.

⁷ G. Williams, *Recovery, Reorientation and Reformation: Wales c. 1415–1642* (Oxford, 1987), p. 434. For the early years see also W. P. Griffith, *Learning, Law and Religion: Higher Education and Welsh society, c. 1540–1640* (Cardiff, 1996). Relations between Oxford and Wales and the role of Welsh students in the university have been studied by R. Brinley Jones in his **Prifysgol Rhydychen a'i Chysylltiadau Cymreig* (Porthyrhyd, 1983); *'Welshmen Abiding and Studying in Oxford'* ([Lampeter], 2011); and **Rhamant Rhydychen: cyfleoedd Cymry'r canrifoedd* ([Llanbedr], 2015).

⁸ S. Porter, 'University and Society', in Tyacke, 25–103, at p. 60.

⁹ Griffith, 'Jesus College, Oxford, and Wales', 40ff.

¹⁰ In that year William Backhouse of Swallowfield in Berkshire endowed two Fellowships for persons who 'besides all other qualifications, sufficiencies and fitness for their years, their life and their learning required by the Statutes of Jesus College, shall be able at the time of their election thoroughly to understand and readily to speak the Welsh language'. Hardy, 80.

¹¹ T. Parry, **Hanes Llenyddiaeth Gymraeg hyd 1900* (Caerdydd, 1944), 126.

sang in their native tongue, but by the mid-seventeenth century this was falling away, and many fathers no doubt came to see the College as a finishing school for their sons.¹²

Nonetheless by the 1620s Jesus could be considered 'a national priestly college for Wales'¹³: it furnished Wales with Welsh-speaking clergymen who could promote the Protestant cause and some figures who made a significant impact on Welsh life and language. John Davies, one of the greatest of Welsh humanists, who combined Welsh and classical learning, graduated from Jesus in 1594 and later became rector of Mallwyd in Merioneth. He produced a Welsh grammar and a dictionary and was probably largely responsible for the revision of the Welsh Bible published by Bishop Richard Parry in 1620, which recast the original 1588 translation and became not only the 'authorised version' of the scriptures but also the benchmark for standard written Welsh.¹⁴

In that respect the College can be said to have played its part in the preservation of the language. Some of Davies's contemporaries showed an interest in Welsh learning, particularly the Welsh laws: Thomas Ellis, a Fellow of the College in the 1650s, compared Welsh proverbs with their English and Latin counterparts.¹⁵ The popular 'little (Welsh) Bible' of 1630 benefited from additional input by Michael Roberts, the Anglesey-born Fellow who later became Principal.¹⁶ At a different level, Rhys Prichard, who graduated from the College in 1602, became vicar of Llandoverly in Carmarthenshire, and communicated the truths of the gospel to his parishioners in easily memorised folk verses collected together after his death and published under the title *Cannwyll y Cymry* ('The Candle of the Welsh').¹⁷

¹² The phrase 'finishing school' is aptly used by Brigid Allen, 'The Vaughans at Jesus College, Oxford, 1638–48', *Scintilla* 4 (2000), 68–78, at p.71.

¹³ W.P. Griffith, 'Dysg ddyneiddiol, addysg a'r iaith Gymraeg 1536–1660' in Geraint H. Jenkins (ed.), *Y Gymraeg yn ei Disgleirdeb: yr iaith Gymraeg cyn y Chwyldro Diwydiannol* (Caerdydd, 1997), 287–314, at p. 311 (translated).

¹⁴ John Davies's varied achievements have received detailed treatment in C.Davies (ed.), *Dr. John Davies of Mallwyd: Welsh Renaissance Scholar* (Cardiff, 2004).

¹⁵ W.P. Griffith, 'Dysg ddyneiddiol, addysg a'r iaith Gymraeg', 313.

¹⁶ Archbishop Laud had asked Roberts to see to it that the Bible, which was issued in a cheap format for widespread distribution, did not contain expository material which was Puritan in tone. R.G.Gruffydd, 'Michael Roberts o Fôn a Beibl bach 1630', *Anglesey Antiquarian Society and Field Club Transactions* (1989), 25–41, at p. 32.

¹⁷ See in particular S.N.Richards, **Y Ficer Prichard* (Caernarfon, 1994); in N.Lloyd (ed.), **Cerddi'r Ficer* (Felindre, 1994).

But the impact came not only through the personnel of the established Church. Edward Lhuyd, who came up in 1682, became Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum and with his *Archaeologia Britannica* of 1707 established the science of linguistics in relation to Welsh, showing its links with other Celtic languages. Lhuyd was a botanist and antiquary who established a network of correspondents throughout Wales to collect evidence on his behalf, and his energy and zeal for learning 'stimulated and canalized scholarly activity in Wales'.¹⁸ The scientific spirit in which Lhuyd pursued his researches contributed to what has been called a 'Welsh Renaissance' of the eighteenth century, manifested in particular through renewed interest in the Welsh and Celtic past.¹⁹

Yet the eighteenth-century College was not perceived in Wales as a hotbed of learning and enthusiasm for things Welsh. When the scholar and antiquary Moses Williams was collecting subscriptions for his edition of the Welsh Bible in May 1714, his friend John Morgan, curate of Matching in Essex, who had graduated from Jesus in 1708, commented:

Your first stage, I presume, will be Jesus College. It may not be improper to remind those Gentlemen of the Love of their Country, which they seem to be forgetful of [...]

I am surprised to see so many Englishmen print and subscribe for Welsh Charity Books whilst there peeps not a Penny Paper from Jesus College for the use of their Country, a College founded and maintained by Wales ...²⁰

Like other colleges in the unreformed University, Jesus at this time was seen as a reservoir of 'learned indifference and indifferent learning'.²¹ It existed mainly as a training

¹⁸ G.H. Jenkins, *The Foundations of Modern Wales 1642–1780* (Oxford, 1987), 244.

¹⁹ An overview is provided by Prys Morgan, *The Eighteenth Century Renaissance* (Llandybïe, 1981). See also R. J. W. Evans, 'Was there a Welsh Enlightenment?' in R. R. Davies and G.H. Jenkins (eds.), *From Medieval to Modern Wales: Historical essays in honour of Kenneth O. Morgan and Ralph A. Griffiths* (Cardiff, 2004), 142–59.

²⁰ J. Davies, **Bywyd a Gwaith Moses Williams (1685–1742)* (Caerdydd, 1937), 73. For John Morgan (1688?–1734?), see *DWB*, online at yba.llgc.org.uk

²¹ The phrase is used of another college by V. H. H. Green, *Oxford Common Room: a Study of Lincoln College and Mark Pattinson* (London, 1957), 12.

ground for Welsh clerics, whose contribution to Welsh life was variable. Fellows who held Welsh livings as absentees reflected the shaky reputation of the Welsh Church in the eighteenth century, particularly in the dioceses of St David's and Llandaff, which were on the whole poorer than those of North Wales. This reputation is darkly portrayed by Erasmus Saunders, a Jesus man (1690) and one of Edward Lhuyd's Welsh correspondents, who lamented the 'melancholy state' of his native diocese, St David's, in 1721. There were, however, many conscientious clerics who shepherded their flocks to the best of their ability in often straitened circumstances.²² Education in eighteenth-century Wales owed more to the circulating schools pioneered by the rector of Llanddowror, Carmarthenshire, Griffith Jones, which raised levels of literacy quite significantly among poorer people, who would never benefit from higher education.²³

Partly owing to the deficiencies of the Anglican Church, Wales provided fertile ground for the growth of Methodism, which assailed the College for its indifference to the people. Methodism spread initially in South Wales, and then to North Wales by the 1770s. Ironically Jesus was to give Wales two influential Methodist leaders: Simon Lloyd of Bala (1775) and Thomas Charles (1775), a native of Carmarthenshire who settled in Bala. Charles showed gifts of organisation which helped establish the Methodist societies in north Wales, and though he and Lloyd remained loyal Anglicans, they acquiesced in the inevitable split in 1811 when the Calvinistic Methodists broke away and formed their own church, which would become the strongest religious influence in Wales for generations.²⁴

The eighteenth-century College also contributed alumni who were not exclusively destined to become clergy. It gave Wales one of its finest poets, the quixotic Goronwy Owen, a cleric, albeit a wayward one, whose residence at College appears to have been very brief, and a notable landscape painter, Thomas Jones of Pencerrig. Sir Watkin

²² E. Saunders, *A View of the State of Religion in the Diocese of St. David's About the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century* (Cardiff, 1949, reprinted from the original edition of 1721). For a salutary corrective to Saunders's pessimism see E. M. White, 'A 'Poor, Benighted Church'? Church and Society in Mid-Eighteenth-Century Wales' in Davies and Jenkins (eds), *From Medieval to Modern Wales*, 123–41.

²³ Griffith Jones's achievements and other educational movements are discussed by E.M. White, *'Addysg boblogaidd a'r iaith Gymraeg 1650–1800' in Jenkins (ed.), *Y Gymraeg yn ei Disgleirdeb*, 315–38.

²⁴ D. E. Jenkins, *The Life of the Rev. Thomas Charles of Bala* (Denbigh, 1908); D. Densil Morgan (ed.), **Thomas Charles o'r Bala* (Caerdydd, 2014). For Simon Lloyd see DWB.

Williams-Wynn, a Tory politician so wealthy and influential that he was known as 'Prince of Wales', was a rare gentleman-commoner of the highest status, with a College reputation for 'idleness and extravagance', but a lifelong enthusiasm for Oxford.²⁵

By the mid-nineteenth century the nonconformist denominations were in the majority and formed the 'establishment' in Wales: in Llandaff diocese, for instance, nonconformists outnumbered Anglicans by at least five to one in the newly industrialised areas of South Wales, according to the Religious Census of 1851.²⁶ Anglicans themselves felt that the College was not providing the Welsh Church with men of the right calibre, particularly in the Welsh-speaking parishes of the South, as the North Wales grammar schools had a virtual monopoly of closed scholarships and exhibitions at Jesus. It was this deficiency that prompted the founding of St David's, Lampeter, as a college for Anglican ordinands, and so the College by its failings influenced Wales to take its first tentative steps towards native higher education; founded in 1822, Lampeter gained the right to award a BA degree in 1865.²⁷

There were also Welsh clerics who contributed creatively, if with sometimes questionable scholarship, to a burgeoning interest in Welsh antiquities and texts, forming a group often known as the literature-loving parsons ('yr hen bersoniaid llengar'). Among them was John Williams, 'Ab Ithel', a product of Ruthin School, who graduated from Jesus in 1835; one of the first editors of the journal *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, he also edited *Annales Cambriae* and *Brut y Tywysogyon* for the Rolls Series.²⁸

Ab Ithel and his kind could be said to represent the old regime of the unreformed College. The implementation of University reform in the mid-nineteenth century

²⁵ A. Llwyd, *'Gronwy Ddaiafael, Gronwy Ddu': cofiant Goronwy Owen 1723–1769 (Felindre, 1997); P. Morgan, 'Thomas Jones of Pencerrig', *THC* (1984), 51–76; *ODNB*. 'Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, third baronet (1693?–1749)'.

²⁶ E. T. Davies, 'The Church in the Industrial Revolution' in D. Walker (ed.), *A History of the Church in Wales* (Penarth, 1976), 121–43, at p. 134ff. But the statistics are open to differing interpretations: see for example J. Davies, **Hanes Cymru* (London, 1990), 407ff.

²⁷ D. T. W. Price, *A History of Saint David's University College Lampeter – v. 1: to 1898* (Cardiff, 1977). One of the most distinguished Principals of Lampeter was a Jesus man, Maurice Jones (1863–1957), who was in office from 1923 to 1938 and oversaw the growth in numbers at Lampeter from 70 to over 200; *DWB*.

²⁸ For John Williams, 'Ab Ithel' (1811–62) see *DWB*.

brought change, and the admission of nonconformists to the University in 1871 opened up Jesus, and Oxford generally, to a much wider range of Welsh students. Within Wales the recommendations of the report of the Aberdare Committee of 1881 led to the passage of the Intermediate Education Act of 1889, which created a strong network of county schools, enabling a wider section of the population to take advantage of paths to higher education.

But there was still a sense of possession of the College as a Welsh national asset. When in 1882 Principal Harper, as part of his bid to raise academic standards, sought to dilute its Welshness by opening up Fellowships and Scholarships to non-Welsh candidates, he encountered opposition from those who claimed that Wales needed the College because it had so few educational institutions of its own. In 1879 and again in 1882 the Liberal MP for Glamorgan, H. H. Vivian, raised the matter in Parliament, arguing that it was unfair for Welsh boys, who spoke their own language, to have to compete for Scholarships against native English speakers, as 'large numbers learn Welsh from their cradle and speak it to their graves, and they have absolutely different thoughts, feelings, and language from Englishmen'.²⁹

There was considerable irony in Vivian's argument, since Welsh grammar schools had generally used Latin and English as their medium of instruction, but his plea reflected a growing sense of Welsh national identity. Like other European countries, the Wales of this period saw the emergence of national institutions, including a national library and a national museum, in a movement that has been characterised as the 'rebirth of a nation'.³⁰

The University of Wales came into being in 1893, its three constituent colleges having been founded at Aberystwyth (1872), Cardiff (1883) and Bangor (1884). Many financial contributions were made to these colleges within Wales, reflecting a similar zeal to that of the Welsh gentry who had chipped in to maintain Jesus in the early seventeenth century, but the zeal was now directed to institutions within the homeland.³¹

²⁹ K.O. Morgan, *Wales in British Politics, 1868–1922* (Cardiff, 1970), 47–8; *Weekly Mail*, 6 May 1882, 3.

³⁰ K.O. Morgan, *Rebirth of a Nation: Wales 1880–1980* (Oxford; Cardiff, 1981), esp. Part 1, 'The Reawakening, 1880–1914'.

³¹ The parallel is drawn by Griffith, 'Jesus College, Oxford, and Wales', 40.

Still, the establishment of a chair of Celtic in 1877, with as its first incumbent John Rhŷs, who came from a very humble background in rural Cardiganshire, and who became the College's Principal in 1895, was a source of pride to his fellow countrymen. Equally significant was the foundation of Cymdeithas Dafydd ap Gwilym, the University Welsh Society, on 6 May 1886. Members of 'y Dafydd', as it is still affectionately known, were moved by a desire to assert their Welshness, and their distinctive language, at Oxford, and were strongly committed to 'doing something for Wales'. Its principal founder, Owen M. Edwards, was to become chief inspector of schools in Wales, and exercised a huge influence on Welsh life and education not least through the popular journals and textbooks he published, which 'offered the people of Wales an accessible interpretation of their own past'.³² Although Edwards was a Balliol man, Jesus has always remained at the heart of the society, not least because the College provided four of its long-serving presidents: John Rhŷs, Goronwy Edwards, Idris Foster and D. Ellis Evans. One of the founder members of 'y Dafydd', John Morris-Jones, came up to Jesus from Christ College, Brecon, in 1883 to read mathematics but followed John Rhŷs's lectures on Celtic philology and was appointed professor of Welsh at Bangor in 1895. His impact on the study of Welsh as an academic discipline was enormous, most notably in the setting of higher standards in language and poetry and the regularisation of Welsh orthography.³³ The chair of Celtic was to draw many graduate students from Wales to Jesus, particularly during the long tenure of Idris Foster from 1947 to 1978: at one time four out of the five professors of Welsh in the constituent colleges of the University of Wales had been his pupils.³⁴ And the spirit of 'y Dafydd' has underpinned many successful and influential careers in Welsh politics, academia, broadcasting and other spheres. The College would continue to supply clergymen of note, including the first archbishop of

³² L.A. Hughes Ahronson, '“A Refreshingly New and Challenging Voice”: O. M. Edwards's Interpretation of the Welsh Past' in N. Evans and H. Pryce (eds), *Writing a Small Nation's Past: Wales in Comparative Perspective, 1850–1950* (Farnham, 2013), 127–40, at p. 131. For the career of Owen M. Edwards generally see H. W. Davies, **O. M.: cofiant Syr Owen Morgan Edwards* (Llandysul, 2020).

³³ A. James, **John Morris-Jones* (Caerdydd, 2011): his Oxford career is discussed in chapter 2, 'Rhydychen: Coleg yr Iesu, Pont Magdalen a'r Dafydd', 28–42, and chapter 3, 'Y Bodleian, Syr John Rhŷs a'r darpar ysgolhaig', 43–61.

³⁴ The point is made by R. Gruffydd, 'Idris Llewelyn Foster (1911–1984)', *DWB*.

Wales following the disestablishment of the Church in Wales, A. G. Edwards, who graduated in 1874.³⁵

But from the late nineteenth century the focus shifted from the exclusively ecclesiastical: W. T. Havard combined the old clerical tradition with the interests of a new Wales, being capped for his country in rugby against New Zealand and serving as bishop of St Asaph and then St David's.³⁶ Most Jesus students in the years before 1914 came from grammar schools rather than public schools,³⁷ and some of the products of the new network of Welsh county schools were to make significant contributions to Welsh life. W. J. Gruffydd came up from Caernarfon County School in 1899 to read English but became professor of Welsh at Cardiff and a leading literary critic. Others came to Jesus as graduate students. T. H. Parry-Williams took a BLitt in 1911 as a pupil of John Rhys before studying at Freiburg and the Sorbonne; he became professor of Welsh at Aberystwyth and one of the finest Welsh poets of the twentieth century. Ben Bowen Thomas, who read modern history and served as the first warden of Coleg Harlech, established in 1927 to provide educational opportunities for adult learners, later became permanent secretary to the Welsh department of the Ministry of Education.³⁸ This 'golden age' of Welsh education in the late nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries ensured a regular flow of good candidates from Wales, attracted to Jesus by the Welsh Foundation and Meyricke awards available to Welsh undergraduate and graduate students, and during the twentieth century as a whole the College performed well in the academic league tables.³⁹ Within Wales, Jesus continued to be seen as a Welsh outlier, and was granted representation on the governing bodies of Welsh institutions, such as the National Library.⁴⁰

³⁵ Ironically, Edwards had been a strenuous opponent of disestablishment and managed to secure modifications to the Act before its implementation in 1919. The disestablished Church in Wales came into being in 1920.

³⁶ For W. T. Havard, see *DWB*.

³⁷ Felicity Heal, Robin Darwall-Smith, 'Writing College history', *Record* (2017), 48–53, at p. 52.

