TRINITY IN CRISIS!

We cannot foresee how future historians will perceive Covid-19, nor predict what lasting changes the pandemic will bring to our college community.

But we do know that Trinity has survived numerous outbreaks of infectious disease in the past, from bubonic plague in the Sixteenth Century to tuberculosis in the Twentieth. And these have not been the only deadly crises to beset the College. Twice the very precincts of Trinity have been threatened by war, while other calamities have included collapsing buildings, dangerous fires and ravaging insects. And then there is what can sometimes feel like the greatest crisis of all - bad publicity.

This exhibition of documents and photographs from the Trinity Archive tells a remarkable story of endurance, resilience, courage and recovery.

Take heart, College Members all!
Self-Isolation

Between the Black Death of 1348 and the Great Plague of 1666, outbreaks of bacterial *Yersinia pestis* were an all too regular feature of the English summer. Although the means of transmission was little understood, self-isolation was recognised as an effective means of defence, at least for those who could afford it. The college Founder Sir Thomas Pope left 500 marks in his will for the construction of a house in the village of Garsington, where the President, fellows and scholars could take refuge, a safe but convenient five miles outside the city.

In the summer of 1571, the University announced the postponement of all lectures and academic exercises on account of the plague. In Trinity's *Computus* account, the junior bursar recorded the hasty preparations made for the decamp to the country.

Here pre-decimal currency is recorded in Roman numerals. Twelve *dor denarii* (pence) = 1 *sor solidus* (shilling). Please scroll down for a transcript and translation of the Latin.
Men were hired to transport essential equipment to Garsington, while the bursars organised paperwork and extra security for the college gate. The most expensive items listed are two purchases of prophylactic medicine, which – on the evidence that nobody died – must have seemed an excellent investment even at the inflated price in Oxford in mid-June. Nor was morale forgotten. A nameless woman was paid sixpence to help with the food for the Trinity Sunday and Monday celebrations.

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Vaccination

It is salutary to consider that only one infectious disease of humans has ever been totally eradicated. This was the virus *variola major* – known in English as ‘smallpox’ in order to distinguish it from the ‘great pox’, or syphilis. The death rate was between 10 and 30 per cent, and survivors were left with disfiguring scars. There were regular outbreaks in Trinity from the 17th to 19th Centuries.

In Britain, a smallpox vaccine, based on the mild cowpox pathogen, was introduced by Sir Edward Jenner in 1796.

One of the first Trinity members known to have been protected by the new vaccine was John Henry Newman, whose father recorded vaccinations alongside the births and christenings of his infant children in the family Bible. The eldest son John Henry was born in February and christened in April 1801, but the exact date of his vaccination is not known.
Preparing for a Second Wave

Michaelmas Term 1919 saw a greatly swollen undergraduate population of ex-servicemen and school-leavers coming together in Oxford’s overcrowded colleges. ‘Spanish flu’ had already ravaged armies and communities across the world, and a deadly resurgence was all too likely. Trinity’s Dean Tommy Higham (fellow 1914–58) typed up these notes of an emergency meeting of college representatives and ‘medical men’ in November that year.

Hospital beds for 12% of Trinity’s students in college would have fitted comfortably into the two available lecture rooms, while having to suspend lectures would surely have helped reduce infection rates. And — another plus — Trinity’s Head Porter had indeed trained as a hospital orderly in the War.

The document’s conclusion that ‘the important thing was to organize something’ is perhaps just a little less reassuring.

Fortunately, the dreaded second wave never came to Oxford and these plans were not put to the test.
Superspreaders

Although generally treatable by antibiotics if diagnosed early enough, Tuberculosis remains the world’s leading cause of death by infectious disease. It was endemic in the damp, unhealthy air of Victorian Oxford, and incidents were still of serious concern in the first half of the 20th Century.

In February 1934, the college boatman William Taylor was diagnosed with an advanced case of active pulmonary tuberculosis, and underwent hospital treatment. In the days before the NHS, the college staff were required to subscribe to a ‘panel doctor’, but President Blakiston had also sent William to the private college doctor, Raymond Greene, for a second opinion.

In January 1935 the President had a bad attack of anxiety, and sought further medical advice. Dr Greene’s somewhat heartless reply is preserved in the correspondence file of the College Clubs. Mr Taylor might have been ‘beyond saving’, but at least there would be no risk to undergraduates from his sister washing the towels during Torpids.
The risk of catching something nasty was but one reason why the authorities did all in their power to keep undergraduates out of Oxford’s pubs and away from the perils of female company for much of the University’s history. But by the 1970s 18-year olds were generally seen as adults, and a different, more advisory, approach was needed.

