

# The Early History of Jesus College, Oxford, 1571-1603

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## SUMMARY

*The foundation of Jesus College, Oxford in 1571 closely followed the demise of White Hall, an academic hall (still functioning in 1570) whose site and buildings Queen Elizabeth I granted to the college in its first charter. Although not specifically founded for the benefit of Welshmen, the college owed its foundation and early finances to a powerful, pro-Welsh group, whose leader was probably William Awbery of New Inn Hall and All Souls College, a prominent London lawyer and chancellor to Archbishops Grindal and Whitgift. Hugh Aprice (1495?-1574), the churchman who has long been regarded as the 'real' founder of the college, and who was probably rewarded for his prospective generosity in 1571 by being made Treasurer of St. David's, gave money for buildings and promised an endowment of lands, which failed, however, to materialize after his death.*

*The college's first two charters of 1571 and 1589 named eight founding Fellows (a kind of non-resident governing body composed of Awbery and his associates), eight founding Scholars (none of whom in fact attended the college), and eight (or, in 1589, 13) commissioners with responsibility for drawing up statutes. These, however, were achieved only in 1622. Meanwhile, vacancies caused by deaths among the nominated founding Fellows and Scholars allowed actual resident members of the college to be elected. The composition of the college, largely Welsh early in 1573, fluctuated during the next 15-20 years before becoming almost wholly Welsh.*

Jesus College, the only Elizabethan foundation among the Oxford colleges, came into being with a royal charter of 27 June 1571, which granted it the buildings and privileges of a very recently defunct academic hall in the centre of Oxford, White Hall.<sup>1</sup> The history of its foundation is closely connected with that of the final years of White Hall, and extends back ten or fifteen years to the 1550s and 1560s, when Welshmen, profiting from improvements in education at home, better roads and more enticing worldly prospects, began to make up a significant proportion of both junior and senior members of the University. This trend closely followed the post-Reformation shift away from the study and teaching of canon law to that of civil law, at which Welshmen particularly excelled.

Four successive Welshmen, all Doctors of Civil Law who had taken the degree of BCL from All Souls College, held the Regius Professorship of Civil Law (established c. 1541) between 1553 and 1586. William Awbery (1553-9), John Griffith (1559-64) and Robert Lougher (1566-77) intermittently combined their tenure of the chair with the principalship of New Inn Hall, one of the eight or so medieval-style academic halls which had survived,

<sup>1</sup> Jesus College Archives (JCA), CC.1 and transcript. For a detailed examination of the Welsh background to the college's foundation and early years, see W.P. Griffith, 'Jesus College and Wales, the First Half-Century', *Trans. of the Hon. Soc. of Cymmrodorion/Trafodion Anrhydeddus Gyndeithas y Cymmrodorion*, n.s. 3 (1996), 20-44. For the initial impetus to examine the links between Jesus College and White Hall, I am indebted to Dr. Jeremy Catto of Oriel College, whose 1997 Oxford Emden Lecture addressed the general question of continuity between medieval halls and 16th-century colleges.

often by absorbing others, side by side with 15 colleges into Elizabeth's reign. Griffith Lloyd, Lougher's son-in-law and successor in the chair from 1577, had been Principal of Jesus College for five years before he succeeded Lougher as Regius Professor, and held both posts continuously until his death in 1586.<sup>2</sup>

From the *Acta* of the Oxford University Chancellor's Court between 1561 and 1578 we can detect a growing Welsh presence at more than one of the academic halls, which offered board and lodging, some teaching, but little discipline or financial support, to poorer arts undergraduates or to graduates who were mainly law students. At White Hall, a former monastically-owned hall which had belonged to Oseney Abbey at the Reformation, and thereafter had held a tenancy from its new ground landlord, Christ Church, the Principal from 1559 to 1567 was the distinguished John Lloyd, DCL (d. 1607). A Fellow of All Souls and future Admiralty judge, he became one of several highly-placed Welsh lawyers and churchmen whom Queen Elizabeth nominated in the college's first charter as founding 'Fellows', or members of the non-resident governing body, of Jesus College. Another Welshman, Thomas Sammon, formerly a tutor at New Inn Hall, succeeded Lloyd as Principal of White Hall before the institution closed down during the brief principalship of James Charnock in 1570-1.<sup>3</sup>

At New Inn Hall, a small, mainly Welsh-dominated institution during the mid 16th century, an almost unbroken succession of Welsh Principals ruled from 1530 until the mid-1580s. Two of these, both advocates and former Fellows of All Souls, became the first and third Principals of Jesus College in conjunction with other posts elsewhere. David Lewes (New Inn Hall 1545-8, Jesus College 1571-2) had been a judge of the High Court of Admiralty from 1558, and returned to his London legal career after only a year at Jesus, becoming a commissioner of the Admiralty Court in 1575. Francis Bevans (New Inn Hall 1585-6, Jesus College 1586-1602) was created chancellor of the diocese of Hereford in 1587, forging an important link with the college's future benefactor, Bishop Herbert Westfaling. The influential William Awbery, the Brecon-born grandfather of the Wiltshire antiquary John Aubrey, became Principal of New Inn Hall as a 21-year-old in 1550, and Regius Professor at 24. Replaced by deputies in both posts when he went abroad on public legal business, he was reinstated as Principal in 1557. Awbery and his successors in the chair of Civil Law, John Griffith (Principal of New Inn Hall 1559-64) and Robert Lougher (Principal of New Inn Hall 1564-70, 1571-2 and 1575-7), ran the Hall for much of the third quarter of the century, a period during which Welshmen were becoming ever more firmly established in Oxford. When Queen Elizabeth (honoured, from 1571, as the foundress of Jesus College) visited the University in 1566, she was entertained to a debate between four civil lawyers, three of them Welshmen: Awbery and Lougher as past and present Regius Professors, and Hugh Lloyd as a recent graduate and Fellow of New College, later to be Master of Winchester and a Doctor of Civil Law.<sup>4</sup>

Five years later, in 1571, Awbery, Lougher and John Lloyd, the former Principal of White Hall, joined two other Oxford-educated, and three Cambridge-educated, churchmen as Queen Elizabeth's nominees to the founding fellowship of Jesus College. Lougher, then in his second term as Principal of New Inn Hall, alternated in this office with Felix Lewis from Hart Hall (originally from London but possibly of Welsh descent), whom he also served as

<sup>2</sup> J. McConica (ed.), *The History of the University of Oxford, III: The Collegiate University* (1986), 287-9.

<sup>3</sup> Oxford University Archives (OUA), Calendar of Chancellor's Court Act Bks. 1551-78 [hereafter Calendar], 1 Dec 1559, 23 Jan 1566/7, 10 Feb 1569/70, and Act Books *Hyp.A.6*, f. 150v., *Hyp.A.8*, ff. 9, 35; for Sammon, see A. Clark (ed.), *Register of the Univ. of Oxford, ii (1571-1622)*, pt. ii, *Matriculations and Subscriptions* (Oxf. Hist. Soc. xi), 7.

<sup>4</sup> G. Williams, *Recovery, Reorientation and Reformation: Wales c.1415-1642* (1987), 467.