³⁸ T. R. Chapman, **W. J. Gruffydd* (Caerdydd, 1993), chapter 2; A. Price, **Ffarwél i Freiburg: crwydriadau cynnar T. H. Parry-Williams* (Llandysul, 2013), pp. 68–115. Ben Bowen Thomas awaits his biographer, but see *Times*, 29 July 1977, 16 (obituary), Baker, 132, and for Coleg Harlech, Morgan, *Rebirth of a Nation*, 293ff.

³⁹ B. Harrison, 'College Life, 1918–1939', in Harrison, 81–108, at p. 105.

⁴⁰ The College was granted official representation on the Court of Governors of the National Library of Wales in the late 1920s.

Rapid social and political change in Wales in the late twentieth century altered the educational landscape again. A growing sense of political nationhood saw the formation of a Welsh Office in 1964 and a National Assembly in 1999. Wales's own universities have grown in size and status, while the Welsh language has acquired greater public prestige and visibility even as the number of Welsh-speakers has declined. As a result, the nature of the relationship between Jesus and Wales has changed. Welsh students, for both cultural and economic reasons, may now look to Wales rather than Oxford as an educational goal, even for research and higher degrees. There has also been an erosion of Welshness within the College as it has broadened its intake. By the 1980s the long-cherished Welsh Foundation and Meyricke Scholarships and Exhibitions could no longer be given to undergraduate entrants, though Meyricke's benefaction continues to benefit graduate studies in Celtic.

In the popular mind, however, the Welsh aura of the College has lingered. In 1975 the Welsh folk-singer and politician Dafydd Iwan was the guest of honour at the St David's Day dinner of Cymdeithas Dafydd ap Gwilym. Having arrived in Oxford, he asked directions to the College, and was delighted to be told, 'It's in Turl Street, and you'll hear Welsh coming out of there.'⁴¹ The attractions of Oxford for prospective Welsh students remain, and there have been University-wide efforts to reach out to schools in Wales, to counter adverse publicity which has condemned Oxbridge colleges for perpetuating a so-called élitism.⁴²

Within these general access endeavours Jesus has continued to give close attention to Wales, and in recent years particularly to the south of the Principality. An important recent collaboration has been with the Welsh government's Seren network: the College now hosts a fully funded summer school to encourage students to be ambitious in their university applications.

⁴¹ Author's own recollection.

⁴² In March 2017 the Welsh Affairs Committee of the House of Commons announced an inquiry into why fewer students from Wales than from the other home nations were accepted at Oxford and Cambridge: *'Ymchwilio i'r "diffyg" Cymry yn Oxbridge', *golwg360*, 24 March 2017; see also 'One in Four Oxbridge Applicants Get Offers', *Western Mail*, 12 October 2017, Education Wales supplement, 2–3.

Other colleges have had their associations with particular localities – Queen’s with the north country, Exeter with the west of England – but none can compare with Jesus’s historic link with Wales, and through the College’s Welsh members, students from other countries in the Oxford ‘mix’ have learned something of Wales and its traditions. The welcome re-endowment of the Jesus chair of Celtic in 2019 is evidence that the historic ties have not been severed. And if the bond is now not as dominant as once it was, for as long as Jesus honours its past by continuing – uniquely in Oxford – to celebrate St David’s Day, it will remain ‘the Welsh College’.

II: Treasures and Places

5. The Buildings of Jesus

Caroline Stanford

‘From the Street to the Walnut tree & in breadth from the Bowling Alley to the mud wall’¹

At the College’s beginnings, in 1571, the centre of Oxford looked very different from today. Ralph Agas’s bird’s-eye view from 1578 shows what would become Radcliffe Square as a jumble of tenements and market gardens, an elongated triangle bounded to the south by St Mary’s, All Souls (minus the Codrington Library) and Brasenose (founded 1509), and by the Divinity School to the north. On St Mildred’s Street (as Turl Street was known), Lincoln (1427) and Exeter (1314) already occupied their plots in outline form, but otherwise this street too was formed of scattered houses, gardens and formerly monastic academic halls. Turl Street was eventually named after the ‘twirling gate’ that stood at its north end until 1722, where it met the city walls, which ran along alongside today’s Broad Street.² Sumnere Lane, now Ship Street ran inside these walls. Northgate was an arched gatehouse beside St Michael’s Church.

Next to Northgate was the *bocardo*, or city gaol.³ Along today’s Broad and Holywell Streets ran the pungent city ditch, until it was filled and paved in the 1670s. The poor and disreputable also gravitated to these city margins: in 1713 Nicholas Hawksmoor aspired to clear ‘the sheds and scandalous houses next the City Wall’.⁴ Nonetheless, the plot chosen by Jesus’s founding Fellowship was a prime one, judiciously close to the heart of the ancient, and now modern, heart of Oxford.

¹ The extent of the White Hall plot for which a quit-rent was paid to Christ Church from 1571 until 1866. B.Allen, ‘The Early Buildings of Jesus College, Oxford, 1570-1603’, *Oxonsiensia*, (1998), 109, n. 12: JCA, BU.AC.GEN.1-11 (Senior Bursars’ Accounts 1631-1881), Outgoings, *Annuities*, *passim*.

² P.Frost, *Oxford's Hidden Walls: A Pocket Book of Walks* (Oxford, 2014), 30.

³ *Ibid*.

⁴ Hawksmoor, *Regio Prima Academia Oxoniensis amplificata et exornata*, 1713: cit. S. Hebron, *Dr Radcliffe's Library* (Oxford, 2014), 25-26.

After the Reformation, Oxford's suppressed monastic colleges or 'halls' could survive in academic use only through amalgamation into the estates of existing colleges.⁵ This was the model followed at Jesus College's foundation in 1571. Elizabeth granted it White Hall, one of eight or so medieval-style academic halls that had survived into her reign. White Hall stood on the corner of today's Market Street where it meets the Turl, occupying a stretch of land described as stretching 'From the Street to the Walnut tree & in breadth from the Bowling Alley to the mud wall'.⁶ On the site of today's chapel, on land owned by Lincoln, stood Laurence Hall, and in 1573 this too was absorbed by the College. The 1578 Agas map shows White Hall as a single pitched range and Laurence Hall as a cluster of buildings on the corner of Sumnore Lane/Ship Street and the Turl.⁷ These now shadowy structures were home to the College's Fellows and students for its first forty years. A ghost of White Hall survives structurally within the south side of First Quad as far as Staircase IV, and in the Turl frontage up to the chapel. Elizabeth I, famously not a builder herself, donated timber for 'yt part of ye Building wch was finished by [founder] Dr. Hugh Aprice', which presumably included the entrance gateway.⁸

Over the next four centuries the College site was augmented and secured by various piecemeal land acquisitions, to secure freehold ownership of the entire plot bounded by Cornmarket, Market Street, Turl Street and Ship Street, save only for the timber-framed house on the corner of Ship Street and Cornmarket. In the early 1990s several buildings across the street on the north side of Ship Street were added. By 2021 some of the south-west corner of the site (Northgate House) will, for the first time in the College's history, be brought into direct College, rather than commercial, use. Jesus has had

⁵ G. Tyack, *Oxford: An Architectural Guide* (Oxford, 1998), 81.

⁶ Strictly, the plot was Little White Hall on the north facing the city walls (formerly owned by St Frideswide's) and Great White Hall in Market Street, which belonged to Osney Abbey. See also n. 1 above.

⁷ Allen, 109-11.

⁸ The source for the attribution to Aprice and therefore a 1571-4 date (when Aprice died) is the Benefactors' Book I, written up after 1603 and before 1620. The Book opens: 'Queen Elizabeth of happy and blessed memory, foundresse of Jesus College. She granted the first charter of foundation and gave the greatest part of the ground whereupon the College is built which was before a Hall commonly knowne and called be ye name White Hall...It is not for certainly known but generally received by tradition that that she gave besides out of Shotover and Stow-Wood all kind of timber for yt part of ye Building wch was finished by Dr. Hugh Aprice.' *VCH*, Vol. 3, 271. Elizabeth's donation of 20 oaks from the forest of Barnwell in March 1576 is further confirmed in the *Calendar of the Salisbury MSS*, 1572-82, 128. Aprice spent about £1,500 on buildings from 1571 until his death in 1574 (Hardy, 17).

several major reworkings; it was from the early seventeenth century that the buildings coalesced into something still recognisable today.⁹

Turl Street Frontage

First Quad was enclosed in stages from the 1570s, with the main building campaign in the 1620s and '30s. David Loggan's engraving of 1675 shows First Quad in its essential early seventeenth-century form, though by 1675 an additional storey of studies had already been added. The inner and outer roof lines were simple gabled dormers for the quad's full circuit, cutting across the Elizabethan entrance gatehouse.

In 1756, Principal Thomas Pardo instructed John Townesend IV (from a well-known family of Oxford masons) to remodel the Turl frontage cosmetically in the Palladian style.¹⁰ Townesend's reworking lasted barely more than a century, and no trace of it remains today.¹¹ In 1854, Principal Foulkes brought in J. C. Buckler, an assured, second-generation Oxford architect.¹² The entrance front of the College that we see today is essentially his.¹³ In 1854–56, with the Gothic Revival movement at its height, Buckler reworked the elevation to a Victorian's idea of what an Oxford college should look like. The entrance was returned to the form from c.1600 shown in the Loggan view, but now topped with a fine stone oriel window. Buckler also gave the gateway its battlemented tower, an approximation to an imagined age of chivalry.

⁹ While the College awaits a more detailed account of its architectural evolution than is possible here, the most detailed, easily accessible accounts are on the College website and the *VCH* online at <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/oxon/vol3>.

¹⁰ H. Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840* (New Haven & London, 2008, 4th ed.), 1047. Though this Townesend was a contractor of some importance and worked on many colleges and university buildings including the Radcliffe Camera, the Jesus frontage was a rare example in Oxford of his work as an independent architect.

¹¹ B. Allen, 'The College Gardens before 1900', *Record* (1998-9), 47.

¹² John Chessell Buckler's father John managed Magdalen's estates for many years and was also an architect. At Jesus, J. C. Buckler in turn worked closely with his son, Charles Alban Buckler. *The Gentleman's Magazine* reflected the prevailing passion for the Gothic in its comment that 'Messrs Buckle are entitled to credit for their courage in resisting the stream, and following the style of the fifteenth century.' Colvin *Dictionary*, 179-81; Nikolaus Pevsner & Jennifer Sherwood, *Oxfordshire* (London, 1974), 142. (The 'stream' was the prevailing style of c. 1300 or Second Pointed as favoured by Pugin and the Ecclesiologists.)

¹³ *VCH*, 276, n. 14.

First Quadrangle

First Quad began as the two-storey White Hall, with the third storey added in the 1630s behind gabled dormers. Benefactions began to flow in the early seventeenth century, and the hall and chapel were the next elements to be built, largely owing to Principal Griffith Powell. The hall was built by Griffith Powell in 1613; the chapel was consecrated in 1621 under Eubule Thelwall, who also built the Principal's lodgings (at his own expense) and closed the quad in its south-west corner by completing Staircases IV and V. The quad surface was gravel (and not grassed until 1859). Each set of garret rooms had its own pitched gable. In 1815, Principal David Hughes commissioned a regularisation of the roof line. The solution was to reconstruct and slate the roofs (removing the dormers), to realign the upper storey windows with the lower and to encircle the whole with a crenellated parapet. Apart for the evolution of the hall described below, we essentially see this quadrangle today.

The Hall¹⁴

The Hall structure went up in 1616–17; it was panelled in 1617–18 and glazed in 1618–19. Furnishing and fitting out continued over the next twenty years.¹⁵ As built (see Loggan's 1675 view above), it was a relatively small college hall, traditional in its plain architectural form. The hall's massive chimney stack, with its enclosed hearth (rather than a brazier on a central open hearth) and its bold expression on the inner quad wall, was a relative innovation for the early seventeenth century.¹⁶

The hall's oak roof structure was originally exposed, a glory of Jacobean hammerbeams and turned side-posts, pendants, collars and curved braces. Much of it survives beneath

¹⁴ The hall underwent a major restoration in 2015. J. Edgar's 'The Hall, Jesus College, Oxford: Statement of Significance' (Dec 2015, unpublished) provides the most detailed account of its evolution.

¹⁵ Edgar extrapolates these dates from the Benefactors' Books in the absence of surviving building accounts.

¹⁶ Contemporary college halls were still being built with braziers and louvred roofs to let out the smoke in the 1610s, as at Wadham, Exeter, Oriel and University.

the current coved plaster ceiling.¹⁷ The heavy oak screen, with its jaunty Welsh dragons marching along its frieze, was installed in 1634, probably the work of joiner John Bolton.¹⁸

This Jacobean hall was, however, also subject to Palladian reworking by Principal Pardo in 1740–42, when the present coved ceiling and Rococo plasterwork at the high end were added. The mason was John Townesend II (a cousin of the John Townesend responsible for the Turl Street work in the same years).¹⁹ The plasterer was Thomas Roberts, later responsible for some of the finest Rococo work in Oxford and beyond. Rooms were added in the roof space, and a partition was added to the screen. Paint analysis done in 2015 has ensured that today's colours replicate those of the 1740s. Internally, the hall we see today is much as it was by 1750, although changes were made after a serious fire at the service end in December 1913. The College had a particularly competent surveyor at the time, Reuben England, and he oversaw the reinstatement of the gallery above the hall screen. He also added the oriel window above the kitchens on the first floor facing into First Quad.

The Chapel

The chapel was another of Principal Powell's initiatives, although Eubule Thelwall, its main donor, was Principal at its consecration in 1621.²⁰ Originally smaller, it was extended at both ends in 1636, when the east window was brought out to its current line on Turl Street, converting the previous window into the chancel arch. At the west

¹⁷ The hall roof structure was drawn by James Smith in *A Specimen of Antient Carpentry* (1736), plate XXXI. The unenclosed roofs of the Jacobean halls at Wadham and Exeter provide a similar experience today, the Jesus roof lying somewhere between the two in decorative effect. Thomas Holt was the carpenter for the Wadham roof and was owed money by Jesus at his death in 1624, although whether this was for the hall or chapel roof is unclear (Colvin, 62; Edgar 5, n.8).

¹⁸ Bolton also worked on the screens at Exeter and Wadham, which share marked similarities even if Jesus now lacks a strapwork cresting, and the current gallery above the screen dates to the early 20th century. Bolton 'devised for the Hall screen a classical form new to the university.' John Newman, 'The Architectural Setting,' in Tyacke, 157. Evidence that the Jesus screen once had a cresting comes from Anthony Wood's description of the arms in the hall, which includes a shield honouring the 'builder' of the hall, 'On the screen at the lower end of the Hall.' Cit. Edgar, 17.

¹⁹ The craftsmen who worked on the hall are recorded in the Bursar's Account Book for 1742 (JCA BU.AG.GEN.6). Edgar, 21; Colvin, *Dictionary*, 1046-7, although Colvin does not list the Jesus hall among Townesend II's works.

²⁰ Thelwall's portrait in the hall shows him holding a roll titled 'A plan of the Chapell in Jesus Coll. Oxford built by Sir Eubule Thelwall.'

end, the entrance was moved to the west, and the classical pedimented porch added (or moved from its earlier position).²¹ Internally, the black and white floor slabs had been donated by 1648, although it is not clear when they were fitted.²² The oak pulpit dates from the early seventeenth century. The heavy oak screen at the west end was installed in 1693 during the tenure, and largely at the expense of, Principal Jonathan Edwards. In 1863, a time of Anglo-Catholic revival, the chapel was renovated by George Edmund Street, architect to the diocese of Oxford. It was his only work within the University.²³ Street widened and redesigned the chancel arch. All the Jacobean woodwork save the pulpit and screen was removed, and Minton tiles were introduced into the flooring. The stone reredos, carved to Street's design by Thomas Earp, was added behind the altar, as was the stone arcading to the chancel walls. New seating stalls were also added.²⁴ The current organ was installed by the organ builder William Drake in 1994, replacing an earlier one from 1899.

The Principal's Lodgings

The Principal's lodgings in the north-west corner of First Quad were the last element of the quad to be built, put up by Eubule Thelwall at his own expense in the 1620s. They have been much altered over the centuries, but some very fine primary features remain.

The lodgings began life as two storeys with gabled attics, like the rest of First Quad. The fine shell hood above the door, with a decorative plaster cartouche, was created in 1698 by John Townesend I.²⁵ Inside, the first-floor drawing room is one of the finest Jacobean

²¹ Hardy, 59, 92. The blocked original door opening is still visible to the right of the porch, rediscovered in 1869 when the chapel was refaced. Bradley observes that the carving in the porch pediment, with its palm branch and winged cherub heads, is more early 18th-century than 1630s in style. The thistle and rose in the spandrels may be intended as a gesture of loyalty to the Stuart regime.

²² Sir Charles William's donation for the extension of the chapel in 1637 included paving with 'fedington [Headington?] rag. JCA BU AC GEN/1, 59. Rag stone in this context refers to stone flags. A 1648 inventory lists hundreds of black and white marble stones for paving the upper part of the chapel, given by Mr Lewis Roberts. JCA PP Mansell, fol. 47.

²³ H. S. Goodhart-Rendel, 'George Edmund Street', *Transactions of the Ecclesiological Society*, (1953). Street, a renowned ecclesiologist and proponent of Gothic revivalism, initially said to the college bursar in 1863 that the chapel was 'so good in style considering its late date' that it would be 'very inadvisable to later it in any respect, save one, the old features of the walls and roofing.' Allen (2000), 61.

²⁴ Street claimed the 17th-century pews were 'so thoroughly uncomfortable that kneeling is rendered all but impossible, and sitting even is concerted into a sort of penance.' Ibid.

²⁵ Colvin, *Dictionary*, 1046.

interiors in Oxford. Lined with enriched oval panels carved in wood as installed for Thelwall in 1623, it was later described by antiquarian Anthony à Wood as ‘a very fair dining-room adorned with wainscot curiously engraven’ and set a new standard of luxury for the heads of colleges at the time.²⁶ The room’s equally fine plaster ceiling probably dates from the early nineteenth century, undertaken in the years after John Nash, one of the Regency period’s most prolific architects, had been asked to draw up plans for alterations to the lodgings. The plaster ceiling and panelling on the ground floor today are largely an 1880s’ reinstatement.

Behind the lodgings and running to the Turl were gardens – formal ones in 1675, as so enticingly shown by Loggan. In 1884 Bodley & Garner added a north wing to the lodgings and extended the lodgings into Second Quad, adding the first-floor oriel window.²⁷ Today, the extension is converted to College use, and the Principal’s garden has been cannibalised at its eastern end by the bike sheds.

Inner (Second) Quadrangle

Second Quad presents the purest seventeenth-century space in Jesus College. Its construction was largely due to Francis Mansell, who became Principal for the second time in 1630. The ranges were built to full three-storey height from the start, with the eastern halves of the side ranges completed by c.1639.²⁸ When Civil War broke out in 1642, College income plummeted. Work stopped until 1676, after Sir Leoline Jenkins had been Principal and had provided for the building of the Fellows’ Library on its western façade.²⁹ The quadrangle was only completed in 1713.

Fellows’ Library

Around 1626, Thelwall had built a small library west of the Principal’s lodgings, but Mansell took this down in 1639 as it was in a ‘ruinous condition’. A new library was

²⁶ Quoted by Hardy, 60; *RCHME*, 62.

²⁷ Colvin, *Dictionary*, 731.

²⁸ *RCHME*, 63. Richard Maude was again the mason, and was working at the same time at University College, where the same distinctive gablets are found.

²⁹ *VCH*, 274.

planned as the western side of Second Quad. Work started immediately on a two-storey building to hold the library on the first floor, with common rooms below. By 1641 a chamber was recorded as ready and painted – but then the Civil War intervened.

Work began again in 1676, and some time at the end of the century a gallery storey was added with a wood-panelled gallery running along the eastern side, reached by a spiral staircase. It has been one of Oxford's best-kept secrets, a more or less intact seventeenth-century library. On the floor beneath the library, the Peter North Room has wainscoting of 1736, although the handsome staircase to the upper floors is Bodley and Garner's work of the 1880s.

Third Quadrangle

Third Quad is less a quadrangle than the adaptation of a strip of land between Second Quad and the non-college buildings giving onto Ship Street. It originally functioned as a service yard, with stables for horses opening onto Ship Street. The tenements and shops would have looked much like today's north side of Ship Street.

In 1904 one shop was rented out to the Oxford Electric Light Company with a carpenter's shop and bookseller's store above.³⁰ A bad fire resulted from overheated cables in the OEL Company's premises, requiring the demolition of the stables. This was a chance to redevelop the whole stretch, effectively creating today's quad. Reuben England, as College surveyor, designed the new buildings, constructed between 1906 and 1908, which borrow many of J. C. Buckler's Gothic Revival motifs from Turl Street. The ground-floor premises at the western end still provide commercial rents, just as they have from the College's earliest ownership.

The rest of these new buildings held the College's science laboratories, a student library and more living accommodation. The laboratories, named after Sir Leoline Jenkins, remained in use until 1947, the last college-based science labs in use before centralised University facilities took over. The lab rooms then became more student rooms, and

³⁰ D.Long, 'Sir Leoline Jenkins Laboratories 1904-47', *Record* (1995-6), 47.

the Meyricke Library was relocated to its current position. The cellars below today's library have long held the College bar, along with student bath and laundry facilities, earlier dubbed, with a degree of irony, The Palace. England also rebuilt a small block of toilets and bathrooms within Third Quad in 1908, improving on the tin baths in their rooms previously used by the students. The first shared bathroom facilities were introduced to the staircases from 1946, and in 1971 the toilets block was demolished to make way for the Old Members' Building, built after a quatercentenary appeal and designed by John Fryman.³¹ It contains a music room, study bedrooms (connected by a bridge to those above Ship Street) and lecture rooms. In 1989 a conference room was added behind this, named after Sir John Habakkuk.

Finally, for this rather haphazard corner of the College, the accommodation above Ship Street and Cornmarket was reconfigured by Maguire & Co. in 2002 and a new, larger JCR was created on the ground floor.

The Fellows' Garden and Northgate House

The last area of the historic College site is the Fellows' garden, sometimes optimistically referred to as Fourth Quad. It runs between the west side of Second Quad and the rear of Cornmarket shops; little visited or regarded in recent decades. Much of the north-west of the site fronting onto Cornmarket has also been in College ownership since the late seventeenth century, but so far in commercial, rather than College, use. At the south-west corner, Northgate House, as this portion has latterly been known, was acquired in 2002, a building with a bland 1960s design having been demolished.

With our predecessors from the last 450 years looking over our shoulders and the long history of Jesus College's buildings at our backs, the latest initiative to redevelop Northgate House and the Fellows' garden, to a design by MICA Architects, feels a momentous one. Whereas Hugh Price and the Elizabethan Fellows sought to build for academic seclusion, the twenty-first-century College aspires to porosity and openness to the outside world, both physically and virtually. We have come a long way from the walnut tree, the bowling alley and the mud wall.

³¹ Long, 49.

Other Buildings

In the late twentieth century the College took out fifty-year leases from the city of Oxford on a row of houses on the north side of Ship Street, to provide additional student accommodation. In 2010 it became possible, with a major fundraising initiative, to build behind the houses, providing thirty-one rooms, a lecture theatre and further teaching space in the Ship Street Centre. Embedded yet exposed within is Bastion No. 5 of the ancient city walls.

In 1903 the College bought ten acres just off the Cowley Road as a sports ground, known as Bartlemas Close. A pavilion was added in 1905, and another in 1998 on the opposite side of the sports ground. The old pavilion became for a time a table-tennis room, with a three-bedroomed graduate flat above. From 1967 graduate, and later undergraduate, flats began to be added at the fringes of the sports ground: first Thelwall House (rebuilt in 1998), then Hugh Price House (1988), Leoline Jenkins House (1990) and Hazel Court (2000). Collectively, they create a further centre of Jesus College life.

A further focus of student life had already been provided by Stevens Close on Woodstock Road, a block of thirty-five three-person student flats built by Architects Design Partnership after a donation from alumnus Edwin Stevens. Completed in 1976, they were opened by the Queen, a fitting end to the commemoration of the role of the royal foundress.

6. Property and Revenue

Felicity Heal

The College estate has always been greater than the buildings and land within the curtilage and in the rest of Oxford. From the beginning lands and other property provided the revenue that (barely) kept the fledgling institution in business, and the prayers of the Fellowship ascended to a deity who had found benefactors to provide for their needs. The initial gifts were of modest value and were sometimes encumbered. When the second Principal, Griffith Lloyd, died in 1586, he left his land in Cardiganshire to Jesus, but only after the death of his wife and daughter, so that Jesus received no benefit until 1615. The first grant of estates that immediately came to the College was the gift of Bishop Westfaling of Hereford in 1602 of lands in Sydcombe, Herefordshire, which produced an income of £20, though that was insufficient to provide for the two Fellowships and two scholarships that the bishop intended to endow.¹

The steady growth of the landed estate from the 1610s onwards was mainly the result of Welsh benefactions. Before the Civil War Jesus had acquired property in Anglesey, Flintshire, Pembrokeshire, Monmouthshire, Denbighshire, Carmarthenshire and Cardiganshire. There were also some English acquisitions: a house in Ipswich, a rent charge in Oxfordshire and lands in Essex. These were gifts. The College was not usually able to purchase property, but when it did there is some indication that English lands were preferred. In 1628 Eubule Thelwall invested a monetary gift from a London citizen, Stephen Rodway, in lands and rectories in Gloucestershire and Wiltshire, which produced collectively the useful sum of £80 a year.² However, the rectories acquired in this purchase were less significant than those that were slowly added to College property in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In all, Jesus held fifteen English benefices by the middle of the nineteenth century, in addition to five in Wales. Most of the English livings were within a county or two of Oxford and provided comfortable retreats for Jesus men who could not retain their Fellowships after marriage.³

¹ Hardy, 69.

² Hardy, 74-5.

³ JCA, ES/Boxes 11, 35, 36. The fifteen, with acquisition dates are – Aston Clinton, Bucks (1726/7), Bagendon, Gloucs., (1816), Braunston, Northants (1727/8), Charlton Kings, Gloucs (1832), Furtho, Northants (1675), Longworth, Oxon (1691), Newbold-on-Stour, Warwicks (1713), Nutfield, Surrey (1746), Plumpton, Northants (1846), Remenham, Berks (1691), Rotherfield Peppard, Oxon (1685), Scartho, Lincs (1713), Shipston-on-Stour, Warwicks (1713), Tredington, Warwicks (1713), Wigginton, Oxon (1685).

Individual additions to the estates were dwarfed by Leoline Jenkins's 'second endowment'. His landed property, as described in his will, does not sound vast: there were several manors in Glamorganshire, property in Northamptonshire, an estate in Gloucestershire and a few acres in Lambeth, and we can add the land in Bampton and Weald, Oxfordshire, purchased by Leoline's executors from his personal wealth. All of this produced a revenue of about £700 a year, enough to change the fortunes of the College.⁴ Only Edmund Meyricke, with his endowment in 1712 to buy property for the support of North Wales scholars at Jesus, rivals Jenkins as benefactor. And it was Jenkins's bequest, focusing as it did on property he had already purchased, that in the very long term provided further dramatic step-changes in the fortunes of the College.

Dyffryn Isaf was the most valuable of a small group of Jenkins's lands located in rural Glamorganshire north of Cardiff, close to the line of the M4 motorway. It was a mixed estate of arable, pasture and meadow of 108 acres.⁵ In the late eighteenth century it was managed for the College by William Jenkins, presumably a descendant of Leoline's family. Jenkins was in charge for at least thirty years, resigning only in 1827, and during his time he lived through both the agricultural boom of the Napoleonic years and the post-1815 depression, which reduced the College's rental income.⁶ The Industrial Revolution also began to affect the Jesus estate. The Glamorgan canal already ran through the property, and in 1800 a right of wayleave over the land was given for a fixed tramway to deliver coal to the canal.⁷ This was followed later in the century by the lease of coal seams and ancillary mineral rights under Ty Maen, the rights being given in return for a peppercorn (nominal) rent.⁸ Jesus took advantage of the development of the coal fields, selling off some rights and parcels of land while retaining the core of the estate. There was a colliery on part of the land at Nantgarw, within the Dyffryn Isaf estate, from the 1870s, and the lease of this passed from hand to hand until taken over by British Coal during the Second World War. Then a coal carbonisation plant was erected on the site. It was the closure of this plant in the 1980s that enabled the College to sell its

⁴ JCA, BE Jenkins. Baker, *VCH Oxfordshire*, vol. iii (1954), 266.

⁵ JCA, ES GM1/PL/1.

⁶ JCA, ES GM 4/2/13-14; 7/1/1.

⁷ JCA, ES GM 1/1/24 and 27.

⁸ JCA, ES GM 6/5/7.

portion of Nantgarw. The resulting revenue of almost £5 million was a very impressive return on the small estate that Jenkins had bequeathed.⁹

The story of the land left in Lambeth is even more remarkable. Jenkins had purchased from the sixth duke of Norfolk ten acres of riverside property on the south bank of the Thames. The growth of London made this a very shrewd move. Three acres were leased to a pleasure garden, Cuper's Gardens, less well known than Vauxhall Gardens, but quite popular until the 1760s.¹⁰ The rest, known as the Hopes, included all sorts of docks, yards and workshops, among them Eleanor Coade's artificial stone factory.¹¹ This was all a valuable source of regular income, but far greater profit for the College followed in the nineteenth century. The Strand Bridge Company compulsorily purchased the Cuper's Gardens site in 1813, paying £20,000, which Jesus invested in more land in Bampton, Oxfordshire, and elsewhere: all of this significantly increased the value of Fellows' stipends.¹² Then, at the end of the century, part of the Hopes was sold for £3,000 to the secretary of state for India to build a warehouse. The remaining part of the Hopes was close to Westminster Bridge, and the London County Council had this in its sights during the inter-war years. In 1936 there were rumours of a new 'boulevard' mooted for the South Bank.

While plans were slow to mature, by 1938 serious negotiations had begun with the College, and, after much negotiation and the interposition of independent valuers, Jesus was finally paid £165,000 for the remains of Lambeth in March 1940.¹³ The timing could be viewed as providential: in an article in the 1949 *Jesus College Magazine*, Bursar Baker pointed out that most of the London buildings had been severely damaged by bombing in 1941. The money was used to buy the Canwick estate in Lincoln, twelve farms in Wiltshire, Dorset and Somerset and shops in Surrey and Berkshire.¹⁴ And Lambeth is the gift that keeps on giving: the Canwick estate borders the City of Lincoln, has already yielded considerable profit and still has the potential for further benefit as the city expands. Sir Leoline Jenkins had provided

⁹ JCA, GM 18, October 2000. Even better might have been returned had the possibility of a retail park on the site become a reality.

¹⁰ JCA, ES SU 1/1/7.

¹¹ On the stone works and industry in Lambeth see C.Stanford, 'Revisiting the Origins of Coade Stone', *The Georgian Group Journal* 24 (2016), 95-116.

¹² JCA, ES SU 1/12-13.

¹³ JCA, ES SU 2/20; 2/40.

¹⁴ J.N.L.Baker, 'Lambeth, 1685-1949', in *Magazine*, vii, no. 90 (1949), 94-6.

not only greatly increased security for the College in his own age but also much of the capital return on its lands in the twentieth century.

The Governing Body, however, did not simply wait patiently for returns on its estates to cascade down from historic endowments. The active management provided by its bursars, especially in recent times, means that its property portfolio has never been static. Estates that do not fit its strategic interests or could be disposed of for useful profit and re-investment, have been sold. There has been some long-term movement away from Welsh properties (though two farms remain in south Glamorganshire), and towards consolidation of English landholding in Lincolnshire and Northamptonshire. Regular management of these lands has changed somewhat over time as well. Until 1900 the College relied on agents such as William Jenkins to deal with tenants and collect rents: thereafter Reuben England became the first land agent (though the office was not fully established until after the retirement of Bursar Baker), control became more direct.¹⁵ The office of land agent has now morphed into that of property director for both the Oxford sites and the rented estates. Until very recently the Governing Body, or at least its Estates Committee, maintained another direct contact with the farms through a yearly progress to one or other of the areas in which farms are owned, hearing about plans and problems, entertaining tenants to dinner and often enjoying generous farmhouse teas.¹⁶ As the College reaches 450 there are still just under 4,500 acres of agricultural land under its control, which represents over a third of the value of its total property portfolio.¹⁷ Land is the ultimate fixed asset, and Jesus seeks to use it well for the benefit of its academic community.

¹⁵ Baker, 101

¹⁶ JCA, uncatalogued Box 46, contains details of progresses to the College estates from the 1950s to the 1980s. Your editor has happy memories of progresses by the Estates Committee in the 1990s, especially to the Lincolnshire estates and to the only remaining properties in Wales.

¹⁷ I am grateful to Stuart Woodward, Estates Bursar, for providing a list of current properties and an estimate of their current value. At the end of 2018 the College still held nine major farms in six different counties.

7. Portraits

Susan Doran

The hall of Jesus College – like those of other Oxford colleges – is filled with portraits of generous benefactors, illustrious alumni and past Fellows and heads of house. College portraits have more than decorative and commemorative functions: they visually display aspects of the institution's history and tell viewers much about continuities and changes that have occurred over the centuries. The collection in Jesus College was built up gradually. When the graduate scholar Thomas Ellis made an inventory of college possessions in 1648–49, he listed only three portraits: one of Bishop Herbert Westfaling of Hereford that is now in the Harper Room; one of Sir James Perrot (Jesus, 1586), which has since disappeared; and a portrait of the college's founder Queen Elizabeth I, today hanging in the Peter North Room (formerly the Old Bursary). Many of the paintings acquired later were donations; a few were commissioned by the college and paid for by alumni and friends; and the recent portraits of past Principals were usually commissioned and paid for by the College.

The first major donor of the hall's portraits was Sir Leoline Jenkins, who bequeathed those of Kings Charles I and Charles II in his will of 1685. Charles I was a benefactor of the College, and Jenkins must have thought both portraits appropriate gifts for his strongly loyalist alma mater. Charles I was painted in 1636 (the date is inscribed on the painting) by either the outstanding court painter of the day Sir Anthony van Dyck or members of his studio. The king is depicted standing full-length before a classical column, symbolising imperial power, with his imperial (closed) crown to his left. He is dressed magnificently in ceremonial robes, with the collar of the Order of the Garter around his neck. Jenkins bought the painting for £20 shortly before his death and left it unframed to the college, the frame being purchased in 1687 and very recently renovated. Jenkins also bequeathed some jewellery which is said to have belonged to Charles I and Henrietta Maria.

The half-length portrait of Charles II was attributed to Sir Peter Lely but is now thought to have come from the studio of Sir Godfrey Kneller, the leading court painter of the later Stuart and early Hanoverian period. Kneller painted several similar portraits of the king in splendid Garter robes. Like his father, Charles II stands before a classical column, but there is no crown on show. The portrait originally hung in Jenkins's chambers at Doctors' Commons in London

(the Civil Lawyers' club), but the crowned initials on the elaborate frame suggest that it was once in the royal collection. If so, it was given to Jenkins as a royal gift in recognition of his services to the royal family, including no doubt the recovery from France of the property belonging to Henrietta Maria, the king's mother.

One of the College's three portraits of its founder, Elizabeth I, now presides over the hall. It was donated to Jesus in 1686 by Dr James Jeffreys, whose own portrait is on display in the SCR. Jeffreys was an alumnus and Fellow of the College, a canon of Canterbury and brother of the lord chancellor, Judge George Jeffreys. His gift was immediately handed over to John Taylor (the 'painter-mayor' of Oxford), who was paid £4 for 'a guilt frame and beautifying our foundres picture'. Then displayed in the hall, it was afterwards banished to the Fellows' Library as thought to be a poor copy of the queen on the basis of Sir Roy Strong's description in his *Tudor and Jacobean Portraits* (1969). However, when consulted about the overpainting during its cleaning in the late 1980s, Strong revised his opinion and concluded the portrait was contemporary and painted by a member of Nicholas Hilliard's workshop.

Originally painted in the 1590s, this representation of Elizabeth follows the pattern of a group of other full-length portraits of that decade, which show her in an almost identical pose and wearing very similar clothes. The iconography is also recognisable. The five-petal red roses embroidered on either side of the queen's dark green gown are a traditional symbol of her dynasty and therefore stress her dynastic legitimacy and sovereign power. Roses, moreover, had long been a conventional image for virginity and ideal beauty. Stars – also on the skirt – were likewise common emblems for virginity, but they also had imperial and militantly Protestant connotations when applied to the queen in written texts. The ship's prow on the right (in the form of a mermaid) symbolised England's naval power and can be similarly seen in the more famous 'Armada Portrait' painted by George Gower in 1588 to commemorate England's naval victory over Spain.