Vice-Principal in 1572-5.<sup>5</sup> A list of members of New Inn Hall in 1572 omits Lougher's name but includes 11 others (six fee-paying students, three servants, a servitor and a 'poor scholar'), of whom all but the last were apparently Welsh.<sup>6</sup>

Farther down the social scale, the powerful manciple of White Hall, New Inn Hall and Merton College during the 1560s was Hugh Daves, whose litigation for debt in the Chancellor's Court seems mainly to have involved fellow-Welshmen. In 1569 he sued both J. Hwes of White Hall for £13 10s. unpaid battels and T. Jonys of Gloucester Hall for debt. In October 1572, as manciple of Merton and Jesus Colleges, he was granted a general decree for the arrest of debtors for battels.<sup>7</sup> At about that time he persuaded Hugh Aprice, the first benefactor of Jesus College and since widely regarded as its real founder or co-founder, to employ him as overseer of his building project, which was designed to link the existing White Hall buildings between the present Ship Street and Market Street with the frontage acquired by Jesus College on Turl Street. Aprice's building work progressed slowly, attracting local ridicule.<sup>8</sup> The state of his health may also have held up the cash-flow between benefactor and builders. Daves dug into his own pocket, paying out (he later alleged) at least £100, which he tried to recover from Aprice's executors in the autumn and winter of 1574-5 after Aprice's death.<sup>9</sup>

Other Welshmen also became embroiled in the Chancellor's Court independently of Daves. In 1562 Maurice Aprice of White Hall was one of several students involved in an affray with townsmen over a prisoner. Four years later, when a 'poor scholar', Owen Aprice, was found to owe 18s. 2d. to a victualler and 26s. to a farrier, John Lloyd of White Hall and John Apphwe, described as butler of New College, stood sureties for him.<sup>10</sup> The perennial problem of student poverty seems especially to have affected Welshmen; for of 23 Oxford students licensed to beg between 1551 and 1570, over a quarter had names that were clearly Welsh. Six further students, Henry Evans, Roger Gryffithes, William Price, Salomon Daves, Richard Williams and Robert Powell, received licenses to beg in 1572. Four of these had sureties from Jesus College, including one Evan Pewe, SCL (possibly 'John Apphwe' at a later stage of his career), who appears as MA in a list of members of the college, consisting of ten graduates including the Principal, eighteen undergraduates and four servants, from the first few months of 1573. Another surety was Owen Jonis, MA of Jesus, possibly the same man who appeared in a similar capacity in the Chancellor's Court three years earlier when a White Hall student was arraigned for debt.<sup>11</sup>

A disciplinary motive for founding a new college for both undergraduate and graduate Welshmen, which would offer them rules, protection, and financial support from expected charitable endowments and keep them as far as possible out of the hands of the proctors and the Chancellor's Court, may therefore have been an important consideration for David Lewes, John Lloyd, Lougher and Awbery, all of whom had experience of administering the laxer discipline of the halls. New Inn Hall, despite its prevailing Welshness at the time, was clearly not large and flourishing enough to give adequate support and companionship to its handful of students, and lacked the facilities to accommodate the growing number of

<sup>5</sup> A. Wood (ed. J. Gutch), *The History and Antiquities of the Colleges and Halls in the University of Oxford* (1786), 679; OUA, Calendar, 7 June 1557, 14 April 1564, 12 March 1571, 23 July 1572, 29 April 1577, and Act Bks. *Hyp.A.6*, f. 39v., *Hyp.A.7*, f. 116v., *Hyp.A.8*, ff. 182, 238, 438.

<sup>6</sup> Clark, *op. cit.* note 3, p. 39.

<sup>7</sup> OUA, Calendar, 11 Oct 1569, and Act Bk. *Hyp.A.8*, ff. 116, 120, 193.

<sup>8</sup> E.G. Hardy, *Jesus College, Oxford* (1899), 18.

<sup>9</sup> OUA, Chancellor's Court Depositions Book, 1566-78, *Hyp.B.1*, f. 160.

<sup>10</sup> OUA, Calendar, 17 July 1562, 31 January 1565/6, 29 March 1566, and Act Bk. *Hyp.A.7*, ff. 39v., 156v., 164v.

<sup>11</sup> Clark, *op. cit.* note 3, pp. 4-5, 36; OUA, Calendar, 11 Oct 1569, and Act Bk. *Hyp.A.8*, f. 116.



Fig. 1. Detail from Ralph Agas's 1578 plan of Oxford (looking south), showing (1) Laurence Hall, fronting Somnore Lane (Ship Street), sub-leased to Jesus from 1572; (2) staircase building in SE. corner of present Front Quadrangle, adjoining former buttery and hall of White Hall to west and Turl Street frontage to east; (3) building adjoining Turl Street, bearing no resemblance to the front shown in Loggan's 1675 engraving; (4) former White Hall buildings, fronting Cheyney Lane (Market Street); (5) garden, possibly representing that given by Richard Fyvyane to St. Frideswide's in 1455, extending southwards from Somnore Lane; (6) Cogan's Garden, fronting Cheyney Lane, purchased by Jesus College in 1638 and built on c. 1678. *Note:* The blank spaces on Agas's plan are caused by wear.

undergraduates of all ages and social classes who were arriving in Oxford from Wales. South Welshmen, in particular, must have seemed in need of an institutional family with which to identify themselves, since north Welshmen, especially from the north-eastern counties, tended to go to Brasenose College, while many of those from the border areas attached themselves to Gloucester Hall. The transformation into a college of White Hall (which had lost its former satellite, Laurence Hall, in the late 1540s or 1550s, and may have had even fewer students by 1570 than New Inn Hall) provided endowed premises and company which acted as a magnet to young Welshmen, drawing them away from the less secure life of the academic halls and offering them a liberal education, largely funded by benefactions which were secured through the example of Hugh Aprice, and later by a series of strenuous exercises in fund-raising and public relations in Wales.

### THE COLLEGE PREMISES

Queen Elizabeth's letters patent of 27 June 1571 do not indicate the basis of her title to the premises of White Hall, for which Jesus College paid an *8d.* quit-rent to Christ Church until the charge was redeemed in 1866. According to the mid 17th-century Book of Evidences at Christ Church, this charge had been progressively reduced from 26s. *8d.* to 20s., and then *8d.* (at which level it was established by the time that the college accounts began in 1631). Still more mystifying is the description in this book of the extent of White Hall, 'the s[ai]d peice of ground conteining in length from the Street to the Walnut tree; & in breadth from the Bowling-Alley to the mud-wall' [no measurements are given].<sup>12</sup> From Agas's 1578 plan of Oxford, and from a deed of 1580 by which the college secured the freehold of its south-east corner on Turl Street and Market Street from Richard Gunter, we know that the former hall of White Hall lay parallel with Market Street (then Cheyney Lane), with the buttery at its east end. John Man, who was Principal of White Hall from 1548 until early in 1552, may have added an extra building to the east of the buttery as a private venture after leasing the corner garden from an earlier Richard Gunter in November 1552 (see Figs. 1 and 2). When the freehold changed hands in 1580 the garden had been built upon; but it remains uncertain whether the building or buildings that occupied it, which appear in an L-shape on Agas's plan, had been put up by Man or by Aprice.<sup>13</sup>

Before 1500, parts of the present college site had belonged to a variety of different owners, including three religious houses, Studley Priory, St. Frideswide's Priory and Oseney Abbey. On the north side of Cheyney Lane (Market Street), Studley Priory had owned the corner garden adjoining Turl Street and another garden some 150 feet farther to the west. Both of these were purchased by the elder Gunter after the dissolution of the monasteries in the 1540s. Between the two gardens, St. Frideswide's Priory had owned several adjoining properties until 1500 or later, having acquired at least one of them by 1263.<sup>14</sup> This combined property appears to have included the site of the hall and buttery of White Hall which Elizabeth I granted to the college, and other land or buildings belonging to this on the west. The St. Frideswide's property extended northwards to Somnere Lane (Ship Street) from 1455, when Richard Fyvyane granted the Priory a garden bounded by Ship Street to the north and its existing property to the south. An Exeter College property adjoined the garden on the west side; while to the east lay a small Oseney property, which

<sup>12</sup> Christ Church Archives, I.c.2, p. 135; JCA, BU.AC.GEN.1-11 (Senior Bursars' Accounts, 1631-1881), Outgoings, *Annuities, passim*.

<sup>13</sup> See below, p.112, and JCA, ES.OX.1/3/1-2.