Much of the overpainting of the painting has now been removed, but not the flying angels and at least part of the Latin subscription. The motif of angels holding a crown over the queen's head was familiar in the seventeenth-century iconography of Elizabeth, as it linked her to the Virgin Mary by imagining her assumption to heaven. Such Marian imagery for Elizabeth was common under the Stuarts – although it had not been so during her own lifetime – because

of the coincidence of the dates of her birth (8 September) on the eve of Mary's nativity and her death (24 March) on the eve of Lady Day (the Feast of the Annunciation). The inscription under the portrait draws attention to Elizabeth's virginity, imperial status and Protestant faith, as well as to her role as founder of the College.

As in life, so in the hall, Elizabeth overshadows Hugh Price, whose small but exquisite portrait hangs directly below hers. It is said to have been painted by the 'School of Holbein', an unlikely attribution. In style the painting resembles that of Johannes Corvus's (Jan Rave's) portrait of Richard Foxe, the founder of Corpus Christi College. Perhaps this was a deliberate choice, as Price wanted to be considered the founder – not just a benefactor – of the College. The original frame was inscribed with the words: '*Vera Effigies Hugonis Pricaei Foundatoris Collegii Jesu Oxon.*' Price is depicted in his seventies, his age when he petitioned Elizabeth to establish the College, and he is wearing the black cap and black dress of a lawyer. The portrait may have been moved to the country during the Civil War – hence its absence from the 1648–49 inventory – to be recovered for the college by Sir Leoline Jenkins around 1681. Unfortunately, in transporting the picture the frame was accidentally lost or damaged.

Sir Leoline Jenkins has his own portrait in the hall. It is one of three almost identical, rather unflattering, portraits in the college's possession. One of these – no one is sure which – came into our hands shortly after his death. Another seems to have been donated by an alumnus, Edward Wynne (Jesus, 1698), while the third may have been acquired after 1899. They are all copies of the painting completed by Herbert Tuer in 1679 to commemorate the conclusion of the Congress of Nijmegen (the peace negotiations between the various countries involved in the recent European war), which Jenkins had attended as a key English negotiator. The original Tuer portrait (signed by him) is in the National Portrait Gallery. In all the portraits Jenkins is sitting on a red velvet chair and holding a piece of paper, entitled *Memoriale*, associated with the negotiations. The tools of his trade as a diplomat are on the table on the right.

In addition to the royal portraits, there are several other works in the Hall painted by well-known artists. The most valuable is the portrait of the architect John Nash by Sir Thomas Lawrence (1769–1830), the pre-eminent British portraitist of the Regency period. The college consulted Nash about building renovations to the Principal's lodgings, and in lieu of a fee

(possibly for other services as well) he requested that his portrait be painted and hung in the hall. Nash sat for Lawrence during 1824 and early 1825. The portrait presents the architect at work in his house in Regent Street, London. Lawrence's finished work cost the college £420 (about £25,000 in today's money) and was displayed in an exhibition at the Royal Academy in 1827. It was well received for its vivid and flattering, yet realistic, portrayal of the notoriously ugly Nash.

Two portraits in the hall were painted by Solomon J. Solomon (1860–1927), a British painter who was a founding member of the New English Art Club and a member of the Royal Academy. He was at the time a respected 'society' artist, and money had to be raised to pay for the commission by subscription, small donations made by alumni and friends. The earlier painting, completed in 1913 and costing 200 guineas (equivalent to about £15,000 today), was of the Fellow and Bursar the Revd William Hawker Hughes (1873–1919) and was commissioned to commemorate both the fiftieth anniversary of his first entering College in 1862 and the fortieth anniversary of his election to the Fellowship in 1873. Hughes is depicted as a scholar, wearing his MA gown and hood and holding a closed book that rests on his knee. He is seated on one of the red velvet chairs then in the SCR as depicted in the 'Conversation Piece'.

Solomon's second portrait for the College, painted in 1915, features the first professor of Celtic, Sir John Rhys, a Fellow of Jesus who was elected Principal in 1895. In his portrait Rhys is shown wearing his BLitt gown. Because the Governing Body thought Solomon a safe pair of hands (unlike some British modernists) and also relatively inexpensive (he again charged 200 guineas for a portrait), the Fellows commissioned a third work by him in 1924, likewise to be paid for by subscription. It is of Alfred George Edwards, who had been a scholar at the College and in 1920 was elected the first archbishop of the Church of Wales after disestablishment. The portrait can now be seen in the Harper Room.

A less well-known artist whose work hangs in the hall is Thomas Kirkby. Born in 1775, he died around 1847 and was responsible for at least two other Oxford portraits, but little else is known of him. In 1825 he painted Henry Foulkes, the longest-serving Principal, holding the office from 1817 until his death in 1857. Kirkby depicts Foulkes as an Anglican clergyman, wearing a black cassock, red and black DD robes, and resting his right hand on an upright

Holy Bible. The portrait only came into the College's possession in 1921, when it was given by an anonymous donor.

Several portraits in the hall are of uncertain or unknown provenance. The portrait of Sir Eubule Thelwall, who died in 1630, is thought to be by the Welsh artist William Parry (1743–1791) and a copy of a portrait hanging in Bathafarn Park, the home of the Thelwall family in Denbighshire. It came into the College's possession some time during the 1780s, but there is no note of any payment for it. The portraits of Edmond Meyricke and Thomas Pardo were painted by unknown artists and donated by unknown benefactors.

Eight paintings in the hall are of Jesus College men who made their mark in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Three depict former Principals: Sir John Habakkuk, Sir Peter North and John Krebs, Baron Krebs of Wytham. The portrait of Habakkuk is by Michael Noakes (1933–2018), a leading portrait painter of the day. According to his obituary in the *Guardian*, Noakes 'enjoyed a reputation for being a traditionalist with an innovative streak'. In his work of 1974, Noakes portrays Hrothgar Habakkuk – who only chose to be called 'John' after receiving his knighthood in 1976 – in academic dress, seated on a wooden chair and holding his spectacles in both hands. The painting was presented to College by Arthur Edwin Stevens, the major benefactor who funded Stevens' Close, who also sat for Noakes the following year. The portraits are effectively a matching pair: both men are placed in the same corner of a grey room, Stevens's chair turning slightly to our left, Habakkuk's to our right.

North's portrait was, similarly, commissioned to commemorate his period as vice-chancellor. The artist was Paul S. Benney, who had begun his career as a carpenter and musician and shunned portraiture until he returned to Britain from New York in the late 1980s. By the time he painted North in 1996, Benney had built up an enviable reputation as a portraitist. His interest – as evident in this image – lies in the interior of his subjects and developing 'the nuances of character gleaned from many hours of intimate contact'. Over some ten sessions sitters would come to his studio and find their own natural pose: North had initially been seated, but by the fourth session Benney changed his stance to standing. Attention to character is the strength of the portrayal of North, who is shown with no externals – chair, table, books – but stands upright as an authoritative, decisive figure, with his arms firmly

folded. Unfortunately, the painting was damaged in transit and had to be cut down to hide the flaws.

John Krebs succeeded North and served ten years as Principal until his retirement in 2015. His portrait by Keith Breeden reflects his title and academic interests in the behavioural ecology of birds. Set in Wytham Woods, overlooking Oxford, Krebs is shown with binoculars round his neck, ready to look closely at birds in the distance. He wears informal dress suitable for the outdoors, the only Jesus Principal to eschew a suit and tie in a portrait. Sharp-eyed viewers will be able to pick out birds almost hidden in the foliage.

The remaining portraits of men in the hall depict other prominent alumni and benefactors. Probably the best-known figure is T. E. Lawrence. His portrait is a copy of the one by Augustus John in the Tate Gallery that shows Lawrence in Arab dress. When Lawrence died in May 1935, the College thought of commissioning an original portrait of their famous alumnus but on learning of the existence of a copy already painted by Alix Jennings (1884–1980), the Governing Body bought it from the artist for £50. It was hung in the hall in time for the August Gaudy that year. In addition to this portrait, the College holds a bronze bust of Lawrence, cast from a mould made in 1926 by Eric Kennington (1888–1960), and a pencil drawing by James Mably.

The other alumni whose portraits are exhibited in the hall are equally eminent. John, First Viscount Sankey, was a distinguished lawyer, appointed lord chancellor when the Labour Party came to power in 1929 and made a viscount in 1932. His portrait shows him in his prime, wearing the robes of the lord chancellor. The society portraitist Oswald Birley (1880–1952) was commissioned to paint it in 1929, to celebrate Sankey's elevation, and afterwards Sankey donated it to the College.

The portrait of the Jamaican 'national hero' Norman Washington Manley is a copy of the one originally commissioned in 1968 and painted by the leading Jamaican artist Professor Barrington Watson (1931–2016). It was unveiled in 1992 by Manley's son Michael, who was then prime minister of Jamaica. Norman Washington Manley had been Jamaica's chief minister

between 1955 and 1962 and led the team that negotiated the Caribbean island's independence from Britain.

The Royal Academician Ruskin Spear (1911–1990) painted the portrait of the former prime minister and Labour peer Harold Wilson, Lord Wilson of Rievaulx. Spear depicts Wilson holding his trademark pipe, which was one of the props by which he communicated an unpretentious northern persona; his crumpled shirt and suit was another. This portrait, however, is very different from the one of Wilson painted by Spear now in the National Portrait Gallery, London, which is close to the expressionist style of Lucian Freud.

The dominance of men in the hall portraits of Oxford colleges has rightly been a cause of concern within the University. In 2015, when plans were afoot for the refurbishment of the hall, the opportunity was seized to commission and fund a portrait of one of the first female tutorial Fellows and members of the Governing Body at Jesus College. It was also decided that it would hang prominently above the fireplace in the hall. Felicity Heal was the Fellow selected, and Annabel Cullen the artist. Dr Heal, an eminent early modern historian, came to Jesus College in 1980 as a tutorial Fellow and acted as vice-principal. Annabel Cullen is an artist who won first prize in the 1990 BP Portrait Awards and received many commissions to paint public figures including academics, headteachers and heads of house. She painted Heal in the Fellows' Library, an appropriate setting for a scholar of the humanities.

Beyond the Hall

Around the year 2000, the archivist, Brigid Allen, listed seventy-two entries in the catalogue of Jesus portraits she compiled. Included were drawings of College members, some of which are now displayed in the Peter North Room, Upper SCR and elsewhere. Listed also was a second portrait of Elizabeth I, hanging in the Principal's lodgings, which has attracted less attention, perhaps because it has been cut down from its original length. Nonetheless, it is notable for the jewels on the Queen's dress (including a figure of Diana on her left sleeve and the St George insignia on her right). More unusually, there is a seventeenth-century portrait of an unknown serving woman offering an onion to a monkey on her right arm; she is sometimes called 'Goody Asaph'.

Two of the portraits outside the hall have particular aesthetic and cultural interest. *New College Cloisters 1852* is a small but shimmering portrait of the clergyman John David Jenkins by the Pre-Raphaelite artist William Holman Hunt (1827–1910). Because Jenkins had been a scholar and Fellow, the portrait was bequeathed to the College in 1893 by Martha Combe, the widow of Thomas Combe, who had commissioned the painting. The painting contains several allusions to the Tractarian movement and the High Anglicanism of both the sitter and patron. Jenkins wears the robes favoured by the Tractarians: a black cassock, white surplice, academic hood and tippet (the black clerical silk stole). He holds a gilt-edged Bible, which indicates the Tractarian taste for the ornamental. The location – the cloisters of New College – was chosen both because Jenkins was the chaplain there and because the building had connections to pre-Reformation Christianity, so dear to the Tractarians: its Gothic architecture and monastic cloisters were particularly prized. The ivy that frames Jenkins's head also conveys several symbolic messages. In the Victorian language of flowers, ivy usually represents friendship, and here it refers to both the personal friendship of the sitter and painter and to the friendship or fellowship that the Tractarians retained for their fellow Christians who were condemning them as supporters of Rome. Furthermore, several scholars of the Pre-Raphaelites have interpreted the ivy as an allusion to the tenacity with which Tractarians were adhering to the Church of England through all difficulties.

The second painting is a half-length portrait of Elizabeth formerly hung in the hall and now in the Peter North Room. Dated 1590, it was noted in the 1649 inventory and was probably always held by the College. Elizabeth has a double cherry hanging from her left ear, holds a flowering thistle in her left hand, a floral fan in her right and has a strawberry attached to her stomacher, a pansy pinned to her ruff and a fern in her head-dress. What does this floral display symbolise? Each of these fruits and flowers carried an individual meaning. Cherries in ancient mythology were believed to contain an elixir that gave the gods their immortality, and in Christian iconography they were seen as the fruits of paradise, on account of their sweetness, and referred to the virtues of the blessed or elect. The strawberry had multiple meanings but usually symbolised modesty because of its low-growing nature and fruit-concealing leaves. The fern too was a symbol for modesty or humility since it hides its beauty in the forest. The pansy was associated with meditation as it puns with the French word *pensée*. Finally, the thistle was a symbol of monarchy, because its flower looks like a crown and purple is the colour of royalty; however, as the thistle was associated with the Scottish

monarchy, its inclusion (unless it is a later reworking) was risky if interpreted as an endorsement of the James VI's claim to succeed Elizabeth. Taken altogether, these flowers are probably referring to Elizabeth's virtues and associate the Queen with the goddess Astraea, a representation of her found in poetry and at least one other portrait. The poet Sir John Davies, for example, called Elizabeth 'Empresse of flowers' in his ninth acrostic poem within the *Hymnes to Astraea*.

Conclusion

As we have seen, new portraits have been included in the College's collection since Brigid Allen created her catalogue. In 2017 a set of portraits taken by the distinguished photographer Ander McIntyre, a Jesus alumnus, designed to reflect the diversity of the twenty-first-century College community, was added to their number. College portraits have decorative and individual commemorative functions; they also visually display aspects of the institution's history. Looking around Jesus can tell viewers much about the continuities and changes that have occurred here over the past 450 years. For that reason, it is important that new portraits are still commissioned while the old ones remain in place.

Bibliography

Early portraits at Jesus College are catalogued in R. I. Poole, *Catalogue of Portraits in the possession of the University, Colleges, City and County of Oxford*, 3 vols, (Oxford, 1912-1925). More up-to-date is Brigid Allen, 'College Pictures: An Annotated List', held in the college archive. The archive also contains documents and relevant copies of the *Jesus College Record* that provide information about the acquisition, purchases and restoration of a number of the Hall portraits. For William Holman Hunt's 'New College Cloisters', see A. Rose, *Pre-Raphaelite Portraits* (Yeovil, 1981), 51. For the portraits of Elizabeth I, see R. Strong, *Gloriana: The Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I* (London, 1987) and M. Hayward, 'The "Empresse of Flowers": The Signification of Floral Imagery in Two Portraits of Elizabeth I at Jesus College, Oxford', *Costume*, 44 (2010), 20-27. For the subjects and portraitists, the *ODNB* contain valuable information. On the internet, Art UK offers fine reproductions of the portraits in College.

8. College Silver

Felicity Heal

Although the early records of Jesus College are sparse, the bursars were always careful to record gifts, whether of land or silver.¹ Several benefactors included silver gifts in their donations: when the chapel was being completed in the 1630s, Morgan Owens gave £9 17s. 8d. for silver flagons for the altar.² By far the commonest donation, however, was the tankard or pot, offered by the wealthier Fellow or student, and passed on to others after his departure. All these treasures were swept away in the euphemistically described 'loan' made to Charles I in the Civil War.³ There is evidence of some slow accumulation of silver again before the Restoration: in 1654 there was a theft of memorial tankards and two salt cellars.⁴ Silver rarely survived anyway, since Jesus, like other Oxford colleges, routinely melted down and refashioned its plate. After 1660 there were grander offerings from wealthy students, and some of these are preserved, such as the tankard given by Sir John Aubrey, or the cup and cover from Sir Edward Mansell. The College also holds many more modest vessels, well used for drinking by Fellows and students over the centuries. Over a hundred of these remain shelved in the Muniments Room, brought out on only the grandest of festivals.

The most interesting and valuable item is a silver-gilt punchbowl, donated by Sir Watkin Williams-Wynn in 1732. It was used at a dinner held in the Radcliffe Camera in 1814, to celebrate what was supposed to have been the final defeat of Napoleon. Those present at the dinner included the Tsar, the king of Prussia, Blücher, Metternich, the prince regent, the duke of York and the duke of Wellington. (Their celebrations were, of course, premature, as Napoleon escaped from Elba for the Hundred Days, only to be defeated at Waterloo in 1815.) The punch bowl has been put to some surprising uses, including service as a baptismal font. A College tradition exists that the bowl will be presented to anyone who can meet two challenges: the first is to put their arms around the bowl at its widest point; the second is to

¹ JCA, RE I. For early silver gifts see fos. 23r -26v. This includes interesting details of the management of the silver, its repair and loans made to the Fellows as well as gifts received.

² JCA, BU AC GEN/1, 72.

³ Anthony Wood, *Life and Times*, A.Clark (ed.), I, (Oxford Historical Society, 1891), 94.

⁴ JCA PR Roberts, A6.

drain the bowl of strong punch. The first challenge has been accomplished, if rarely; no one has managed the second.⁵

Twentieth-century silver acquisitions have been less vainglorious. In the 1930s some donations of elegant tankards designed by the Danish silversmith Jansen brought the College table into the modern era. And then in 1985 the College commissioned a centrepiece bowl from Gerald Benney with the image of feathers from Leoline Jenkins's arms to commemorate the 300th anniversary of his death. And, the happiest of mementos, the students who won *University Challenge* that same year presented the College with their silver salver trophy. Retiring Fellows, members of the Senior Common Room and former students sometimes continue to add to the college stock of silver, often, like their predecessors, recording their gratitude in the engraving, on occasions less solemnly than might be presumed. There is a fine example of wit and gratitude in the salver given by Sir Peter Tizard, professorial Fellow and professor of paediatrics 1972–83, where the formal inscription is followed by *porro porrum devorabo* – which loosely translates as 'I will consume the leek again', perhaps designed to recall the Welsh Llewellyn's passion for leeks in Shakespeare's *Henry V*.⁶

⁵ R.Sharp, 'Sir Watkin's Punchbowl', *Record*, 1993-4, 55-8.

⁶ The College Bursary holds a full inventory of silver, with descriptions and attributions. More information about the plate can be found in the catalogue prepared for an exhibition of 1971 and in listing of items sent to a 2004 Ashmolean exhibition of silver from Oxford colleges: JCA, uncatalogued Boxes 82/item 7 and 149/items 17 and 20.

9. The Libraries and Manuscripts

Owen McKnight and Thomas Charles-Edwards

The Seventeenth Century

A library has two aspects: the building and the collection of books. The Fellows' Library, as a building, is late seventeenth-century; as a collection of books it has an eventful history into the early eighteenth century, but with relatively little change thereafter. The present building, however, built in 1676–78 ready to receive its books in 1679, is the third College library: the first was built in the late 1620s through benefactions secured by Principal Thelwall; the second was created in 1656–57 by converting the 'bursar house', where the Mansell Room now is.

There appears to have been no explicit decision to establish a library. Certainly, books receive no attention in the statutes. Hugh Price had left his books to his College, on the condition that he 'remain founder'.¹ However, since the College had difficulty securing the funds that Price also bequeathed, it is likely that his books never arrived, and there is no evidence of them now.

Rather, the pressing need to build that first library was created by two later benefactions, one of manuscripts and the other mainly of printed books. The manuscripts are listed, perhaps in the hand of Sir Eubule Thelwall, under the heading 'The names of the manuscript books from the gift of Sir John Prise of Hereford'.² Sir John Prise, however, had died in 1555, sixteen years before the foundation of the College. Worse, he had in fact left his manuscripts to Hereford Cathedral.³ It was Prise's son and executor Gregory who left to the College his 'books of Divinitie in wrytten hand' (that is, in manuscript) in his will dated 1600.⁴ These were indeed part of a collection brought together by Sir John. He had worked for Thomas Cromwell in dissolving monasteries in south-east Wales and the neighbouring English counties. Prise was a considerable scholar and made good use of his opportunity: the forty-seven manuscripts that came to Jesus were from Gloucester, Cirencester, St Guthlac's, Hereford (which Prise

¹ A. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford, A.D. 1501 to 1540* (Oxford, 1974), 462.

² *Register 1602* (JCA RE.1), 42–3. For Prise's career, see J. Prise, *Historiae Britannicae Defensio*, ed. and trans. C. Davies (Toronto, 2015), xv–xxxiv, and, for his books, N. Ker, 'Sir John Prise', in his *Books, Collectors, and Libraries*, ed. A. Watson (London, 1985), 471–96.

³ Ker, *op. cit.*, 477.

⁴ TNA PROB 11/95; C. Jeens, 'The Manuscripts of Sir John Prise', *Record* (2015), 86–7.

made into his own house), and perhaps Winchcombe. Most of them retain their medieval bindings, adding to their evidentiary value. Only about thirty manuscripts ended up in Hereford Cathedral library.⁵

The earliest confirmed gift of a printed book is the Aldine Greek Bible presented by Gabriel Goodman, dean of Westminster, who died in 1601 and had been one of the commissioners named in the 1589 charter. The College still owned only around a hundred printed books by 1620, when Principal Powell bequeathed his personal library, numbering perhaps 400 books.⁶ Now the absence of a library building was a severe embarrassment. From no later than 1626, Principal Thelwall solicited benefactions for erecting the first library, completed in 1628, as well as for gifts of books and for money for buying books.⁷ This library was built in stone, on columns, in part to defend against damp, along the northern side of the present Second Quad.⁸ It was not open at all to undergraduates, and there is no evidence that books (many of which were chained to the bookcases) were available for loan by Fellows.

The first library quickly became ‘ruinous’⁹ and was dismantled in 1639. For it to have lasted only just over ten years suggests that its foundations may have been insecure. However, its fittings were sufficiently sturdy to have been preserved: according to a note in Mansell’s Inventory, ‘When the old Library was taken downe, all the waynscot, with the Rods, Barres, Chayns, & other the like materialls were removed & put in the Bursar House.’¹⁰ The ‘Bursar House’ was the chamber over the kitchen. A working library had been established there by 1657,¹¹ three years before the Restoration, and the construction of the second (as well as the third) library was made much easier by the retention of the woodwork.¹²

This is all the more impressive considering that Francis Mansell – deprived by the parliamentary visitors of his position as Principal – had, in the words of his biographer Principal Jenkins, not only procured that noble Legacy of Books which the Right Honorable and most Learned Lord Herbert of Cherbury gave to the College [...] it was then that he by a rare

⁵ Ker, *op. cit.*, 483–7.

⁶ C. Fordyce and T. Knox, *The Library of Jesus College, Oxford* (Oxford, 1936/7), 61–2/11–2.

⁷ Benefactors’ Book (JCA RE.BE/2), 9, 19.

⁸ A. Wood, *History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford*, ed. J. Gutch (Oxford, 1792), 583.

⁹ L. Jenkins, *The Life of Francis Mansell* (London, 1854), 4.

¹⁰ Mansell’s Inventory (JCA PR.MANSELL.C.1), 58v.

¹¹ JCA BU.AC.GEN.2, 51v.

¹² Mansell’s Inventory, 47r.

Example being Cast out of his beloved College, left behind him in it his owne Library which was a very compleat one, and suitable to his Great and Universall Knowledge.¹³

Lord Herbert's books arrived in 1648, the very year when almost the entire College was expelled by order of the parliamentary commissioners. Both donations, Herbert's and Mansell's, were carefully itemised along with the 500 books already in the library, demonstrating that these gifts more than tripled the size of the collection.¹⁴

Political disaster, allied with the earlier ruin of the first library, was the historian's good fortune. Mansell showed admirable care for the possessions of the College when he had to hand over to his successor, Michael Roberts, and this included long lists of the books.¹⁵ To these we can add the lists made in 1639–40, when the first library had to be demolished.¹⁶ The books were then shared out among the Fellows to be kept safe in their rooms pending the construction of the new library. Some, no doubt, were subsequently housed in the second library, but this can hardly have been big enough for the entire collection. Some must have remained in Fellows' rooms until 1679.

The third library survives on the first floor of Staircase X in Second Quad. It is a long, double-height room with whitewashed walls; double doors in the north wall open into an aisle with bookcases projecting from each side and a gallery on the east wall. It is not entirely clear why the gallery was added to the library plan, although it clearly offered significantly more shelf space.¹⁷ The ground floor remained chained, with books in stalls between windows, while the gallery had wall-shelving but no seating.

Upon the completion of the first and the third library building, the College started a Benefactors' Book to celebrate those who had given books or money: one around 1630, which was used up to 1662, and one in 1681, with entries added retrospectively and then until around 1750. In addition to the books elicited by Thelwall's fundraising campaign and the major bequests already

¹³ Jenkins, *op. cit.*, 14–5.

¹⁴ JCA LI.3.

¹⁵ Mansell's Inventory, 18r–39r.

¹⁶ JCA LI.2a.

¹⁷ A former College Archivist suggests that 'The Library may have acquired its gallery storey as late as 1691', that there may have been separate access, and that a symmetrical gallery may have existed on the west side: B. Allen, 'The College Chapel, the Fellows' Library, and The Woodwork Mystery', *Record* (2000), 59–69, at 66–9.

mentioned, those of Powell in 1620, Mansell in 1646 and Herbert in 1648, the third library would soon house the collection bequeathed by Principal Leoline Jenkins in 1685. An unusual donor was William Upton, a blacksmith, who presented the *Specimen historiae Arabum* of Gregory Abu'l-Faraj in 1658.¹⁸

Notable books acquired in the seventeenth century include the first edition of Isaac Newton's *Principia Mathematica* (1687), the Shakespeare Second Folio (1632), a Greek Bible with an inscription by Martin Luther's collaborator Melanchthon and two copies of both the 1567 Welsh New Testament and the 1620 Welsh Bible. The rarest item is none of these but *The History of Two Dutch Lovers*, a unique ballad which survived only by being pasted inside the binding of another book. Striking bindings include the works of King James I, bound in vellum with a pattern of gilt stars surrounding the arms of James's favourite the duke of Buckingham.

The Eighteenth Century

The Fellows' Library was now established as a room and a collection, enlarged by three further bequests: Principal Edwards's library of theology (also including Hobbes's *Leviathan*) in 1712, Griffith Davies's medical books in 1722 and Henry Fisher's miscellaneous collection in 1761. Each of these was substantial enough to merit its own bookplate.¹⁹ More manuscripts came to Jesus during the eighteenth century, of which the most significant by far was the Red Book of Hergest, a physically imposing compilation of Welsh medieval poetry and prose, most famously the tales now known as the Mabinogion. The Red Book was compiled around 1400 and given to Jesus College in 1701 by Thomas Wilkins the younger (the son of a Jesus man).

The manuscripts were available for learned visitors. The classical scholar Jacob Gronovius visited the second library in 1670 to see a manuscript of Tacitus (MS 109), deprecating the College's lack of care for it in his printed edition.²⁰ The traveller Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach recorded seeing the manuscripts in 1710 along with a 'poor brass watch said to have belonged to James I'.²¹ And in 1717, Thomas Hearne, the Oxford antiquary and diarist, noted

¹⁸ JCA RE.BE/2, 45.

¹⁹ Fordyce & Knox, *op. cit.*, 67/19.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 54–5/6–7, quoting J. Gronovius (ed) *C. Cornelii Taciti opera* (Amsterdam, 1672), volume II, [903] (signature LI15r).

²¹ *Ibid.*, 68–9/20–1.

seeing 'an old Welch MS.', possibly the recently arrived Red Book.²²

The Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

In 1850 Jesus College had one library; by the end of the century it had three. According to Fordyce and Knox's account, after 1802 the Fellows' Library 'received no important benefaction for a hundred years, and it became a depository of unread books'.²³ It benefited, that is, from benign neglect. It did, however, house a coin collection (deposited in the Ashmolean Museum in 1933) and a 36-inch terrestrial globe (bought in 1840 and sold in 2009).

Meanwhile, the range of final honour schools examined by the University was expanding: natural science and a joint school of history and law appeared in the 1850s and 1860s. With new subjects the range of books required to enable a student to do himself and his College credit in finals also widened. Principal Jones (1720–1725) had reportedly envisaged an undergraduate reading room, but it took until 1865 for such provision to be established 'in the Lecture room below the Library', presumably the present Memorial Room.²⁴ Prior to this, students would have borrowed books from their tutors, and later read them in the new Oxford Union Society and the Radcliffe Camera.²⁵

From 1882, after some legal wrangling, the College was permitted to spend up to £50 (later £200) from the Meyricke endowment on the undergraduate library, the source of its current name.²⁶ The published proceedings of the first meeting of the Library Association, newly formed in 1877, were acquired, suggesting an interest in modern methods of librarianship, and the College owns some of the classic manuals of nineteenth-century bibliography by Brunet, Lowndes and Dibdin (the latter marked both 'Jesus College Library' and 'Common Room').

The Celtic collection of printed books was established by John Rhys in 1888 in his role as professor of Celtic.²⁷ It was originally shelved in long low cases in the aisle of the Fellows'

²² T. Hearne, *Remarks and Collections*, volume VI (Oxford, 1902), 136 (Feb. 7, 1717/18).

²³ Fordyce & Knox, *op. cit.*, 69/21.

²⁴ JCA RE.5, 292–3; see also 'Catalogue of Books removed from the Old Library of Jesus College & placed in the small bookcase in the Lecture Room No IX for the use of the undergraduates' (JCA MS 353), 1871.

²⁵ P. Morgan, 'Books for the yonger [sic] sort', *Antiquarian Book Monthly Review* 3 (1976), 116–23.

²⁶ JCA RE.5, 27 May 1878; *Statutes made by the Governing Body of Jesus College, Oxford, on the 2nd February 1889, Amending the Statute of the College concerning the Meyricke Endowment* (London, 1889).

²⁷ JCA LI.9, note at the beginning of the Meyrick accounts for 1889.

Library, before moving to an annexe of the Meyricke Library.²⁸ It was greatly augmented by the bequest of Charles Plummer of Corpus Christi in 1927 and now contains nearly 10,000 books and journal volumes in and on the Celtic languages, predominantly Welsh but also Irish, Scottish Gaelic, Breton, Manx and Cornish, as well as the Celtic languages of antiquity. Readers include undergraduates and graduates from across the University as well as from the College, and scholars from both Oxford and elsewhere.

A good library must conserve the old as well as welcoming the new. Moreover the old needs to be accessible. In 1886, the Governing Body approved the deposit of the College's 144 medieval and early modern manuscripts in the Bodleian Library 'for greater security and convenience of reference',²⁹ following the recent example of University College. Bodley's librarian commented: 'Among them is the Red Book of Hergest and many other Welsh MSS., which lend a special distinction to the Bodleian collection.'³⁰

In the twentieth century, the Meyricke Library moved into the new range in Third Quad, initially occupying a single room inside the gate tower adjacent to the new chemical laboratories. When the laboratories finally closed, the library took over their ground-floor room, reopening in Michaelmas 1949 as a memorial to those who died in the Second World War. It continued to rise into Staircase XVII over subsequent decades, currently occupying three reading rooms over four floors.

As for the Fellows' Library, John Betjeman, writing in 1938, was able to say that 'The library looks as though it had been untouched and not a book removed since 1677 when most of it was built. The woodwork, the brown leather of the books, the clear windows and the slim height of the room make it one of the best little-known sights of Oxford.'³¹

Into the Twenty-First Century

The Oxford Conservation Consortium was established in 1990 by a group of colleges, including Jesus, to employ qualified conservators to work on college collections. It has conserved items

²⁸ *VCH*, III, 277.

²⁹ JCA GBM.1, 55–6 (13 and 20 February 1886); JCA LI.5(f); Hardy, 224.

³⁰ E. Nicholson, *The Bodleian Library in 1882–7* (Oxford, 1888), 21–2.

³¹ J. Betjeman, *An Oxford University Chest* (Oxford, 1979), 142.

from the Fellows' Library and archives and continues to advise on environmental conditions. The consortium was an early example of a rising trend for collaboration across Oxford libraries, both College and University. In 1996–97 the Red Book of Hergest and other Welsh manuscripts in Jesus were digitised by a Bodleian team as part of the pioneering early manuscripts at Oxford University project.³² They took the Celtic manuscripts as their pilot project on account of the manageable size of the collection, its intrinsic importance for the subject and the intensity of its use. They have thus been available worldwide free of charge for over two decades. This project was itself part of the digital revolution which has transformed the use of libraries through online catalogues and databases, electronic journals and e-books. The Fellows' Library entered the twenty-first century in the midst of a cataloguing project under the auspices of the Bodleian's early printed books project. From 2000 to 2002 around 10,000 of the estimated 12,000 books and pamphlets were catalogued online, allowing researchers not just in Oxford but worldwide to discover the riches preserved here. Meanwhile, the student at a desk in the Meyricke may be reading a printed library book at the same time as checking a reference or searching for an image online.

The most recent chapter in the life of the Fellows' Library has been its thoroughgoing restoration in 2007–08, following a fundraising appeal to which Old Members and other well-wishers responded munificently. The roof was leaking and the floorboards had suffered dry rot as well as death-watch beetle. When the books were removed, the opportunity was taken to conserve the woodwork and install under-floor heating. Rare books from the Celtic Library were moved back into the Fellows' Library and integrated with the collections there.

The old library is now available to Fellows as a place to work and think as well as to share with their guests. Researchers visit from around the world to examine the books, and current students visit for open days and seminars, while manuscripts are loaned to exhibitions from their safe home in the Bodleian's new Weston Library. In 2011 there was even a successful marriage proposal.³³ The Meyricke Library is intensively used: the availability of digital resources has not diminished the regular daily population. For many finalists it becomes, especially in Trinity Term, a home from home, all of which generates an atmosphere of collective collegial study. That a student's contemporaries are nearby at their desks is indeed a comfort when

³² <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/collections/early-manuscripts-at-oxford/>

³³ *Jesus College Newsletter* 16 (2011), 10.

facing finals.

III: The Community of the College

10. The Academic Life of Jesus

Felicity Heal

The chapter is based on interviews with Fellows, recent material drawn from College records, the personal knowledge of the editors plus some reminiscences from former students. It is not footnoted: information is taken largely from recent copies of the *Record*. The archives contain short notes of the interviews conducted, some of which may be accessed.

Peter North, our Principal from 1984 to 2004, was in the habit of greeting undergraduate freshers at the admissions' ceremony on the first Saturday of Michaelmas Term by referring to the College charters. Jesus was founded, he pointed out, for the pursuit of methodical learning and good literature (as well, of course, as the pursuit of true religion, not mentioned in this secular age). This, supported by much general warmth of welcome, was a gentle reminder that the latest cohort were entering a community dedicated to study, that they had obligations and responsibilities to themselves and to their tutors to prioritise their work. This was not perhaps a message that it was always easy for newcomers to assimilate during the heady experience of freshers' week. Nevertheless, the sentiments expressed from the dais of the hall have been accepted by recent generations of undergraduates and have informed their academic endeavours.

Jesus has gained an enviable reputation in the wider University as a friendly College – voted one of the 'most friendly' in several University polls between 2010 and 2017. But a warm and welcoming community has not been achieved at the cost of academic achievement. The Norrington Table, that flawed comparison between the examination results achieved by different Oxford colleges, has in the last three decades placed Jesus anywhere between first and fifteenth among its thirty institutions. Though this suggests surprising variation, the numbers being analysed are relatively small and the contrasts often produced by no more than a handful of results. This does not prevent Jesus, like most other colleges, from celebrating high-end achievement, as between 1994 and 1998, when the College averaged

third position, with the top position in 1998, or from worrying when it falls below the top ten. What a reading of the figures from 2006 to 2016 shows is the relative consistency of performance against that of many other colleges. That consistency locates the College close to the top ten result patterns. It also, when broken down, shows that the virtual elimination of the 2.2 class of results, something that is University-wide, is particularly marked in Jesus. It seems that this was already happening in the 1990s and that as a College we reached some time ago the situation in which the great majority of our students could achieve a 2.1 degree or higher.

The *Jesus College Record* routinely records students who have performed at the very top in their discipline and have gained prizes from the University. Over a forty-year period most undergraduate subjects have experienced periods of marked success, though moments of total glory, such as the eight firsts achieved in English in 1996, are obviously rare. In general, the policy of the Governing Body in supporting and developing all mainstream subjects that can be organised and taught effectively has brought its own academic rewards. New disciplines have been introduced – management studies in 1998, computer science as a single-honours discipline in 2018 – and more and more joint schools covering two fields have been introduced. While a few subjects have ceased to be taught over the years – theology, biochemistry and oriental studies – this is usually because there is no internal tutor to provide proper supervision. The subject mix remains broad, and the College recruits roughly equal numbers of undergraduates to the humanities, social sciences and sciences.