<sup>14</sup> For comments on the probable late medieval ownership of individual properties in this area, see H.E. Salter, *Survey of Oxford* (Oxf. Hist. Soc. n.s. xiv), 33-7.

on Agas's plan appears as a blank space near the north-east corner of the college site. In the early 15th century the Exeter College property Ledenhall was frequently called White Hall (as H.E. Salter also called the Oseney property of 1455), perhaps as an indication that St. Frideswide's rented it.<sup>15</sup> Fyvyane's garden measured 126 feet by 51 feet, and if (as subsequent college property transactions suggest) it was broader from east to west than from north to south, it must have corresponded with much of the present Third Quadrangle and the back wing of the Principal's lodgings. The oblong, walled garden which appears on Agas's plan of 1578 (Fig. 1) may be intended to represent this, although its shape does not indicate the most likely orientation of this garden.<sup>16</sup>

We do not know for certain when Oseney Abbey took over the properties and deeds of St. Frideswide's in Cheyney Lane and Somnore Lane; H.E. Salter suggests that this happened *c.* 1523.<sup>17</sup> Nor is there any reason to suppose that Salter's suggestion that 'White Hall of Oseney' and 'White Hall of St. Frideswide' had previously co-existed back-to-back before amalgamating has any foundation in fact. We know, however, that the Oseney-owned White Hall site of *c.* 1540 occupied an area which was broader at the north end than at the south, and included, in present-day terms, the western half of the Front Quadrangle, the buildings between the Front and Second Quadrangles, the eastern half of the Second Quadrangle, and most of the Third Quadrangle as far as the present Ship Street gate. Along part of the south side of the present Second Quadrangle, adjoining Cheyney Lane, lay the former Studley Priory garden which Richard Gunter acquired, with the Turl Street corner property, in the 1540s. Gunter sold this second garden in 1565 to Thomas Cogan, whose namesake sold it on to the college in 1638. The college let it for one year at £3 before building the present Staircase VI on what was apparently the former White Hall land to the east in 1640. Cogan's Garden, or its remnant, was let out again at £1 a year from 1653 until Michaelmas 1677, after which it became part of the Second Quadrangle.<sup>18</sup>

Beyond the northern and eastern boundaries of the White Hall premises of 1570 stood Laurence Hall, which Agas's plan (Fig. 1) shows as an isolated group of buildings standing to the south and west of the the present Ship Street/Turl Street corner. Despite the fact that White Hall and Laurence Hall had shared a Principal from 1527 until some time in the late 1540s (with the exception of 1532-34, when Thomas Bird, formerly Principal of both halls, had devolved the principalship of Laurence Hall on to Robert Bird), the two institutions had never wholly amalgamated with one another. Man does not seem to have become

<sup>15</sup> See H.E. Salter, *Cartulary of Oseney Abbey*, i (Oxf. Hist. Soc. lxxxix), 104; C.W. Boase, *Registrum Collegii Exoniensis* (Oxf. Hist. Soc. xxvii), pp. xiv-xv, n. 3.

<sup>16</sup> In 1638 and 1680/1, Jesus College acquired two properties which between them occupied most of the present western half of the Second Quadrangle, including Staircase VIII of *c.* 1678 (which backs on to Market Street on the south side). These were Cogan's Garden to the south and French's Garden to the north (see JCA, ES.OX.1/4 and 1/7). If Fyvyane's garden was bounded on the west by Ledenhall, the Exeter College property leased to Jesus from 1671 (see JCA, ES.OX.1/5), then it must have been partly bounded to the south by the property which became French's Garden, and could not have extended more than 70 ft. southwards from Ship Street without including part of this. It could have formed a north-south oblong only if, in 1455, Exeter College owned another Ship Street property east of ES.OX.1/5, of which there is no sign.

<sup>17</sup> See note 14.

<sup>18</sup> JCA, ES.OX.1/4/1-7 and BU.AC.GEN I-III (Senior Bursars' Accounts), Income, *Estates*, 1638-77. Staircase VIII was built on the former Cogan's Garden *c.* 1678. The NE. corner of the new Library and Common Room of 1676-7 may also have been built on part of Cogan's Garden. Access to this building from the college would have required that part of Cogan's Garden should be reclaimed.

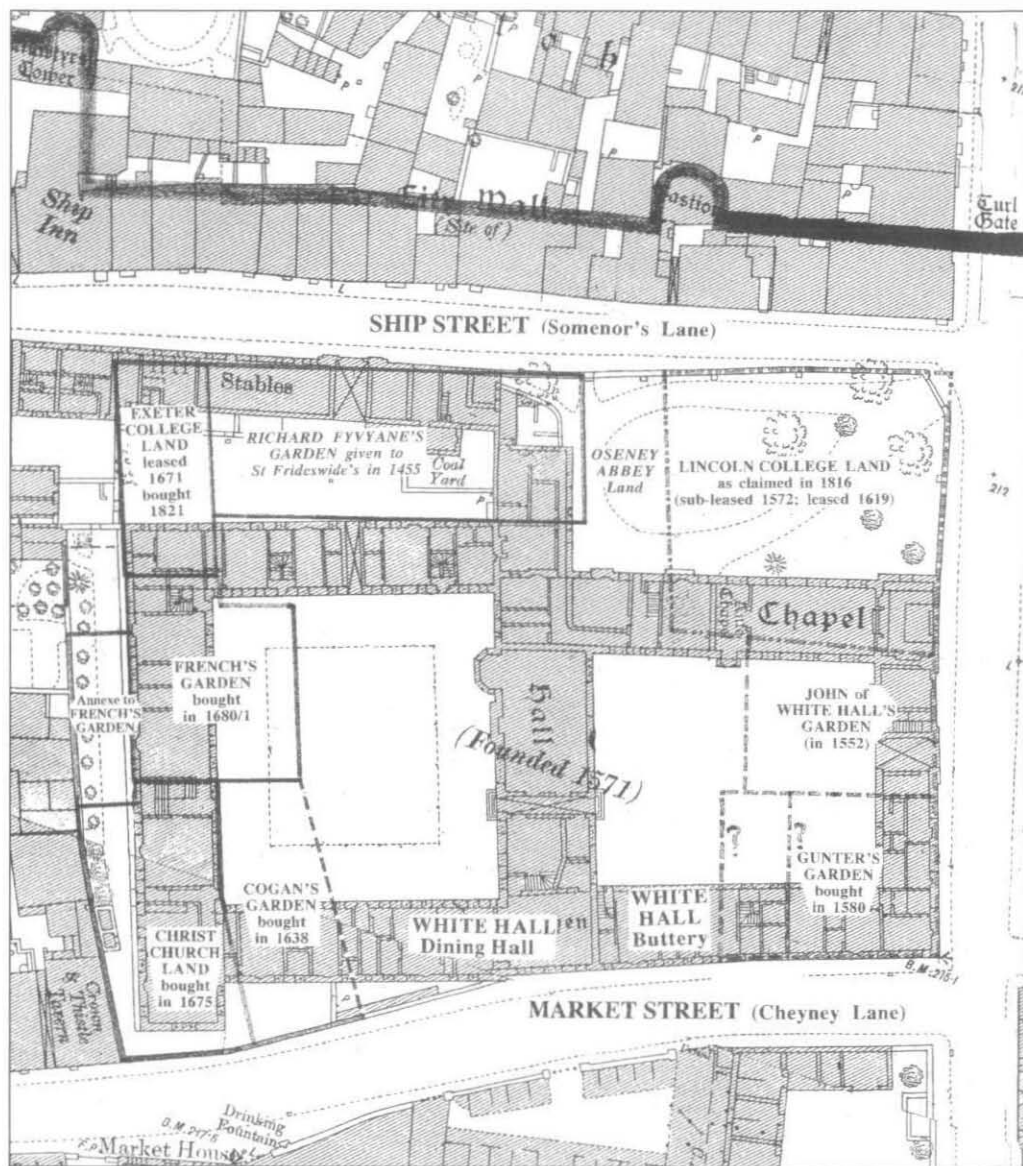


Fig. 2. Plan of Jesus College site. (David Sturdy)

Principal of Laurence Hall when he took over White Hall in 1548. In 1555 Lincoln College, which owned the freehold, leased the (by then presumably defunct) Laurence Hall to the college brewer.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>19</sup> OUA, Transcript of Register of the Chancellor's Court, *EE*, II, 663-93 (annual lists of cautions paid by Principals of academic halls); V.H.H. Green, *The Commonwealth of Lincoln College, 1427-1977* (1979), 43.