The greatest change in the last fifty years has occurred with the graduate students. Each year Jesus now admits between seventy and ninety graduate students to study for Master's degrees or DPhils, along with the hundred or so who come up as undergraduates. In the last few years the *Record* has properly listed distinctions achieved by our students in the taught-course Master's and often the titles of successful DPhils. It is here that the subject-balance has also changed most visibly: social scientists predominate in Master's courses, while the majority of DPhil students are undertaking research in the sciences (broadly defined), no doubt reflecting, among other things, the national pressure to increase numbers in science, technology, engineering and maths (STEM) disciplines.

Academic success depends on many variables: the initial selection from among good applicants, the willingness of students to work to their maximum capacity and support in a

variety of forms, including counselling and financial aid when necessary. At its heart, however, is the relationship with tutors and supervisors both within and outside the College. While the last decades have seen a shift, even in the humanities, from teaching based mainly within the curtilage to a greater emphasis on University classes and seminars, alumni returning after forty years away from College would still recognise the essential structure of learning. Such changes as have occurred in the tutorial have usually been in the direction of paired or small-group teaching, and in what a colleague rather grandly calls ‘pedagogic practice’, often meaning that essays are rarely read aloud but are submitted in advance and then form the basis for discussion. Now that undergraduates have become ‘consumers’ and pay highly for their education, they show proper interest in the formal evaluation of this teaching. The JCR has a questionnaire about the quality of tutorial teaching to hand out to its members each term.

Jesus has long had distinguished tutors. In addition to those mentioned in an earlier chapter, Goronwy Edwards, a great medievalist, tutored the historians between 1919 and 1948; Leonard Woodward did much to develop the chemistry teaching in his long career from 1934 to 1975; and Claude Hurst led the physicists in the same period. Seven of Hurst’s students achieved top firsts in finals in the days when firsts were as rare as snow in late May. In the next generation John Griffith, classicist extraordinaire and public orator to the university, inspired great devotion in his pupils.

Despite a tendency among former undergraduates to remember the eccentric behaviour of their mentors, being tutored from a nameless Fellow’s bath or recalling the historian Richard Grassby keeping his hawks in his room, there are plenty of tributes to more orthodox inspirational tutors in the pages of the *Record*. Sir John Houghton, climate man *par excellence*, remembered with great affection Claude Hurst’s determination to polish his prose style: ‘We’ll get you writing better essays than that.’ Bob Sutcliffe, Marxist economics tutor in the 1970s, impressed with his determination to prove that the dismal science as ‘as straightforward and accessible as bird-watching’, though his commitment to engaging in the dialectic with bus conductors might be classified as on the margins of eccentricity. John Walsh, much loved by generations of historians, stimulated many to continue to a career in the discipline. Don Fowler, classics tutor from 1980, sadly died young, but his charismatic influence is remembered in a yearly lecture in College. David Acheson, mathematics tutor from 1975

to 2009, won a national teaching award for his commitment to making the subject accessible, and was equally famed among Jesubites for his guitar skills.

International eminence has characterised a significant number of the Fellowship in the last generations. To take just a few examples, Niall Ferguson, history tutor from 1992 to 2004, has achieved academic star status on both sides of the Atlantic, and John Gray, political philosopher and tutor from 1976 to 1997, a powerful reputation as an author and commentator. Physics tutor Colin Webb FRS, a major pioneer in the field of lasers, was one of the earliest of those who launched a successful spin-off company from his Oxford work, and College can now applaud its first Nobel Prize winner: Peter Ratcliffe, winner of the 2019 prize for physiology and medicine, was Senior Research Fellow in clinical medicine from 1992 to 2004. But it is most central to the community of the College that active research and teaching careers have been pursued in tandem and that there has often been high-quality tutoring and subject stability over several decades. Law, presided over by Peter Clarke and Peter Mirfield for thirty-five years, or engineering, led by Clark Brundin, followed by Will Moore and Peter McFadden from the 1970s to 2011, are cases in point. Given the present academic climate, it seems unlikely that there will be such tutorial continuity to recall at our 500th anniversary.

While tutorial Fellows remain the bedrock of the College system, they are now outnumbered in the SCR by the broader Fellowship. The 2016 edition of the *Record* listed twenty-nine tutorial Fellows and fifty-seven others, the latter including several senior administrators as well as a very diverse group of Research Fellows. A large group of lecturers also provide additional teaching in their disciplines. This is a marked development, which has accelerated since the millennium. When the post-war generation of John Griffith, David Rees, Edward Thompson and John Walsh were appointed, the Governing Body still fitted comfortably into the Peter North Room (Old Bursary). The tutorial Fellowship was supplemented by a few statutory professors and, from the 1960s, by a small number of Junior Research Fellows. Even in the 1990s the numerical balance favoured the tutorial Fellowship, though by then the extension into new subjects and the general provision of two tutors in all subjects ensured that the Governing Body filled the Habakkuk Room. Rapid growth has presented a few problems, most notably that the physical space available in the common rooms cannot readily be expanded. On the other hand, the intellectual life of the Fellowship has greatly benefited

from these changes. Distinguished holders of statutory chairs, such as Professor Fred Taylor, astronomer, and Sir Charles Godfray, entomologist, have participated actively alongside a growing range of Senior and Junior Research Fellows. Katrin Kohl, German tutor, observed that the environment of the College provides an opportunity for the exchange of ideas and for 'thinking outside the box' stimulated by the sociability of the common room. In recent years several significant research projects have grown from these interdisciplinary conversations.

Though the undergraduate and graduate bodies were effectively gender-neutral within a few years of the 1974 change in the statutes, transition in the Fellowship has been slower. Until 1991 there were only two female tutorial Fellows: Felicity Heal (history), appointed in 1980, and Katrin Kohl (German), who arrived in 1988. Only a flurry of elections in the early 2000s brought the number of women Fellows on the Governing Body to nine. This has ensured that every humanities subject except classics has a female presence. On the other hand, the first female scientist, Kylie Vincent (chemistry), was elected only in 2013. The number of female tutorial Fellows remained at nine as of 2020. There are, however, an encouraging number of female research Fellows – in 2016 there were seven among the current Junior Research Fellows, as against six men.

Good tutorial provision and a lively academic community do not simply emerge out of the ether. They have been nurtured by the ability of the College to spend reasonably generously on its core purposes. While advances in the management and enhancement of our resources owed most to the brilliant stewardship of the bursary by Edward Thompson in the 1960s and 1970s, it was in the following decades that the Fellowship expanded and investment in research posts became normal. Colleagues disagree about whether Thompson was too cautious in spending what had been accumulated, but there is no doubt that his successors Clark Brundin, Peter Clarke, Peter Mirfield and David Barron have been thoroughly supportive of the academic ambitions of the Governing Body. As a small example among many, the funding of the purchase of books by undergraduates was a generous scheme directly targeted to the achievement of good academic outcomes.

Above all, it is the leadership of three Principals that has advanced the academic standing of the College. John Habakkuk has already been considered: here it might just be added that his

own very high intellectual standing influenced the perception of the College in the rest of the University. Sir Peter North, a distinguished international lawyer, succeeded him in 1984, having been a law tutor at Keble from 1965 to 1976 and then serving as a law commissioner. His remarkable tenure of the Principalship, which ended only in 2005, was punctuated by holding the vice-chancellorship of the University from 1993 to 1997. He was the last vice-chancellor to remain, after his term of office, a serving head of house. While the Principal was absent in service of the University, his place was taken wholly effectively and with quiet grace by our French tutor, Anthony Pilkington. Sir Peter had many commitments both within and beyond the University, yet he never lost focus on Jesus, and returned to the Principalship after 1997 with apparent relish, always wonderfully aided and abetted by his wife, Stephanie. Like John Habakkuk, Peter combined a deep commitment to the well-being of the College, with an academic distinction recognised both in the University and nationally. While modestly disclaiming too powerful a role for himself in the changes that Jesus experienced in these years, he rightly argues that the recent Principals have enhanced the reputation of what was once 'a little [Welsh?] College in the Turl'.

While the Norths were a hard act to follow, the College was fortunate in its recruitment of John Krebs, Baron Krebs of Wytham. He was first a University lecturer and Fellow of Pembroke and later, from 2000 to 2005, first chair of the Food Standards Agency. As a senior scientist who had held a research chair in zoology in Oxford from 1988 to 2005, John Krebs brought a new perspective to the academic life of the College, highlighting the importance of the sciences for its future standing. He saw the virtue of expansion for the Fellowship, by creating opportunities for new researchers, especially in the sciences, many of whom previously lacked a college base.

Lord Krebs also presided over major change in the organisation of College, the creation of a more elaborate full-time administrative structure. The tutorial Fellowship, now under the pressure experienced by all modern academics to perform at the highest level in both research and teaching, are thereby freed from time-consuming College duties. This is a change that the Fellowship has accepted as necessary, but with some regret, since it weakens the deeply held perception of the role of the Governing Body in leading a self-governing academic community. As the 450th anniversary of the College approaches, however, much of that vision remains in place. In the interviews conducted for this history, colleagues returned again and again to the

idea that Jesus had been, still was and should in the future 'an academic community bound together by shared objectives'.

11. Those Who Support Us

Felicity Heal

The early part of this chapter, addressing service in the nineteenth- and early twentieth centuries, is footnoted. The later material is drawn from interviews of staff, fellows, and a few former students, and is referenced by name. Short notes of these interviews are deposited in the archives and some of them may be accessed with permission.

The domestic organisation of the College in the first centuries of its existence was relatively simple. The very first list of College members, from 1573, includes only four servants. In course of time this number grew, and by the mid-seventeenth century the fellow- or senior bursar had under him the manciple, later known more recognisably as the accountant, a butler, a cook, a porter and a few general servants. Non-resident specialists such as a gardener and a barber can sometimes be identified in the buttery books, which start in the 1630s.¹ Later in the century a junior, or domestic, bursar was added to the roster to manage the daily affairs of the College. Servitors – poor students who funded part of their education by waiting on others – provided much of the domestic support. This system continued late into the eighteenth century and seems to have lasted longer at Jesus than in many of the more affluent colleges.²

Full details about College servants begin to become available only in the late nineteenth century. This was the period that has been dubbed the age of the bedmakers. In Victorian Oxford the bedders, now more usually called scouts, were entrenched as the key servants to the College, each managing the rooms on one or two staircases and providing everything from heating and water to breakfasts for ‘their men’ and lunch parties for visitors.³ Being entrenched did not guarantee the servants a great salary or good conditions of employment: hours were long and formal pay low. However, individuals were adept at finding ways of

¹ A Clark (ed.), *Register of the University of Oxford, ii Matriculations and Subscriptions* (Oxford Historical Society, xi), 36; JCA, BU. AC. GEN. 1 and 2.

² JCA, BU. AC. GEN 4. See above chapter 2. L.Brockliss, *The University of Oxford: A History* (Oxford, 2016), 228-9.

³ D.C.M.Platt, *The Most Obliging Man in Europe: Life and Times of the Oxford Scout*, (London, 1986). Baker notes how difficult it is to find much detail about Jesus scouts and other servants before the later nineteenth century: Baker, 100-02.

profiting from their service. The butlers were particularly well placed and ran a private stores shop alongside their College work until 1931.⁴ Many scouts also kept licensed lodging houses for the large number of students who lived out. The favourite legitimating device for improving pay was the perquisite, an elaborate and conventionalised system of tipping. When Principal Harper brought his bureaucratic, headmasterly skills to bear on 'the servant problem' in the 1880s, one of his major targets was the perquisite. Four of the senior servants petitioned the Governing Body to abolish the practice, pointing out that many students failed to pay the tip, and that it would be better to incorporate the sum into their salaries.⁵ This was done, but Harper's 1886 regulations for the bedmakers were less radical, insisting that gratuities from scouts' students should continue but should be limited to £1 a term, and only on the condition that they had given satisfaction.⁶

The age of the bedmakers continued up to, and indeed some years beyond, the Second World War. At Jesus, as in other colleges, men tended to serve for their whole career, with no mandatory retirement age. Between the late Victorian period and the 1960s eight men worked for the College for at least forty-five years each. George Quelch served for forty-eight years, ending as butler; Alfred West looked after Staircases IV and V for more than fifty years; the chef Len Clarke worked in the kitchens from 1909 to 1958. Above all, there was Fred Reeley, porter *par excellence*, who served the College and guarded the lodge for just over seventy years before his retirement in 1970. Reeley seemed to embody everything that the dons held dear about service: 'like St Peter, he was keeper of the keys and well did he guard them.'⁷ He knew many generations of undergraduates, recognising them without hesitation while they were in residence and naming them accurately when they returned for gaudies. A characteristic story about Reeley is told by Emory Lindquist (1930), who revisited College from the US in 1952. Reeley presented him with a wrapped parcel containing a volume of Robertson's *Select Statutes*, held 'with the confidence, as he expressed it, that I would return to the College some day'.⁸ Tales told in retrospect about these servants always dwell on their loyalty and affection for Jesus, and their warm relationships with 'their men'. But we should not take too romanticised a view of traditional service and its friendships. George Paske, one

⁴ Baker, 100.

⁵ JCA, uncatalogued Box 167/item 11 [3 and 9].

⁶ JCA, uncatalogued Box 167/ item 6.

⁷ From memorial service for Reeley, who died in April 1972: *Record* (1971-2).. See also tribute to Reeley on retirement in 1970 in *Record* for that year, 1-2.

⁸ *Record* (1978), editorial.

of these long-serving scouts, was regularly drunk on duty.⁹ And there could be tensions. Tony Hughes (1960) remembers that servants could be firm with 'gentlemen' who did not act in appropriate ways, and it was believed that a scholar's gown was a useful protection against dinner soup used as retribution. The novelist and broadcaster Francine Stock, one of the first generation of women students, has described her experiences of Ship Street accommodation, where the couple in charge 'blended obsequiousness and bullying with exquisite skill'.

Longevity in service apart, the most obvious feature of the early servants was gender. While the College routinely employed one or two women, presumably to handle such tasks as washing linen, it was overwhelmingly a male domain. Harper questioned whether women might be employed more generally 'to clean grates' in order to save money, but nothing came of it.¹⁰ It was only during and after the Second World War that women appeared regularly working in the kitchens or as scouts. By 1950 the changes brought about by the War had settled into a pattern: there were ten women out of sixteen working in the kitchens, buttery and stores, and nine out of fifteen bedmakers were female.¹¹

Meanwhile the conditions of work for all employees had begun slowly to improve. A College pensions scheme was introduced in 1927, and paid holiday leave became a fixed arrangement after the War.¹² From the mid-1950s the kitchens closed for two weeks in August, and the dons were despatched to eat at Exeter. Simon Smith, the Conference and Events Manager, recalls that during the summer vacation domestic staff often took time off to work at the seaside, with Butlin's a favoured destination. The rhythm of the year was determined by the three academic terms for domestic staff as well as for students.

The enlargement of College administration is a dramatic feature of the last half-century. The Governing Body had only slowly accepted that there was a need for some full-time bureaucracy. Principal Harper memorably noted that 'it appears to me that one clerk in the

⁹ The College *Record* from the 1970s to the 1990s contains a number of detailed memoirs of long-serving College servants. See for example the 1970 edition where Philip Couling, chief scout, is praised for his fifty-year service and 'the comfort' he offered to many generations of undergraduates.

¹⁰ JCA, uncatalogued Box 167/item 11/6 and 25.

¹¹ JCA, uncatalogued wage books 2 and 3. Though Baker points out that there were only twelve women employed in 1969: Baker, 146.

¹² JCA, uncatalogued Boxes 65/ item 1; 167/item 3.

[bursar's] office [...] will be amply sufficient'.¹³ The bursary clerical staff grew to two in the inter-war years, and by 1938 Jesus, among a small minority of colleges, also had a female secretary. The bursary, responsible for financial and domestic management, settled at four staff in the 1950s, with some of the management of the College's properties still being undertaken by outside agents. From 1948 until 1962 this administration was the bailiwick of J. N. L. Baker, who combined the old offices of bursar and junior bursar, carrying a uniquely heavy burden of administration. Baker deliberately focused control in his own hands, concentrating above all on the future wealth of the College, but showing, to quote another of the Fellows, 'a real lack of interest in such domestic matters as furnishing, decoration and catering'.¹⁴

Change was inevitable after Baker's retirement. The estates and financial management were given to academic estate bursars, of whom the first and most influential was Edward Thompson. A salaried land agent was appointed. After a few years of experiment the College accepted the inevitable and appointed full-time home bursars, first Major-General Will Hutton, then Rear-Admiral Ian Jamieson, Air Commodore John De'Ath and Air Vice-Marshal Peter Beer. Their effective management of the domestic aspects of College life gave stability and allowed the Governing Body to focus more fully on its primary academic concerns. Meanwhile the College secretary assumed greater administrative roles, and a tutorial office was established. As the external pressures on the College increased, and tutorial Fellows were left with little time to perform administrative duties, a further wave of new appointments became necessary. From 2003 the senior tutorship (now academic directorship) was moved to being a full-time post. The Development Office was added in 2007, and then in a major reshuffle in 2012 the estates bursarship passed from academic hands with the appointment of Stuart Woodward, while directorships of property, personnel and accommodation, plus catering and conferences, were established. The 2017 *College Record* shows that this system now has thirty-four administrative staff, plus the librarians, IT specialists and archivist. In the 1980s the classicist John Griffith had bet Nicolas Jacobs (English) 'that undergraduates will have been displaced from all rooms facing on to the first quadrangle of the College to satisfy the demands of administrative functionaries on or before 1 January 1995'.¹⁵ He lost his bet, but only because his proposed date was too early. In summer 2017 the Development Office

¹³ JCA, uncatalogued Box 167/ item 11/6.

¹⁴ JCA, F9/MS1/3, (Edward Thompson memoir of J. N. L. Baker).

¹⁵ JCO, SCR Betting Book.

moved to First Quad, displacing the last tranche of undergraduate rooms. This seems to symbolise the inexorable advance of a managerial structure, no doubt necessary for effective survival in the new world of the academy.