After the demise of White Hall, James Charnock, its last Principal, attempted to remain in the academic business by taking a conditional lease of Laurence Hall from Lincoln. This stated that he might either live there privately or operate it as an academic hall, but that he could do the latter only if he recruited enough students to satisfy both Lincoln College and its Visitor. The venture failed; and within a few months Charnock had passed on his lease to Griffith Lloyd, the new Principal of Jesus. Towards the end of the list of members of Jesus College dating from early in 1573, 'Charnocke, Mr' appears as something of an afterthought. Possibly, therefore, he had accepted a place as a senior member of Jesus in return for handing over the premises of Laurence Hall, rather than automatically joining the college straight from White Hall, as the 'Wightman, Mr' and his servant (presumably Thomas Wightman, a member of White Hall in 1570) and Hugh Daves the manciple appear to have done.<sup>20</sup>

The extensive building works which took place during the time of Principals Griffith Powell (1613-20) and Sir Eubule Thelwall (1621-30), resulting in the Front Quadrangle buildings that we know today, lie outside the scope of this study. The chapel was built *c.* 1619 on the former Laurence Hall site, and consecrated in 1621. The hall, buttery, kitchen and rooms above these are said to have been built in Powell's time, as a result of his fund-raising. The adjacent Front Quadrangle staircases on the south side (V and at least part of IV) replaced part of the former hall and buttery of White Hall, which may have been demolished or converted only shortly before, or even after, Powell's death in 1620. The building of the Principal's lodgings was financed by Thelwall, who may also have completed the Turl Street entrance front to close off the quadrangle to the east.<sup>21</sup>

The college that we must envisage during its first 30 years looked quite different from the familiar image of the Front Quadrangle in David Loggan's 1675 engraving, which has been only superficially altered and partly rebuilt to this day. As shown in Agas's 1578 plan (Fig. 1), it consisted of a number of smallish, mainly detached buildings with nothing resembling a formal garden layout in between. A building, apparently of quite recent date, with two or three staircase doorways, extends from the hall and buttery of White Hall eastwards as far as Turl Street, on the site of the garden formerly leased by John Man in 1552. At right-angles to this stands a very dissimilar building with a row of glazed windows facing Turl Street, and a large upper window or loft door in its north gable end. This building ends well short of the Laurence Hall complex, and opens to the north on to a piece of garden or vacant space adjoining Turl Street, apparently where the main gateway stands today. As Aprice died in 1574 he cannot have been responsible for the later entrance block with its gateway, sub-classical pillars, and tower (see Fig. 3), which was truncated in the 1630s to provide much-needed student rooms.<sup>22</sup> Griffith Powell referred to Aprice in a document of *c.* 1609 as having 'buylded Jesus College in Oxon (as much as there is buylded thereof)', which encourages the belief that Aprice was responsible for more than one building; while the Register of Benefactors of *c.* 1625 claims that Aprice 'built all the old Buildings toward ye East and South'.<sup>23</sup> Perhaps, then, the phrase 'old buildings' confirms that extensive, further building was carried out on the east side of the college between the date of Powell's memorandum (*c.* 1609) and that of the Benefactors' Book (*c.* 1625), as we

<sup>20</sup> JCA, ES.OX.1/2/9; Clark, *op. cit.* note 3, p. 36. For Wightman, see OUA, Transcript of Act Book of Chancellor's Court, 6 Oct 1570, and *Hyp.A.8*, f. 63; Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses, 1500-1714* (1886), refers to him as a country clergyman and possible headmaster of Repton, 1559-68.

<sup>21</sup> JCA, ES.OX.1/2/10; CP.1; RE.BE.1 (Benefactors' Book), ff. 25, 69-75; this says of Thelwall that he 'p[er]fected the [Front] Quadrangle' and built the [first] Library. It remains silent on the subject of the Lodgings, which must, however, date from the 1620s.

<sup>22</sup> JCA, BU.AC.GEN.1 (Senior Bursars' Accounts, 1631-50), Outgoings, *Reparations*, 1637, 1641.

<sup>23</sup> JCA, ES.1/1, 'The Estate of Jesus College in Oxon', and RE.BE.1, p. 1.



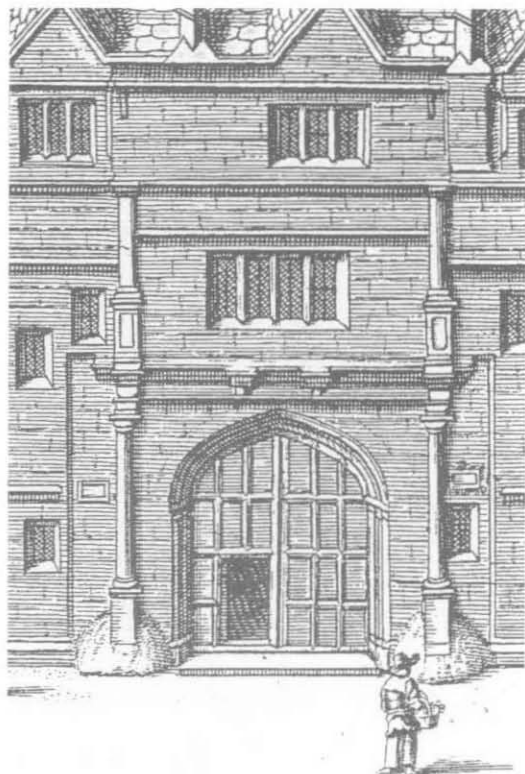


Fig. 3. Detail from David Loggan's engraving of Jesus College (*Oxonia Illustrata*, 1675), showing the entrance gateway of *c.* 1625 with its classical detailing and suggestion of a tower, evidently truncated when second-floor studies were inserted in 1636/7. This front was completely rebuilt in 1855.

know it to have been carried out on the south side. The gabled building shown on Agas's plan may have been incorporated into an early 17th-century Turl Street front, and then disguised as an integral part of it, by the addition of upstairs rooms, some time before Loggan's engraving of 1675.

#### THE FOUNDING FELLOWS, SCHOLARS AND COMMISSIONERS, AND HUGH APRICE

In the royal Letters Patent of 27 June 1571 Hugh Aprice's name appears in two separate contexts, as a benefactor who had promised a bequest worth £60 a year to the college and as the first-named of the eight commissioners, of superior rank to the founding Fellows (although including two of them), whose function was to draw up a set of statutes in accordance with which the college would eventually be governed. Not content with this position, Aprice struck his own private bargain with the college, achieving still greater control in exchange for promised favours which materialized only in part after his death in 1574.

The small, plain portrait of Aprice in the style of Holbein which hangs above the centre of High Table in the college Hall (see Fig. 4) shows an austere face with the expression of thoughtful parsimony which is common in serious portraits of that period and type. Born a butcher's son in Brecon in the 1490s, Aprice had graduated as a Doctor of Canon Law at

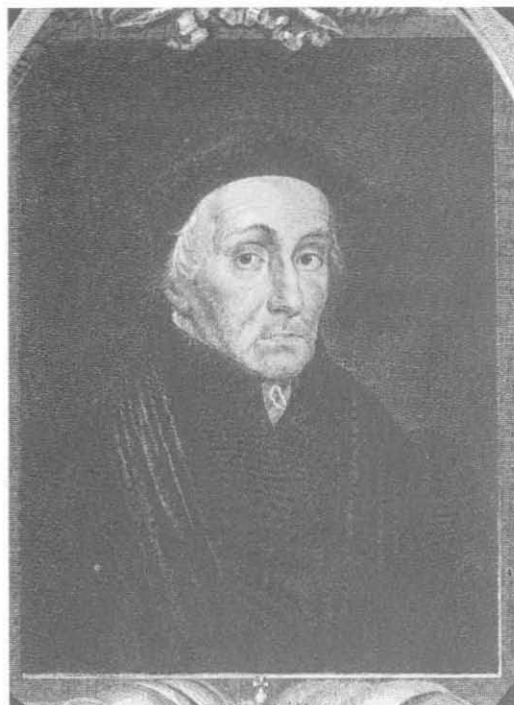


Fig. 4. Hugh Aprice (1495?-1574), the 'real' founder of Jesus College. School of Holbein, mid 16th century. Reproduced by kind permission of the Principal, Fellows and Scholars of Jesus College.

Oxford in 1526, had become a prebendary of Rochester Cathedral in 1541, and was finally appointed Treasurer of St. David's in 1571. By then he was an elderly man, with a fortune amassed professionally or by lending out money at interest in his home town of Brecon and possibly elsewhere. Although he held no office in Oxford, his contacts there and among the future founding Fellows of Jesus must have been many. Chief among them was the Herefordshire-born William Stock, later Aprice's co-executor, who was intermittently Principal of Gloucester Hall from 1560 to 1576, a canon of Brecon from 1558 and of Wells from 1560, and a man of Catholic inclinations like many of the group of Welsh founding Fellows of Jesus.<sup>24</sup> In addition to the Breconshire-born Awbery and the Tenby-born Lougher, the eight founding Fellows included the venerable John Cotterell, a former Principal (1537-43) of White Hall and Laurence Hall, who was archdeacon and prebendary of Wells from 1554 until his death in 1572; Thomas Huyck of Merton College, Oxford, a canon of St. David's (d. 1575); and Thomas Huit (d. 1591) of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, a precentor of St. David's, now commemorated for his 1567 translation of the Book of Revelation into Welsh. Was Aprice's succession to the Treasurership of St. David's in 1571 merely coincidental, or was it a royal reward, devised in ecclesiastical circles in London, Wells and elsewhere, and set up by Awbery and others close to the Court in exchange for the use of Aprice's fortune at Oxford?

<sup>24</sup> Griffith, *op. cit.* note 1, pp. 22, 24.

Aprice's own manipulation of the college seems to have become more exacting towards the end of the year following its foundation. On 30 June 1571, three days after the date of the royal Letters Patent, he signed a release to the college, for a presumably notional payment of £1,000, of a number of different properties in the town of Brecon and nearby villages, in all cases naming the previous owners and current occupiers of the properties. On 15 April 1572 he signed a further release of what were apparently the same properties, again for £1,000, stating that their annual value was £60 and that the college might have them on condition that he was allowed a free hand in appointing future Principals, Fellows and Scholars, and in dismissing them for any just cause.<sup>25</sup> Accordingly, when David Lewes, a Crown appointment, resigned the office of Principal after only a year, his successor-elect Griffith Lloyd appeared in the Chancellor's Court bearing Lewes's letter of resignation and his own letter of appointment from Aprice (*patroni praecipui* of Jesus College) and four of the founding Fellows, Thomas Huyck, William Awbery, John Lloyd and Robert Lougher.<sup>26</sup> The Fellows had kept their side of the bargain; and when Aprice died in 1574, leaving spare capital of £600 but no Brecon properties, the resulting tangle was enough to oblige Stock, co-executor with Aprice's nephew from Brecon, to take a year's leave of absence from Gloucester Hall, in the course of which he resigned his principalship.<sup>27</sup> Aprice's properties, it turned out, had only been mortgaged to him, and he possessed no clear title to the freeholds. Awbery and Griffith Lloyd remained at loggerheads for several years over the disposal of the £600 mortgage money which was awarded to the college, then invested the sum with the Goldsmiths' Company. This arrangement was unsatisfactory but lasted until 1602, when one of a new set of commissioners appointed in the second college charter of 1589 called a crisis meeting in college and summoned the Goldsmiths' representatives to account.<sup>28</sup>

The ease with which Aprice deluded the founding Fellows, and their ill-luck with his bequest, is perhaps all the more surprising in view of their own skill at amassing personal sources of income. All five Oxonians among them were pluralists in civil or ecclesiastical life. John Cotterell held several livings in Devon as well as his benefices at Wells. Robert Lougher, who was MP for Pembroke from 1572 until his death in 1583, held several Devon livings with a canonry at Exeter and the archdeaconry of Totnes. John Lloyd was a colleague of David Lewes as an advocate of Doctors' Commons and an Admiralty judge. Thomas Huyck, in addition to being a canon of St. David's, was also chancellor of the diocese of London and an advocate; while William Awbery, reputedly a royal favourite, was a Master in Chancery, an advocate in the Court of Arches, chancellor and Vicar-General to two successive archbishops of Canterbury (of whom the second, John Whitgift, joined him as one of the replacement commissioners appointed in the college's second charter of 1589), and MP for Taunton during the last two years of his life, 1593-5.

Awbery and Huyck enjoyed special standing among the founding Fellows, since they were also members of the eight-strong commission which the Queen appointed in her 1571 charter specifically to draw up statutes for the college. Their fellow-commissioners were Hugh Aprice, David Lewes, the chancellor or vice-chancellor of the University, and three grandees, Sir Nicholas Bacon (Keeper of the Great Seal), William Cecil, Lord Burghley, and Gilbert Gerard (Attorney General). After the deaths of some of these commissioners and the failure of the rest to produce a body of statutes, Burghley, Gerard, the chancellor or vice-chancellor and Awbery were reappointed in 1589 as members of a 13-strong commission,

<sup>25</sup> JCA, ES.BN.1/1-2 (Estate papers, Brecon).

<sup>26</sup> OUA, Calendar, *Hyp.B.1*, f. 37.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 10 May 1575, 16 Jan 1576, and *Hyp.A.8*, ff. 345, 371.

<sup>28</sup> JCA, ES.1/1, 'The Estate of Jesus College in Oxon'.

of whom any three or more were empowered to validate statutes. Their fellow-members were Archbishop Whitgift, Sir Christopher Hatton, Bishop Herbert Westfaling of Hereford (to whom Principal Francis Bevans was chancellor), John Herbert (a Master of Requests), Gabriel Goodman (a native of Ruthin, Denbighshire, dean of Westminster, and strong supporter of the movement to translate the Bible into Welsh), Henry Jones (an All Souls lawyer, advocate of Doctors' Commons, and Denbighshire clergyman), John Lloyd, Francis Bevans, and Richard Harris, Principal of Brasenose College.<sup>29</sup>

So completely Oxonian an inner ring of founding Fellows as Awbery, Lougher, Huyck and Lloyd, goaded by the resident Aprice until his death in 1574, might have been expected to exclude any influences from elsewhere. Ironically, however, the only two founding Fellows to survive until 1622, when the college's third charter from James I ushered in the validation of statutes, were both Cambridge men from the East Midlands, who with a third, Thomas Huit of St. David's, had been appointed in the charter of 1571. Robert Johnson (1540-1625) was a graduate of Trinity College, Cambridge, archdeacon of Leicester from 1591, and founder of grammar schools at Oakham and Uppingham. John Higginson, his contemporary, was a Leicestershire clergyman.<sup>30</sup> With John Lloyd, the last surviving Oxonian, both were active in convening and attending meetings during and after the college's financial crisis at the end of Francis Bevans's principalship in 1602.<sup>31</sup>

Still more interestingly, five of the eight founding Scholars named in the 1571 charter are known to have proceeded from Merchant Taylors' School, London, to Cambridge, where four of them took up prestigious, newly endowed Watts scholarships in Greek at Pembroke Hall. The two best-known of these, Thomas Dove (1555-1630), bishop of Peterborough from 1601, and Lancelot Andrewes (1555-1626), bishop of Winchester from 1619, were also named as survivors from the foundation in the college's third charter. Of the others, John Wilford and Gregory Downhall went from Merchant Taylors' to Pembroke (Downhall having, in 1562 at the age of seven, been a founding scholar of Merchant Taylors' with Andrewes and the future poet Edmund Spenser, who preceded them to Pembroke Hall in 1569). William Platt went from Merchant Taylors' to Christ's College, Cambridge; while John Osmond, Francis Yeomans and William Garth came from unknown backgrounds, and apparently did not matriculate at either Oxford or Cambridge. A Gregory Garth (c. 1530-1608) was, however, chancellor of Lincoln Cathedral 1568-1605, having been a Fellow of Pembroke Hall in 1552 and a parish clergyman from 1561, and may conceivably have been a relative of William Garth, or even of Gregory Downhall. A Thomas Wilford, who entered Jesus College as a commoner in 1633 without matriculating, may also have been connected with this group, perhaps as a grandson or great-nephew of the founding Scholar John Wilford of 62 years earlier.<sup>32</sup>

Despite the enthusiastic cult of Lancelot Andrewes at Jesus (where the Fellows' Library contains a richly annotated volume of Andrewes's *XCVI Sermons* from the library of the high-church Carolean Principal Francis Mansell; where Fellows clubbed together in 1851 to buy a portrait of Andrewes, costing £15, in a carved and gilt oak frame; and where in 1928

<sup>29</sup> JCA, CC.1-2, Charters, 27 June 1571, 7 July 1589, and transcripts.

<sup>30</sup> See Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses... to 1751* (1922-7), *sub. nom.*

<sup>31</sup> JCA, RE.1 (Register, 1602-c. 1633).