The domestic support provided to dons and students has altered less fundamentally, and themes of change and continuity can both be identified. The idea of 'lifetime service' has diminished to vanishing point: work in the College has largely become a job like any other, to be tried for a few years before moving elsewhere. But Simon Smith pointed out that in the 1980s, while the young might not plan a lifelong career in service, older workers still saw the College as a good employer for the last ten years or so of their career, often after working earlier at Cowley Motors or in the police. The decline of long commitment to the College also affects the bonding of employees beyond the workplace: while social activities still occur, there is some nostalgia for a world that provided works outings to Cadbury's or an 'Aunt Sally' team to compete against other colleges. Change has most obviously affected the cycle of the College year. Although Jesus began to host a few conferences in the 1920s and did so with more regularity from the late 1940s, only in the last thirty or so years has the pressure to maintain conference business meant that there is no extended break in the domestic year. Indeed vacations can often be more challenging for the staff than the regular routines of the academic term. Conferences, according to the current director, Ruedi Baumann, have increased in value approximately four-fold in the ten years to 2017 and so are an essential part of the current management of the finances of the College.

Other changes have been unquestionably positive. The appointment of a female head chef, Debbie Kelly-Greaves, in 2010, marked an important symbolic change in gender relations among the domestic staff. The conditions of work have improved significantly for the staff, with better facilities, and the harmonising of pay structures. Pay-day drinks and the annual staff party provide valuable opportunities for social interaction and have replaced much older, informal socialising. The Governing Body is far more aware of the standing of domestic staff, and more determined to regard all employees as part of shared enterprise, without the overtly

hierarchical assumptions of the past. The change is exemplified by recent College photos: domestic, administrative and academic staff all in one frame.

Continuities involve both personnel and the values they exemplify. A few staff still provide long-term service: not only Simon Smith but also Helen Cordes, who worked as a butler and then in the lodge for more than thirty years, Helen Gee who has been the PA support for three Principals, and Beatrice Coleman, one of the scouts. Beatrice, interviewed for the College Newsletter in 2015, spoke of the continuing sense of community in the College. The lodge staff maintain a close and friendly knowledge of the students. Many readers will have their own memories of those who helped them. Two are remembered very vividly by the editor. Harold Poyser, who in the 1990s served in the stores and SCR, was the embodiment of old-fashioned courtesy and care. He was often to be found praying for our collective well-being in the chapel and distinguished himself on one occasion by quietly removing a chimney-fallen pigeon from the SCR fireplace before it could roast. More alumni will have known Neil Norwood in the lodge, a wonderful contact for returning members, and an award-winner as one of the University's best support staff, or, as he was once described, 'Fred Reeley without the bite'.

The values that both they and other members of staff embody are summed up in Peter North's unequivocal praise of all the domestic staff who helped him during his Principalship. When he was vice-chancellor in the 1990s, there was considerable strain for the staff who had to serve both College and University: never, in his view, did they fail to show the College in a good light or grumble at the extra demands made upon them. We all remain in their debt for the smooth running of our community.

12. Sport

Robin Darwall-Smith

No doubt ever since its earliest days, the undergraduates of Jesus College have been interested in sports and other forms of recreation. 'Sport', however, did not mean 'competitive sport'. Undergraduates might ride, go for walks or mess about on the river, *Wind in the Willows* style, but they did not compete against each other.

Matters changed in the early nineteenth century, especially with the advent of competitive rowing, which is generally thought to have begun in such schools as Eton. For all that it was a very un-Etonian College, Jesus nevertheless took an early interest in rowing. What is generally considered the first competitive eight-oared race between colleges took place in 1815, between Brasenose and Jesus. Jesus lost.¹ Jesus and Brasenose were keen rivals in the early years of Oxford rowing, for in 1822 a race between them ended in farce when Jesus claimed a bump, which Brasenose refused to acknowledge. Brasenose still beat us at the 200th anniversary rematch in 2015. For all this precocious interest in rowing, Jesus could not maintain much consistency. Between 1815 and 1860 the College only entered a crew nineteen times for Eights Week, and even after that did not always take part (no Jesus crews rowed between 1871 and 1874). Formal Torpids records only start in 1838: Jesus first entered a crew for Torpids in 1850, and before 1880 only participated in it eight times.²

Meanwhile, Jesus men explored other sports. By the 1860s the College was holding athletics tournaments. One such, held on Cowley Green on 20 March 1862, involved running races, hurdles, standing and running long jumps, throwing the hammer and the cricket ball, and the high jump.³ Jesus men were even winning athletics Blues in the early 1870s.⁴ College men were playing cricket at least as early as 1875, the date of the earliest known photograph of a cricket team.⁵

¹ The authoritative account of the early years of Oxford rowing remains W. E. Sherwood, *Oxford Rowing: A History of Boat-Racing at Oxford from the Earliest Times* (Oxford and London, 1900), 7-16.

² Information from W. E. Sherwood, *Oxford Rowing: A History of Boat-Racing at Oxford from the Earliest Times* (Oxford and London, 1900), 109-41 and 147-70.

³ *The Druid*, no. 1 (1862), inside back cover.

⁴ Hardy, 231-2.

⁵ JCA JC:O5/P1/1.

Sport was such an important part of College life that in 1882 the Governing Body decided that all College clubs should be amalgamated. Now College members each paid subscriptions to a central fund, from which payments were made to clubs and societies, rather than pay each group individually.⁶ The first members of the Amalgamated Clubs were the Boat Club, the Cricket Club, the Athletics Club, the Musical Society and a short-lived Debating Society, quickly joined in 1883 by a 'Football Club'. This was evidently a *Rugby Football Club*, because in October 1885 it was agreed to create separate rugger and soccer teams. There is some uncertainty about when the Rugby Football Club was founded: in 1880/81 Arthur Evanson, although he was English, was the first Jesus man to get a Rugby Blue, and the Rugby Club celebrated its centenary in 1981.⁷

Other sports were added, including hockey (1903), tennis (1906), swimming (1908), chess (1920) and squash (1938), but in these years rugby arguably mattered most. Rugby had become immensely popular in Wales in the 1870s and 1880s, and Jesus's Welsh links ensured a regular supply of rugby-mad Welsh lads. Unsurprisingly, therefore, the College's greatest sporting triumphs in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were on the rugby field. At least fifteen members of Jesus played rugby at an international level between 1881 and 1951, all but one of them for Wales.⁸ Perhaps the most impressive were Jenkin Alban Davies, who got seven caps in 1913/14, captaining Wales in 1914, and Vivian Jenkins, who got fourteen caps between 1933 and 1939 and played for the British Lions in 1938. Jenkins was also a good enough all-rounder to get a cricket Blue in 1933 to add to the rugby Blues he won in 1930, 1931 and 1932.

In the late nineteenth century the College had nowhere of its own to host sports, but this changed in 1903, when it purchased land in Cowley which was converted into playing fields, with a pavilion built there.⁹

All sporting activity ceased during the First World War, at least among the men's colleges, as they emptied of their members. After 1919, as the colleges filled up once more, so Jesus's sporting life resumed. The pre-1914 members led the way, including the remarkable Angus

⁶ Information taken from the first minute book of the Amalgamated Clubs (JCA JC:O3/A1/1).

⁷ *Record* 1981, 2, and 1994/5, 62-3.

⁸ Identified by Leonard Jenkinson in *Record*, 1994/5, 62-3.

⁹ JCA OX.6/1/1-12 and Baker, 101.

Buchanan, who had come up in 1913 and was a member of a successful Torpid in 1914. He returned to Jesus after the war: he had served in the Middle East and won a VC, but had also been blinded. Yet Buchanan played his part in reviving College sports, rowing in the 1919 Eight. Undoubtedly, though, the greatest proof of the revived sporting spirit of the College came in 1920, when the rugby team won Cuppers.

Despite the prominence of rugby, rowing has always attracted more participants within the College than any other sport, and the Jesus College Boat Club has benefited from assistance from friendly old members. Perhaps the most devoted such old member was J. H. 'Freddie' Page (matr. 1919), who was JCBC captain in 1923, and combined a career as a schoolmaster at St Paul's with service as captain of the Thames Rowing Club and, from 1952 to 1972, secretary of the Amateur Rowing Association. Page trained successive College crews from the 1930s until the 1960s.¹⁰ In more recent years the Cadwallader Club has been a key support for Jesus rowers.

During the Second World War efforts were made to keep collegiate sporting life going. Because numbers were still significantly down from 1939, colleges combined to assemble teams. Thus Jesus collaborated with St Catherine's Society. Later in the war Campion Hall, and then St Benet's Hall, joined the amalgamated teams, and this quartet of institutions maintained sporting activity throughout the war. The Boat Club, however, decided to field Jesus-only crews. This did not prove easy, and in 1945 the Boat Club was unable to field a crew for Eights Week. It was not until January 1946 that colleges returned to competing on their own, although the *Jesus College Magazine* of March 1946 confessed that this return 'has heralded a somewhat shattering series of reverses on the fields of rugger, soccer, and hockey'.¹¹

Tensions did arise among the College's sports clubs, as some sports felt overshadowed. In March 1920 the hockey team grumbled in the *Jesus College Magazine*: 'As a result of the prominence given to rugger and soccer we have had little time or opportunity either for training or for matches this Term.'¹² The Boat Club received more criticism than most. The mischievous might, after all, point out that the men's crew has yet to go Head of the River in

¹⁰ See Page's obituary in *The Times*, 17 December 1977, and *Record* 1978, 5.

¹¹ *Magazine* Vol. VI no. 81 (Mar 1946), 236.

¹² *Magazine* Vol. II no. 3 (Mar 1920), 64.

Eights Week or Torpids. On the other hand, the 'boaties' might reply that theirs has long been the most popular sport in the College, with the largest number of students participating in its activities, and a succession of College boatmen, including most recently Peter Bowley, became significant and sympathetic figures in student life.

In Hilary Term 1954, the captain of boats felt sufficiently riled to issue a broadside in that term's *Jesus College Magazine*.¹³ He defended the boaties against charges that training gets in the way of other activities, including Schools results, and that the Boat Club is 'extravagant and takes up too large a proportion of the Amalgamated Club's income'. He stoutly declared that the College should either foot the bills or just give up rowing altogether: 'There is no possibility of a reduced expenditure.'

Clearly there was some hostility to the Boat Club. In the following term's *Record*, a series of skits on College types included a rower who owned up:

To tell the truth there is no knowing
What benefit we get from rowing.¹⁴

Actions, however, can speak louder than words, and the Boat Club knew what to do: in Eights Week 1956 the First Eight made four bumps to go tenth in the first division – its highest ranking yet. Since then its success has fluctuated, though in 2018 the men's first boat reached the first division for the first time since 2004. One of the greatest expenses for the Boat Club was its barge. Every college had its barge moored on Christ Church meadow, its ground floor reserved as a changing room and its upper floor accommodating supporters cheering the crews on. Jesus College seems to have first owned a barge in 1887, which was replaced in 1911 by one built by Salters.¹⁵

Barges were beautiful but were expensive to maintain. By the late 1940s the *Jesus College Magazine* noted that the barge was listing heavily, and calls grew for it to be replaced by a boathouse. Finally, in 1962 the College barge was sold. It was hoped that it would be used until the end of Eights Week that year, and then towed away. However, it sank on the Sunday

¹³ *Magazine* Vol. VII no. 105 (Hilary 1954), 15.

¹⁴ *Magazine* Vol. VII no. 106 (Trinity 1954), 10.

¹⁵ C. Sherriff, *The Oxford College Barges: Their History and Architecture* (London, 2003), 72-5.

after Eights Week, and had to be salvaged.¹⁶ A replacement was already in the planning, for other colleges had concluded that the age of the barge was past. Thus Jesus, St John's, Corpus Christi and Keble agreed to collaborate in building two new boathouses, designed by Z. W. Nirrenski, with Jesus and Keble sharing one of them.¹⁷ The new boathouse was sufficiently ready for Eights Week 1964, and it has remained at the centre of the College's rowing activities ever since.

The arrival of women at the College in 1974 aroused some unexpected fears. Until 1979, Jesus was one of only five mixed colleges, and concerns were expressed that, because fewer men were admitted, it would do less well in sports. One alumna remembered that, when the rugby team lost its last match of the 1975/76 season and was demoted to Division Two, the women were 'by default' held to be responsible, and the mood in College was ugly for a day or two. In 1979 Principal Habakkuk even claimed: 'inevitably such sports as rugby and soccer suffer from the fact that as a truly mixed College we have half the number of players to choose from as are available in a college which admits only men', and he looked forward to the autumn, when almost all the remaining men's colleges would go mixed.¹⁸

The women of Jesus College answered such sexist lamentations in ways that the men could not ignore: in 1974/75 they challenged the men to a game of rugby (the men, apparently, agreed to play in pairs with their legs tied together). Legend has it that the women proved that mere strength was not enough: during a scrum, one of the larger men was left in agony as two women tickled him mercilessly.¹⁹ More seriously, several Jesus women won Blues and Half-Blues in such sports as squash and lacrosse, and the Jesus Women's First Eight went Head of the River in Torpids for four years running from 1980 to 1983. No men's crew has ever achieved such rowing success in either tournament. Men and women alike were happy to celebrate the moment in 1980 when the College held its first Bump Supper for a triumphant women's crew.

The development of a mixed College has not just led to successes in 'traditional' sports. Perhaps the most striking feature of sporting life at Jesus since the late twentieth century is

¹⁶ *Record*, 1962, 16-17.

¹⁷ *Record*, 1964, 14.

¹⁸ *Record*, 1987, 9, and *Record*, 1979, 7.

¹⁹ *Record*, 1999, 48 and 50.

its great variety. The 2017 issue of the *Jesus College Record*, for example, reported that members of the College were awarded Blues and Half-Blues in such varied sports as squash, hockey, cross-country, rugby union, gymnastics, volleyball, athletics, fencing, men's volleyball, modern pentathlon, boxing, swimming, real tennis, table tennis, karate and match rifle. A regular event on the College calendar is the reception given by the Principal for those who have been awarded University colours. Individual sports rise and fall in their achievements. In 2007, for example, Jesus won the plate at table football; two years later the women's rugby; in 2016 and 2017 it won women's squash; in 2018 men's cricket. On the other hand, the College is perhaps less 'sports mad' than it was a century ago: instead sport has become one among many activities, such as drama or music, which students can enjoy for recreation during their time at Oxford.

13. Music

Robin Darwall-Smith

In the middle of the nineteenth century there was little music-making within the College itself. Writing in 1913, George Gwilliam (matr. 1868) recalled that the chapel only had a harmonium and no organ, and had to own up: 'I do not remember that much interest was taken in music by the undergraduates; which, I admit, is a strange statement to make of the members of a Welsh college.'¹

However, not long after Gwilliam's time, the College introduced a summer concert. It usually took place around Eights Week, so that people coming up to see the rowing could attend and became a major event in the Jesus social calendar. A programme from May 1880 shows that the music comprised a wide range of fairly short items, both vocal and instrumental, with solos, duets and ensembles.² The programmes also regularly included some Welsh songs, and the concerts closed with the singing of the Welsh and the British national anthems. Most of the performers were professionals, especially the singers, although one of the performers in 1880 was an undergraduate called David Ffrangcon-Davies (matr. 1876), later a famous baritone. The accompanists might also be local: in 1912, for example, the College's classics tutor, William Pickard-Cambridge, accompanied a professional violinist in Beethoven's 'Spring' Sonata.³

The summer concert offered more than music: it provided a complete evening's entertainment, with a lengthy interval, during which refreshments were served, and the Second Quad specially illuminated. In May 1881 one undergraduate, Edward Hugh Jones (matr. 1879), wrote excitedly to his father: 'I wish you cld. have seen the inner quad. – most brilliantly illuminated with about 150 Japanese lanterns. Two long strings were suspended diagonally across the quad and out of every window others were hung which gave a beautiful effect.' Bursar Baker, writing in 1959, recalled that the decorations were originally hired and then bought by the College messenger, George Reynolds, and used until he left the College in 1935.⁴ Later reports in the *Jesus College Magazine* regularly extolled the beauties of the Second

¹ *Magazine*, Vol. I no. 4 (Dec. 1913), 88-9.

² JCA JC:O20/X1/1.

³ *Magazine*, Vol. I no. 1 (Oct 1912), 13.

⁴ Jones's letter is JCA JC:P154/C1/2, and Baker's reminiscence at *Dragon* Vol. I no. 1 (Michaelmas 1959), 7-8.

Quad on this special night. Afterwards, dinner was usually served to the artistes and selected guests.

A musical society was created to manage the summer concerts, and in 1882, when the College created the Amalgamated Clubs, as a central source of funding for College clubs and societies, the Music Society became one of the founding members. In 1926, however, it was agreed to affiliate it instead with the JCR. Even before 1914 the Musical Society could attract some big 'names' to its concerts. One such catch was the Australian composer Percy Grainger, who in 1914 performed music by such modernists as Ravel and Debussy, as well as his own arrangements of 'Londonderry Air' and 'Shepherd's Hey', which, according to the *Jesus College Magazine*, 'were vociferously encored'.⁵

The summer concert was an excuse for the College to show itself *en fête* to a wider audience, but it was a formal occasion, with little opportunity for undergraduate participation. There were more informal events, especially the so-called 'Smoking Concerts', or 'Smokers'. Smokers were popular throughout Oxford in the early twentieth century. They would often centre on a professional entertainer who would enliven proceedings with his songs and patter, but they also offered opportunities for College members to do their party pieces. Sometimes a College glee club would perform on such occasions. The smokers were undergraduate events: occasionally there are references in the *Jesus College Magazine* to the Principal and SCR members, and College servants, being present as guests of the JCR. A certain element of licence was permitted at smokers, even among senior members. At a smoker in 1938 Principal Hazel (who no doubt had attended a smoker or two in his undergraduate days) gave a short speech, during which 'he revealed some questionable information about the junior bursar who, he noticed, was unaccountably absent on this occasion'.⁶

In the 1920s the Musical Society began to host more serious concerts, albeit informal ones, at which musical undergraduates could offer more substantial fare. Such 'Members' concerts' show that to be musical did not mean that one could not be sporty, as College sporting heroes might unexpectedly reveal a more artistic side. Oswald Jenkins, who won a rugby Blue in 1919, also had a fine tenor voice, while Walter Stockmayer (matr. 1935) was in Michaelmas Term

⁵ *Magazine*, Vol. I no. 6 (June 1914), 159.

⁶ *Magazine* Vol. IV no. 59 (Dec. 1938), 570-1.