<sup>32</sup> *Merchant Taylors' School Register, 1562-1874*, i (1882); Venn, *Alum. Cantab.* For information about Cambridge alumni, thanks are due to Miss Jayne Ringrose, Archivist of Pembroke College, Cambridge, and Mrs. Annette Tattersall of Christ's College. I should also like to thank Sir John Habakkuk, formerly Principal of Jesus College, Oxford and Honorary Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, whose enquiry about Lancelot Andrewes led me to look more closely at the entire group of founding Scholars. For Thomas Wilford's admission, see JCA, BU.AC.GEN. I (Senior Bursars' Accounts, 1631-50), Income, *Admissions*, 1633.

aspiring ordinands formed the Lancelot Andrewes Society<sup>33</sup>), we have no proof that any of the founding Scholars was ever linked with the college in more than a purely notional way. Their scholarships, like the founding Fellowships, were lifelong and non-stipendiary. Principal Griffith Powell, the probable author of a second memorandum of *c.* 1613, remarked that at that time only two resident Fellows and two resident Scholars received stipends, although there were in all seven Fellows including himself, of whom two (Johnson and Higginson) remained from those named in the founding charter, and the rest had been elected. At least two of the elected Fellows, therefore, must have received no stipends at all. The same appears to have been true of some Scholars, although the distinction made by Powell between these and the surviving founding Scholars is less clear.<sup>34</sup>

As ordinary Fellows and Scholars came to be elected, the college records also blurred the distinction between these and the founding Fellows and Scholars (even though, until the statutes were validated in 1622, the ordinary Fellows did not enjoy all the powers of a present-day governing body). Thus, when a college meeting was called on 11 August 1615 for the purpose of electing Fellows and Scholars, vacancies were announced owing to the deaths of two Fellows, Edward Atkins and John Lloyd, DCL (the distinguished founding Fellow, who had died in 1607) and of two Scholars, the founding nominee Gregory Downhall and the more recently elected Griffin Evans.<sup>35</sup>

For constitutional purposes, fresh complements of founding Fellows and Scholars appeared in the college's third charter, which James I issued on 1 June 1622 to enable the college statutes to be validated. Six of each class were newly-elected, all apparently being Oxonian Welshmen. Of the new Fellows, only one, Thomas Prichard, was already an ordinary Fellow of the college, having been elected in 1615, and chosen as Vice-Principal by 1623. The others were Dr. Theodore Price, formerly of Jesus, then on the point of retiring as Principal of Hart Hall; Maurice Meyricke, formerly of New College, registrar of the University; William Dolben, formerly of Christ Church, a country clergyman; William Prichard, formerly of Jesus, rector of Ewelme, and soon to be a major college benefactor; and a Robert Lloyd. Of these five, Meyricke and Lloyd subsequently ranked as ordinary Fellows *c.* 1623-6. Four of the new founding Scholars, Hugh Madryn, Henry Bould, William Parry and Walter Jones, had recently matriculated as undergraduates at Jesus, while Bould, after graduating a few months later, was elected a Fellow of the college in 1623.<sup>36</sup> The remaining two, Ambrose and William Thelwall, were presumably kinsmen of the Principal, Sir Eubule Thelwall of Denbighshire, whose brother Ambrose (1570-1652) was a prominent figure at the court of James I. Neither is known to have entered Jesus College; but, if noblemen commoners, they probably did so without matriculating, and, like others of their kind at Jesus before the institution of Buttery Books in 1637, passed through the college leaving no permanent written trace.

#### THE UNDERGRADUATE BODY, 1572-1603

Documentary records of the earliest years of Jesus College are very scanty. John Williams, Principal 1602-13, inaugurated the first college Register, an amalgam of governing body minutes and miscellaneous record book which was kept up irregularly from 1602 until

<sup>33</sup> JCA, PI[pictures/portraits]/ANDREWES. Bill, 31 Oct 1851, with note 'Paid by subscription amongst Fellows'; SO.8 [Minutes, Lancelot Andrewes Society, 1928-34].

<sup>34</sup> JCA, RE.1 (Register, 1602-*c.* 1633), f. 67; 'The Estate of Jesus College in Oxon'.

<sup>35</sup> JCA, RE. 1, f. 28.

<sup>36</sup> JCA, CC.3 (Charter, 1 June 1622) and transcript; RE.1, ff. 28, 50-4v.; Foster, *Alum. Oxon. 1500-1714* (1886), *sub. nom.*

c. 1633. Two Benefactors' Books, begun c. 1625 and 1626, record donations towards building work and towards the first college library, and benefactions of property or money. The annual Senior Bursars' Accounts, begun in 1631, are the most comprehensive record of the college's past, and list all undergraduates who paid admission fees. Not all did so; but the noblemen commoners (and occasionally fellow-commoners) who were excused from paying fees appear in the Buttery Books, which survive, with gaps, from December 1637. For the period before 1602 we have only the college site deeds, a handful of estate deeds, the retrospective information contained in documents such as Griffith Powell's 'The Estate of Jesus College in Oxon' of c. 1609 and another, similarly-titled document of c. 1613,<sup>37</sup> and University matriculation and graduation records. From the matriculation and degree lists we can build up a tentative picture of the undergraduate and graduate composition of the college from 1572 to 1602. These tell us little, however, about the permanent senior members of the college, who, apart from the Principals, remain shadowy figures from the last years of White Hall until the beginning of the 17th century.

The first list of residents of the college, early in 1573, contains a number of names that we have already encountered. The five MAs were the Principal, Griffith Lloyd, [Thomas] Wightman, [Evan] Pewe, [Hugh] Price and [James] Charnock. Identification of the four last names is necessarily tentative. Of five BAs, two Prichards, a Harbarde (or Herbert), a Jenkins and a Meredith, most are identifiable as future members of the Anglican clergy. Hugh and Thomas Prichard, probably brothers, graduated BA in 1570 and MA in 1573, and both eventually held livings, one in Buckinghamshire, the other in Wales. Walter Herbert graduated BA in 1572, and was presented rector of East Hendred, Berkshire, in the same year. Richard Meredith, an ambitious churchman whose career took him overseas to Ireland, graduated BA on 4 March 1573 and MA in 1575 from Jesus; became a prebendary of Brecon in 1574 and a cursal prebendary of St. David's in 1580; then, as chaplain to the Lord Deputy Sir John Perrot (whose second son James matriculated from Jesus in 1586, aged 14), became dean of St. Patrick's from 1584 and bishop of Leighlin from 1589 until his death in 1597. Although implicated in Perrot's impeachment for treason, he escaped Perrot's fate of imprisonment and an early death in the Tower of London.<sup>38</sup>

Two near-contemporaries of Meredith, neither of whom appears in the matriculation lists, also made careers in the church in Ireland after leaving Jesus. The Latin-English lexicographer John Ryder from Cheshire graduated BA in 1581 and MA in 1583, succeeded Meredith as dean of St. Patrick's, 1597-1608, and was archdeacon of Meath 1608-13, then bishop of Killaloe until his death in 1632. Owen Wood from Anglesey graduated BA from Jesus in 1580, became archdeacon of Meath in 1590, and was created a Chaplain in Ordinary to James I in 1606. On his death he bequeathed the college £160, to which his widow added £40, to buy land to endow a fellowship and scholarship with preference for his own kin.<sup>39</sup>

So far, then, despite the presence of Griffith Lloyd as Principal, the career aspirations of graduate members of the newly-founded college appear to have been ecclesiastical rather than legal. Little can be deduced about most of the undergraduates apart from their predominant Welshness, and the mixture of members of different social classes, some upper gentry, others very poor, which persisted in the college at least until the late 18th century.

<sup>37</sup> JCA, ES.1/1; copy (inserted 1779) in JCA, RE.1 (Register, 1602-c. 1633), ff. 66v.-9.

<sup>38</sup> DNB; Foster, *Alum Oxon.*; Clark, op. cit. note 3, p. 36. For tentative identifications of Pewe and Jenkins, both BCL 1573, see A. Clark (ed.), *Register of the Univ. of Oxford, ii (1571-1622), pt. iii, Degrees* (Oxf. Hist. Soc. xii), 34.

<sup>39</sup> Foster, *Alum Oxon.*; DNB, s.v. Rider; JCA, RE.BE.1 (Register of Benefactors), f. 6, entry on Wood.

Of the 18 apparently non-graduate students resident early in 1573, 14 had Welsh names or were stated to have come from Wales. Among them were two Joneses, two Lewises, a Hughes, a Morgans, an Owens, a Phillips, a Roberts and a Powell (presumably the Robert Powell who had been licensed to beg in 1572). Charles and Thomas Awbery were almost certainly South Welsh kinsmen of the founding fellow and college commissioner William Awbery; while 16-year-old Henry and 13-year-old Ambrose Bagnall were named as sons of Sir Nicholas Bagnall of Caernarvonshire (marshal of the army in Ireland until he resigned in favour of his son Henry in 1590), and were typical of brothers from the Elizabethan gentry class who were sent away from home to be educated together or as part of a larger social group. Ambrose graduated, eventually, from University College, Oxford in 1578, while Henry, knighted in 1578, was killed on the Blackwater in 1598 following a quarrel with his brother-in-law Hugh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone.<sup>40</sup>

Only one-third of the 18 junior members of the college early in 1573 are known to have taken degrees. Richard Grainger (BA 1573), Edward Savakar (BA 1575), and James Phillips (BA 1576) may be identified with certainty as undergraduates of the 1573 list. Savakar, presumably from Herefordshire, may have been a forebear of the Thomas Savacre who tenanted the college's earliest landed property at Sydcombe, bequeathed by Bishop Westfaling of Hereford, from 1650.<sup>41</sup> Robert Roberts (BA October 1572, but not listed as a graduate in 1573) and John Readie (BA 1575, no college given) are probably the 'Roberts' and 'Redy' who, with a Sturley, probably from a Worcestershire family, make up the remainder of those who appear as junior members on the 1573 list.<sup>42</sup>

A more eclectic mix is apparent in the matriculation list of 20 September 1575, which evidently includes matriculations during the previous two years. Of the 31 names on this list, only just over half were clearly Welsh. Evan David, William Edmunds, John Trahayerne, Griffith Morgans and Griffith Williams (the two latter noted as graduates) and the non-Welsh Andrew Burnett had no stated county of origin; while 13 students originated from Welsh counties. Two came from London: the 23-year-old John Sheterdine, probably of Herefordshire origin, who was a graduate and Fellow of All Souls by October 1573, and the 21-year-old Christopher Buckland, who graduated BA in 1576. One each came from Cheshire, Herefordshire, Middlesex, Oxfordshire, Shropshire and Worcestershire; while from Hampshire came an upper-class tutorial group consisting of three Kingsmill brothers and an 11- or 12-year-old Edward Thorneborough. The age-range included six boys of 15 or younger, four of 16-17, six of 18, and 14 whose ages ranged from 19 to 30 (or 36). Like Sheterdine, two others had already graduated by September 1575, but are not noted in the list as graduates: William Chessall of Worcestershire in February 1575, and Griffith Ellis of Denbigh in April 1575. The oldest was the Rev. Walter Winston, rector of Pencombe, Herefordshire, who graduated BA in 1576, but already appears as a graduate in the list.

During the seven years 1575-81, and the previous years which are covered by the matriculation list of 20 September 1575, 117 matriculations took place from Jesus College, including two of servants. The county best represented was Cardiganshire, the home of Principal Griffith Lloyd, followed by a wide range of other counties from Merioneth, Denbigh and Caernarvon to Derbyshire, Dorset and Devon. The intake was complicated by the presence of nine students and one servant of the non-collegiate scholar John Case (d. 1600), a former Fellow of St. John's College and private tutor, who seems to have made

<sup>40</sup> Clark, *op. cit.* note 3, p. 36; Foster, *Alum Oxon.*; *DNB*, s.v. Bagnall. It is just possible that James Charnock, whose name appears between those of the two Bagnalls in the 1573 list, may have joined the senior members of the college as their private tutor.

<sup>41</sup> JCA, BU.AC.GEN.2 (Senior Bursars' Accounts, 1651-60), Income, *Estates*.

<sup>42</sup> Clark, *op. cit.* note 3, p. 36; Clark, *op. cit.* note 38, pp. 17, 26, 50, 61; Foster, *Alum. Oxon.*

much use of Jesus as a boarding-house for the Catholic and other pupils with whom he read philosophy in his own house. One of Case's pupils during this period, and his servant, came from Oxfordshire; two each from Ireland and Berkshire; one each from London, Hampshire and Warwickshire; and one from Rouen. The remaining intake of 106 students and one servant, 1575-81, can be broken down by county as follows:

Cardigan	11	Stafford	3
Merioneth	9	Buckingham	2
Oxfordshire	7	Cheshire	2
Brecon	6	Derby	2
Denbigh	6	Middlesex	2
Glamorgan	6	Warwicks	2
London	5	Worcester	2
Caernarvon	5	Berkshire	1
Carmarthen	5	Devon	1
Hampshire	4	Somerset	1
Dorset	3	Yorkshire	1
Hereford	3	Ireland	1
Monmouth	3	Unplaced	7 + 1 servant
Montgomery	3		
Shropshire	3		

A roughly similar pattern obtains for the 94 matriculations from Jesus (21 of them Case's scholars) which took place during the decade 1582-91. The chronic absenteeism of Principal Bevans in Hereford might be blamed in part for the drop in numbers; yet the largest number of students now came from Carmarthenshire (the home county of Bevans and his two immediate successors, John Williams and Griffith Powell), followed closely by Glamorganshire. From uncertain beginnings, the college had now acquired a predominantly South Welsh character, which would persist for the next 30-odd years. Excluding Case's scholars (a number of whom by now came from Wales and the borders: three from Carmarthenshire, two each from Pembrokeshire, Radnorshire and Monmouthshire, one each from Glamorgan, Cardigan and Merioneth), the numbers by county, 1582-91, are as follows:

Carmarthen	12	Oxfordshire	2
Glamorgan	10	Wiltshire	2
Pembroke	8	Anglesey	1
Brecon	6	Buckingham	1
Cardigan	6	Denbigh	1
Gloucester	3	Hampshire	1
Shropshire	3	Leicester	1
Worcester	3	London	1
Berkshire	2	Merioneth	1
Herefordshire	2	Northants	1
Monmouth	2	Somerset	1
Montgomery	2	Warwicks	1



Other counties represented by Case's scholars, but not by ordinary Jesus College students, were Cornwall (2), Sussex (2) and Yorkshire (1).

Very different, then, is the pattern represented by the intake of the following eleven and a half years, from February 1592 until July 1603. The total number matriculating was 110, none of whom were Case's scholars. The breakdown by county is as follows:<sup>43</sup>

Glamorgan	25	Merioneth	5
Brecon	19	Montgomery	3
Carmarthen	17	Radnor	2
Monmouth	13	Denbigh	1
Pembroke	9	Oxfordshire	1
Cardigan	7	Shropshire	1
Hereford	7		

Among the 300-odd students who matriculated during the first 32 years of the college's existence, variations in age were considerable. The 1573 list gives the ages only of the Bagnall brothers, who evidently belonged to a privileged group within the college. Ages are recorded, however, for all but three of the 289 students (other than Case's) who matriculated from Jesus between 1573/5 and 1603. Most fell within the 15-21 age-group, but just under one-tenth were aged 11-14, and between one-eighth and one-ninth were aged 22 or over. Six of the latter, including two whose ages are not given (but who may be presumed to belong to this group) are described as 'Minister'. The figures are as follows:

Older Students' Ages (* = Minister)	Younger Students' Ages
1575 22 (2), 23 (3), 24, 25, 28, 30[+?]	1575 11, 13, 14
1577 26	1581 11 (2), 12, 13, 14 (2)
1579 22 (2), 24, 35*, +** (no ages given)	1582 14
1580 24, 25*, 32	1586 11, 12, 13
1581 22, 25, 26, 34*	1589 13, 14
1582 24	1590 14
1584 22 (2)	1591 13
1586 23, 25, 31*, 53	1592 14 (3)
1587 25	1594 14 (2)
1594 26	1597 12, 14
1601 28	1601 13, 14 (3)
1602 44	
1603 26 <sup>44</sup>	

Rich though they are in information of various kinds, the matriculation lists are not a final guide to student numbers in the 16th and early 17th centuries. During the decade 1575-84 and the preceding years covered by the 1575 matriculation list, 139 students, excluding

<sup>43</sup> JCA, MS. List of Matriculations from Jesus College, 1572-1714, compiled by J. Foster (1895).