1936 not only secretary of both the Boat Club and the water polo teams but also, as an accomplished pianist, vice-president of the Musical Society.⁷ Likewise Thomas Fielden (admitted 1905), a future director of music at such major schools as Fettes, Cheltenham Ladies' College and Charterhouse, represented the College at rowing and football.⁸

Meanwhile, the summer concert responded to changing tastes: rather than being a pot-pourri of different performers and styles, now the Musical Society tended to hire just one artiste or ensemble who would perform a complete concert, and with substantial fare, such as complete sonatas or quartets. The society sometimes arranged professional concerts at other times of the year: in February 1936 the Hungarian violinist Jelly d'Aranyi gave a concert including Ravel's great showpiece *Tzigane*, which had been composed specially for her.⁹

We do not know what music – if any – took place in Jesus College during the First World War. During the Second the tradition of summer concerts ceased, but the Musical Society remained active throughout the war, even if its activities sometimes just comprised a group of undergraduates sitting in someone's room to listen to music played on the gramophone once a week. After the war, active music-making revived once more, with both a summer concert in May 1946 and the customary diet of members' and professional concerts. Looking through back issues of College magazines, one can see how the fortunes of music at Jesus have ebbed and flowed depending on the enthusiasm or otherwise of members of the College. Just one or two superb musicians can galvanise musical life for a year or two, to the point that the College can support a choir or an orchestra or both, but after they leave interest dies down again. Much depends too on the interest of senior members of the College. Sir Frederick Ogilvie was a keen singer, and became chairman of the Oxford Bach Choir in 1946.¹⁰ He therefore took a considerable interest in the Jesus College Music Society, becoming its honorary president in 1948.¹¹

In March 1948 the College Music Society took a major step forward by collaborating with members of St Anne's Society (now St Anne's College) in a performance of Bach's St John

⁷ *Magazine*, Vol. II no. 2 (December 1919), 40 and 46, and Vol. IV no. 53 (Dec 1936), 455-8.

⁸ Fielden appears on team photos at JCA JC:O4/P1/3 and JCA JC:O9/P1/3.

⁹ *Magazine*, Vol. IV no. 51 (Mar 1936), 406-7.

¹⁰ Information from Oxford Bach Choir archives.

¹¹ *Magazine* Vol. VII no. 88 (June 1948), 63.

Passion.¹² Over the next few decades a Jesus–St Anne’s Musical Society successfully took root. The links between the two colleges were no doubt enhanced when Frederick Ogilvie’s widow, Mary, became Principal of St Anne’s in 1953. By Michaelmas 1955 the *Record* could speak of a ‘Jesus–St Anne’s Choir’ tackling Britten’s *St Nicholas*,¹³ and in the 1960s the Society was regularly performing Gilbert and Sullivan operas.¹⁴ There were clear benefits in such a collaboration, not least in being able to provide four-part harmony in choral music. Even after Jesus College went mixed in 1974, the two colleges continued their musical union for a few more years.

Eventually, Jesus and St. Anne’s went their separate ways, and Jesus now manages its own music-making. A valuable forum for College music activity came into being when in 1997 students at the three Turl Street colleges founded a new festival. The Turl Street Arts Festival, held in Hilary Term, always includes student concerts. An especially memorable event occurred when John Caldwell, Jesus’s then music Fellow, composed *Good Friday*, an opera-oratorio based on the Passion story, for first performance at the 1998 festival. A group of sixty singers and musicians performed different parts of the work in each Turl Street College chapel, with the audience following them up and down the street. Performers and audiences alike found it a deeply moving experience.¹⁵

There have also been many special one-off musical events in the College, and some outstanding concerts such as the one in 1992 when Sir Georg Solti, the great conductor and an honorary Fellow, arranged in the Holywell Music Room, at which he himself played the piano, to support the Jesus College Organ Fund.

The College’s chapel choir also plays a central role in the musical life of Jesus. Its regular chapel duties remain its principal role, but through its recordings and its regular summer tours it makes the College better known to wider audiences. Musical soirees held in the Principal’s lodgings and lunchtime concerts in chapel are among the other ways in which this aspect of College culture remains vital. A century and a half after George Gwilliam’s time there is emphatically much continuing enthusiasm for making music.

¹² *Magazine* Vol. VII no. 87 (Mar 1948), 42.

¹³ *Magazine* Vol. VII no. 110 (Michaelmas 1955), 17.

¹⁴ *Record*, 1969, 5, and 1970, 4 and JCA JC:P130/2 (*passim*).

¹⁵ *Record*, 1998/9, 6.

14. After 1984: Student Life at Jesus

Richard Bosworth and Felicity Heal

This chapter draws on *The Record* from recent decades, and from interviews with students and fellows.

Historians are usually fascinated by different views of time and change, but to turn from the last 400 years of College life to the experience of the last student generations requires an effort of imagination by your editors, an attempt to see time as we did when young ourselves. Undergraduate, and even graduate, experience of the College is short-term and intense: it often assumes continuities that did not really exist or sees change when there is often a repetition of what has gone before. The structure of the community of the College, the pattern of the yearly academic cycle, the ritual moments of change from one status to another, all reinforce a sense of continuity, which is both real and imagined. Freshers' week is followed by matriculation; the term's tutorials often finish with Principal's collections; the academic year regularly concludes with examinations; final examinations end in trashing and an attempt to hit the College clock with fizz; subject tutors hold schools' dinners; in the fullness of time family and friends come to celebrate graduation. Minor variations apart, this cycle would be recognised by all those graduating in the last fifty years.

The political, social and cultural life of the College is subject to rather greater fluctuation. The bar the JCR with its pool table, under the watchful painted eye of Queen Elizabeth, and the comfortable MCR with its table football in the bunker below, offer continuity for some, while the College choir, the Turl Street Arts Festival and the playing fields are all popular with specific groups. Political debate is always important, and University-wide campaigns – recently, for example, 'Rhodes Must Fall' – catch fire in some years. Fossil fuel divestment and sustainability are currently of great importance to the student body. More locally a subject society, such as the J. R. Green for history, can provide academic stimulus and bring different years together. Then there are rare excitements, as when the College team won *University Challenge* in 1985.

It is now so long since the admission of women that many/most alumni have forgotten that it was once impossible to form initial relationships with the opposite sex through Jesus freshers'

week and the College bar. A little of that earlier world lingers from time to time: in 2008 a geography graduate commented that she had grown 'pretty bored with binge drinking' and the 'Sheepshagger' gossip sheet is an indication that the arrival of women did not necessarily change older attitudes for the best. The 'Turl Street Dash', a pub cycle race across town, continued to carry echoes of past warring. In 2009 *Cherwell* described a night-time brawl, which included the re-invention of earlier attacks on Exeter. Six years later the police were again called out to Exeter damage. One undergraduate decided to go to town on the invention of tradition, claiming that the Dash was an eight-century-old custom and that T. E. Lawrence 'would drink a carafe of port each year, then ride his camel around the Rad Cam and up Turl Street'. There have been moments when the women have aspired to join them: the Dolphins' Club provided an outlet for alcohol-fuelled toasting that seemed to echo the long-dead 'Lizzies'.

Despite such lingering affection for past forms of behaviour, student life has also mirrored and responded to the changes in the wider society. The JCR and MCR have in recent years both been led by women as often as men, though it is interesting that in 2010 the retiring JCR president hailed the election of his female successor as the first in 'living memory' – despite there having been several outstanding women in charge since the late 1970s. Welfare support has become a key part of JCR activities, and LGBTQ identity politics have included raising the flag from 2014 onwards. A particularly important change has been in the charitable activity of the JCR: the common room has long supported charitable causes in Oxford, the most frequent in recent years being the plight of Oxford's homeless. The chapel community has also focused on deprivation, making annual visits to Rotherham to put on a musical event with local children. These local and national concerns have, since 2011, been joined by a very determined effort to provide an international scholarship, jointly funded by the common rooms and the college, to bring a Gazan student to Oxford. The success of the scheme is shown by the first recipient of the award, but also by the fact that over 90 per cent of the students contributed.

Globalisation is a key word in any account of the College's last decades. The growth in graduate numbers indicates a continuing expansion in overseas intake. One president of the Graduate Common Room in the early years of this century spoke for many in saying that the group was a 'truly international blend', with 'even one or two from deepest, darkest Wales'.

While the undergraduate intake remains predominantly British, the graduate body is genuinely global: in recent years overseas and EU freshers have always been more than 50 per cent of those arriving in October. The College has responded to the challenge of welcoming ethnic and national diversity by instituting international nights, by serving food from different cultures and by celebrating festivals beyond the usual Christian cycle. In 2018 the College was *en fête* for both Chinese New Year and Diwali. Globalisation has also pulled Jesubite travellers beyond Europe both to study and explore, assisted by College funding, including the wonderful Dodd Fund, established in the inter-war period with the explicit aim of encouraging journeys not connected with academic study. Other awards do address academic needs. Medics have used their elective periods to travel to maternity wards in the Seychelles and paediatric hospitals in Bolivia, undergraduate geographers to prepare for dissertations on climate change in Australia and sediment strata in Dubai, and a classicist to visit Iran. Graduates have received support for research in all continents (except, the editors think, Antarctica). Venturesome students and ex-students of the College are, of course, nothing new: what distinguishes the last decades is the scale on which they have been offered support and encouragement: in 2016, for example, 134 individuals received a grant. The sums, between £50 and £350, could only be a contribution to most travel, but they served to sustain the desire to understand the rest of the world. As one Human Scientist who had funding to visit Sri Lanka soon after the devastating tsunami of 2004 put it, she ‘learned vast amounts; not only about Sri Lanka, medicine and disaster relief and recovery, but more generally about humans and how they function’.

While Jesus students show every sign of positive engagement with the globalised environment, the first years of the twenty-first century have not been kind to them financially. When once undergraduates could expect quite generous public support, and UK graduates had a reasonable chance of similar benefits, the marketisation of higher education is now inescapable. In his report in the 2011 *Record* John Krebs underlined ‘the huge cut in government teaching funding’ that had forced an equally dramatic raising of fees. The College, in common with many others across the University, has directed significant funds, its own and those generously provided by alumni, into the alleviation of financial hardship, but students leave Oxford burdened with debt. This, combined with the uncertainties of national and international politics, makes the experience of university and the subsequent movement into

employment more complex and perhaps more trying than it was when Bursar Baker wrote the College history for the 400th anniversary.

Change is shown equally strikingly by reflection on the communication revolution of the last forty years. Back in 1994–95 one editor of the *Record* announced triumphantly that ‘the communication revolution continues to gather momentum. Our IT room is now linked to the World Wide Web, on which the College has its own “page”.’ The page included useful information about the College and pictures of happy eaters in Hall, and of First Quad. This was all an advance on the previous year, when the same writer heralded ‘the age of the computer, the fax machine, of e-mail and of weekly essays printed out in Word Perfect’. In what had been ‘the People’s Palace’, now a Jesus-style ‘Führer bunker’ as well as the bar, work-stations winked and hummed and communication with California took five seconds. The bunker was for many years a valued resource area despite the relentless advance of personal computing. Meanwhile there were regular predictions that students would not need library space in the brave new world, since technology brought their subjects into their own rooms. However, like many pieces of futurology, this has proved a false prophecy, and Jesus library remains well occupied throughout the academic year. Students writing in the *Alternative Prospectus* are often glowing in their enthusiasm for its 24/7 accessibility. One medic describes it as ‘one of my favourite places in the University’.

The use of the internet to communicate within College has taken longer to bed down. Successive presidents of the JCR and MCR have hailed technological change as providing the opportunity for new, exciting, web sites to convey information to their members. These have appeared with some regularity, and then disappeared again under the relentless pressure of the need to update the contents. Now, however, dedicated IT officers have both improved the appearance of the student web sites and tried to ensure that material is current and accessible.

Meanwhile down in the bar there is change and continuity. A renovation has made for an elegant centre of College sociability, while a karaoke evening suggests that much remains as it has done in the past.

Afterword

Sir Nigel Shadbolt, Principal

As we reflect on 450 years of Jesus College history, what might the future make of the present? As the latest holder of the Principalship I am the fortunate beneficiary of the efforts and achievements of my thirty-one predecessors. We have learned in these pages of periods of growth and times of studied indifference to the outside world, periods of great industry and times of relative inactivity. Throughout much of the twentieth century and into the current era we have seen a substantial increase in the Fellowship and in student numbers and a sense that the College is increasingly outward looking and self-confident.

In choosing a successor to Lord Krebs in 2015 the Governing Body was the first Oxbridge college to elect a computer scientist as Head of House. They allowed its new Principal to continue research as a professor in the Department of Computer Science. The College made a commitment to introduce computer science as a subject of study. We now have two tutorial Fellowships supported by generous alumni funding, and we will shortly have a full cohort of students, both undergraduate and graduate, in a subject that has changed and continues to transform the world around us. All subjects are to some extent being disrupted by the arrival of computational methods, data analytics, machine learning and artificial intelligence. The emergence of powerful corporations that gather our data, provide new services and exert a broad range of effects on our societies, from commerce to politics, health to education, pose significant challenges as well as affording new opportunities. We are still struggling to understand the immediate consequences of this digital disruption and still trying to determine when it empowers or oppresses, enriches or disenfranchises individuals and groups. What is certain is that these questions and the use of these technologies must be important objects of teaching, research and debate within College.

The notion that ‘history doesn’t repeat but it rhymes’ is attributed (on limited evidence) to Mark Twain (a.k.a. Samuel Clemens) – and Twain certainly witnessed an extraordinary set of technological and industrial transformations. Old power structures were challenged, great wealth created and new élites formed. An assumption of stability and globalisation was brought down by the First World War, an economic crash and the rise of virulent populism. I assumed the Principalship in 2015, before the EU Referendum. Since then we have seen an

increasing rise in populism, increases in inequality, a further concentration of wealth and power to new élites and the impact of disruptive technologies – from artificial intelligence to gene editing, climate modelling to synthetic biology. While Oxford and Jesus are at the heart of research in these technological and scientific areas, it maintains excellence in the humanities and social sciences. These are crucial areas of research if we are to understand the economic and political context in which we live, essential areas if we are to make sense of new forms of power and influence. Within all of this sits the questions of what it means to be human and how far we can understand our current situation and future possibilities by reflecting on the past. We will draw on classics and English, philosophy and history, music and rich linguistic traditions to gain new insights.

The most striking feature of the collegiate University, something often remarked on, but which must be experienced to be fully appreciated, is the collegiality of the college. There have been periods in history, as we have seen, when that collegiality has been strained. But recent decades have seen a Fellowship that really is united in the pursuit of its core academic and educational values. The collegiate system itself, with its many components, its intricate network of relationships and dependencies, governance and communication, is an essential part of the genius of Oxford. This structure serves to decentralise power, serves as an antidote to excessive amounts of managerialism. And much like the internet and the web, this means you can route around challenges in any one part of the network. The collegiate University is a resilient structure, although it can sometimes have a collective action problem. This fundamental decentralised governance means that problems are best solved by having arguments and conversations about the values, goals and objectives within the institution. They are seldom solved by simple edict. This self-similar structure applies at every level in Oxford. In so far as any Head of House leads, they can only do so with the consent of their governing body.

The other great advantage of college life is its interdisciplinary nature. Subject families and disciplines mix daily, as students and faculty, Fellows and guests, teach, research and socialise together. The ideas, interests, methods and techniques of historians and mathematicians, philosophers and engineers, classicists and computer scientists – all manner of subjects – are constantly in contact, mixing, influencing one another. Colleges are, at their very core, sites of intellectual exchange. Hence the commitment in Jesus College to maintaining a broad

balance of subjects and disciplines. In the age of STEM subjects and advances in life science, we have established a new statutory chair in bibliography, and reinstated the historically important Jesus Chair of Celtic. In an era when funding for the humanities is under pressure we have invested in scholarships and bursaries for these subjects from our own resources. An equivalent attention has been paid to the balance of our students, their background and diversity. We are proud of our continued commitment to access – the £1 million endowment for the Seren Welsh Summer School in 2019 is a significant example of this.

The 2016–21 Strategic Plan, the College's third, committed us to increasing the number of graduate students in line with growing demand from across faculties, divisions and the central University. Oxford is now numerically a larger graduate than undergraduate University. Graduate students are essential to ensure a thriving research culture. Further integrating the MCR into College life is an important objective. It was one of the driving forces behind the commitment to develop the Northgate site. Planned to be finished in 2021, this £38 million development is the largest on the historic site since the seventeenth century. It will provide sixty-eight graduate rooms for incoming graduates, teaching rooms, exhibition, outreach and access facilities, new cafeteria and dining areas, a tower room, a digital hub to support knowledge exchange and an elevated Fourth Quad. The ambition is that this new space will provide an outward-facing aspect, presenting an open College to the wider world.

The College is rightly proud of its achievements, proud that our Fellows past and present continue to achieve at the highest level. Sir Peter Ratcliffe, an SRF at Jesus from 1992 to 2004, awarded the Nobel Prize in Physiology and Medicine in 2019, is the latest notable example. Forty-five years after the admission of women the College is proud of the successes of the female Fellowship – Yvonne Jones FRS, Patricia Clavin FBA, Patricia Daley, the first Oxford vice-principal of Afro-Caribbean descent, Katrin Kohl our senior tutorial Fellow. College is proud of its student achievements: in the last two years 40 per cent of students achieved firsts. Over the past decade Jesus College has featured in the top ten on most University metrics – whether the Norrington Table and academic attainment, Acorn statistics as a measure of participation from economically challenged demographics or financial security as measured by endowment. As a community we recognise that so much of what has been achieved is built on the generosity of donors past and present. As a community we are deeply grateful for the loyal and continuing support of our alumni. Jesus College is proud of its Welsh

roots, as can be seen in this history. That history has been brought wonderfully to life by the authors of this volume – we owe them a special thanks. It is a College that is justifiably self-confident, proud of its posterity and excited for its future.

It is tempting to think of this as a story of constant improvement, but the rhyme of history does not always encourage us to be sanguine. What we would wish for in our future is a continued commitment to the best of the values of the original foundation: a belief in the transformative power of education at Oxford and in this College and the pursuit of all forms of knowledge. To this must be added the values that our more recent history has taught us to treasure: a commitment to tolerance, to the flourishing of humanity in an age of exponential rates of technological change and to the conviction that the facts matter and that the best argument against a bad argument or an offensive opinion is a better argument. May we hold to these ideals in a complex, fast-changing and diverse world: *Floreat Collegium Jesu*.

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