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.* Much work remains to be done on the social background to these figures, e.g. on the possible incidence of brothers, cousins and/or family friends forming private tutorial groups within the college, and of private tutors and their young students matriculating together.

those of John Case, matriculated from Jesus College, and about 50 are believed to have graduated BA or supplicated for the degree.<sup>45</sup> During the following 19 years up to and including 1603, 150 matriculated and 86 appear to have graduated BA or supplicated or determined for the degree. Not all those who graduated, however, had necessarily matriculated from the same college, or indeed at all. Some migrated to Jesus from other colleges, like the 'infant prodigy' Robert Gentili, the son of Alberico Gentili, a Protestant refugee from Italy and renowned international lawyer who had succeeded Griffith Lloyd as Regius Professor of Civil Law from 1587 and practised as a London advocate from 1590. Matriculating from Christ Church as a brilliant linguist in 1599 at the age of nine (young even by Elizabethan standards), Robert graduated BA from Jesus in 1603 before going on to a Fellowship at All Souls and a BCL. There followed an apparent identity crisis which resulted in the young Gentili's disappearance for 25 years, only to reappear in 1637 as a translator.<sup>46</sup> Other, less exotic undergraduates migrated to or from the college, or graduated (like John Ryder and Owen Wood) apparently without having matriculated.

Two sample periods of five years each, 1580-4 and 1594-8 (both inclusive), yield the following, necessarily approximate figures for Jesus College:

	1581-5	1594-8
Total graduations (BA only)	29 <sup>47</sup>	31 <sup>48</sup>
Of the above, matriculated from Jesus	16	14
Matriculated from other colleges	5 <sup>49</sup>	4 <sup>50</sup>
Not found in matriculation lists	8	13

Apart from the shadowy population of migrants and non-matriculants who are known to us only as graduates from Jesus, another, still more elusive group deserves at least passing consideration. These members of the college neither matriculated nor graduated, but simply sojourned there for a time. For the first 65 years or so of the college's history we can only guess at their existence, since no college accounts record their payment of admission fees before 1631, and no Buttery Books show when they were resident before the end of 1637. Indeed, but for the evidence of the Buttery Books, which reveals a class of early to mid 17th-century noblemen commoners who rarely matriculated or graduated and were exempt from paying college admission fees until the 1650s, there would be less reason to suspect the existence of this ghostly undergraduate population, which evidently treated the college as something in the nature of an ante-room to the Inns of Court where its education was often completed.

<sup>45</sup> See Clark, *op. cit.* notes 3 and 38, *passim*. All Clark's attributions of colleges to graduates are tentative up to 1580. The figure of 50 is therefore a very low estimate.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*; *DNB*, *sub. nom.*

<sup>47</sup> Including three supplicants, Thomas Howell, 1582, David Morris, 1584, John Wine, 1585.

<sup>48</sup> Thomas Meredith, a possible exception (according to Clark, *op. cit.* note 38, p. 203) graduated BA from Jesus in 1597 before determining from Magdalen College in 1600. Foster, *Alum. Oxon.* states that he matriculated and graduated from Magdalen.

<sup>49</sup> George Osbaston, matric. from Trinity, 1574, and William Jenkins, chorister, Magdalen, 1574-9, both BA from Jesus 1581. Thomas Bedow (Beddoe), matric. from BNC 1579, and Ellis and Morris Gethin, both matric. from Gloucester Hall 1578, all BA from Jesus 1584.

<sup>50</sup> William Powell, matric from Gloucester Hall, 1591, BA from Jesus 1594; Edward Humphreys, matric. from Oriell, 1592, BA from Jesus 1595; Samuel Powell, matric. from St. Mary Hall 1592, BA from Jesus 1594; Griffith Lloyd, matric. from Oriell 1594, BA from Jesus 1597. Sources for notes 47-50: Clark, *op. cit.* notes 3 and 38; Foster, *Alum. Oxon.*

From the matriculation lists, however, we can establish that the college, having begun with a widespread and (in both senses) catholic intake, had resolved itself by the end of Elizabeth's reign into one as solidly Welsh as New Inn Hall had been during the middle years of the 16th century. Socially, the undergraduate population was possibly even more mixed than the matriculation lists suggest. Apart from the Bagnalls, a succession of Awbreys and James Perrot, the Elizabethan gentry class was represented at Jesus by a handful of prominent Welshmen from both north and south. (Sir) John Salusbury of Lleweni, Denbighshire, for example, a member of a powerful family closely allied with the earls of Leicester, entered the college aged 14 in 1581, five years before his elder brother Thomas was executed for complicity in the Babington plot to release Mary, Queen of Scots. He later married an illegitimate daughter of the earl of Derby, sat in Parliament as a knight of the shire in 1601, and gained credit by helping to suppress the Essex rebellion. His son and heir Sir Henry was created first Baronet; and his royalist grandson Sir Thomas, of the Inner Temple by the early 1630s, was said to have been educated at Jesus College when awarded the degree of DCL at Oxford in 1642.<sup>51</sup> Indeed, both father and son may have been at Jesus (although unrecorded) if they followed the prevailing trend among the early 17th-century gentry of dispensing with matriculation and graduation alike.

More successful as a courtier than Sir John Salusbury was his younger contemporary (Sir) John Vaughan of Golden Grove, Carmarthenshire, the second-richest estate in the county when he inherited it and the richest by the time of his death. After matriculating from Jesus aged 17, with his brothers William (16) and Thomas (14), in February 1592, he was knight of the shire in 1601 and 1621, and held various local offices during the first decade of the century. Appointed comptroller of the household to the Prince of Wales in 1618, he accompanied the prince on his ill-fated expedition to court the Spanish Infanta in 1623, and was created first earl of Carbery in 1628. William, after graduating BA in 1595 and MA in 1597, took a doctorate in Law at the University of Vienna (incorporated in Oxford in 1605); sent a colonizing expedition to Newfoundland in 1616-17; visited the colony in 1622; and published several poems and prose works, among them *The Golden Fleece* (1626), an allegory in praise of his colonial venture.<sup>52</sup>

The year 1603 became memorable not only for the death of Queen Elizabeth on 24 March, but for the inauguration of the college's landed estate some six weeks earlier. Towards the end of 1602 Bishop Herbert Westfaling of Hereford had died, bequeathing to the college the manors of Bache and Sydcombe in the parishes of Clifford and Dorstone, Herefordshire. This property (now Sydcombe Farm, the college's oldest landed possession) had formed part of the estates of the pre-Reformation Clifford Priory. Westfaling purchased the manors for £300 in 1601, and his executors conveyed them to the college in a deed of 12 February 1602/3. Although Westfaling was not the first benefactor (even discounting Aprice) to leave property to the college, Principal Griffith Lloyd's bequest of land in Cardiganshire on his death in 1586 was still subject to the life interest of his widow and daughter, and did not come to the college until 1615.<sup>53</sup> Many other endowments followed during the 17th century, culminating in the magnificent bequest of landed estates in Glamorganshire, Gloucestershire and Northamptonshire, with 10 acres of riverside land at Lambeth and the means to buy a further estate in Oxfordshire, from the former diplomat, lawyer and college Principal Sir Leoline Jenkins on his death in 1685.

<sup>51</sup> Foster MS. List (see note 43); P.W. Hasler (ed.), *History of Parliament: House of Commons 1558-1603*, iii: *Members, S-Z* (1981), 336-7; J. and J.B. Burke, *The Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies of England* (1838), 464-5.

<sup>52</sup> Foster, MS. List (see note 43); Hasler, op. cit. note 51, p. 550.

<sup>53</sup> JCA., ES.HE.1/2-6, and RE.BE.1, pp. 4, 6; Hardy, *Jesus Coll.* 69.

In the absence both of substantial endowments and of an organized body of charitable subscribers, the late Elizabethan and early Jacobean college was still largely housed in the buildings of the former White Hall and Laurence Hall (the lease of which latter Griffith Lloyd had bequeathed to the college in his will). In 1602 Principal Francis Bevans, who had been absent for long periods in Hereford since his election as chancellor, died in the same year as his bishop, Westfaling. His successor, a fellow-Carmarthenshire man, John Williams, is chiefly known to posterity through the memoranda of Griffith Powell, a Fellow until his election as Principal in 1613, who revealed Williams's persistently duplicitous suppression of the intended statutes.<sup>54</sup> That chapter in the college's history belongs to the Jacobean period, and ends with the achievement of statutes following the third charter of 1622. We should also remember Williams, however, as the man who gave the college its first Register, on the day on which he was sworn in as Principal in the last year of Elizabeth's reign. Inscribed by him on the upper corner of a flyleaf '*Liber Collegii Jesu in Universitate Oxon...12 Julii 1602*', this frail volume, bound in limp vellum, is the oldest of hundreds now in the college archives, and an essential key to the understanding of the college's earliest years.

<sup>54</sup> See note 37.