The first edition of *The Little Blue Book* appeared in 1974, produced and distributed by the Oxford University Medical Society. Trinity’s copy is the 1976 edition, from the collection of Trevor Williams (fellow and chaplain 1970–2005). The final section of this extremely sensible guide to sexuality was devoted to the ‘epidemic’ of ‘sexually transmissible diseases’. In 1975 over 1,000 students (more than 25% of all cases in Oxford) had sought treatment.

*The Little Blue Book*’s advice about getting tested and treated was both firm and reassuring. Note that ‘contact tracing [was] widely regarded as the strongest weapon’ against the spread of infections.
The Civil Wars of 1642-8 were probably Trinity’s greatest crisis ever. The College had been flourishing in the early decades of the 17th Century when, under the brilliant leadership of Ralph Kettell (President 1599–1643), Trinity’s student numbers had expanded greatly. The buildings had been extensively refurbished and healthy capital reserves built up in the shape of a burgeoning silver collection.

But all this was to be overturned in the space of a few short years. As the opposing armies of King and parliament marched through the county, undergraduates were sent home, tenants stopped paying rent, and virtually the entire collection of silver was ‘loaned’ to King Charles, who had each beautiful jug and pot melted down into pennies to pay his troops. Oxford was besieged on three occasions, food was scarce and disease rife, and President Kettell died of typhus. The few remaining fellows armed themselves with shovels and helped to dig fortifications.

The archives are silent – apart from this telling entry in the *Computus* of 1647-8. Please scroll down for a transcript and translation.
In the 17th Century, the emoluments of Trinity's fellows were paid as 'commons' – a daily dole of bread and butter, cheese and beer to be enjoyed at the common table – and a stipend – paid in cash at the end of each of the four terms of the year. The Statutes permitted leave of absence to the fellows, but the College was their only home, and celebrating Christmas and Easter were particularly important events in the calendar. The college community had never been 'dissolved' before, and it has never happened since. But with no food to buy, and no money to buy it with, during the final siege of Oxford, Trinity had been reduced to a state of every man for himself.

Mr Hawes and Mr Highmore must have been glad to receive these generous back payments. They hadn’t had to give a single philosophy or rhetoric lecture while the war was on. The pre-decimal currency is expressed in pounds, shillings, and pence: 12 pence = 1 shilling; 20 shillings = one pound.
A Lost Generation

One hundred and 60 members of Trinity fell in the First World War – the equivalent of three years’ intake. The greatest loss was suffered by the cohort of 1913, young men with no family or business responsibilities to hold them back. Fresh from the fun of Officer Training action at school, they were keen to sample the exciting opportunities for overseas adventure that a war seemed to offer.

This Freshers’ photograph included 41 of the 51 undergraduates who matriculated that year. Fifteen of them volunteered on the declaration of War in August 1914, another 21 had enlisted by the end of December, and 8 more were in the army by the summer of 1915. Of the remaining seven, one was a medical student who chose to complete his studies; two, reading modern languages, had been interned in Germany in their first Long Vacation; and three were US citizens, of whom two were to serve with the US Infantry in France. And the 51st man? That was Graf Günther Kerssenbrock from Upper Silesia who went home to enlist in the German army.

By November 1918, fourteen of these men were dead. It was the highest death toll (27 per cent) of any Trinity year group. Of the survivors, none returned to complete his studies.
Barely a generation later, and Oxford’s undergraduates were being asked to make the same sacrifice again. Trinity’s death toll of 133 in the Second World War was nearly as great as in the First, and this time, the very buildings of the college were threatened too. Given the widespread destruction of the Blitz, bombing by enemy aircraft seemed all too likely a possibility. The chapel carvings, the stained glass, and the most valuable volumes from the Old Library were removed to the relative safety of the Bodleian basement while the resident undergraduates (mostly on short courses until old enough to serve) were organised into fire-watching ‘divisions’.

In his memoir *Oxford at War* (1996), John Harper-Nelson (1940, division 2) recalled night shifts on the Chapel Tower roof, watching a ‘wavering glow that lit the horizon over London to the East or Birmingham to the West’ as Britain’s two largest cities burned.

With the younger fellows away on service, the middle-aged Professor of Romance Languages Alfred Ewert bravely volunteered for the role of Trinity’s Air Raid Precautions Officer. In a break from worrying about the college blackout, he drafted this inventory of Trinity’s fire-fighting equipment.
This first aid box was removed from the Lodge to the Archive in about 2010.

It may or may not be the first aid box that was put in the Lodge by Professor Ewert in about 1941.
Disaster!

In what was an undeniable set-back to President Kettell’s college improvement plans, in 1618 the Hall collapsed.

John Bereblock’s 1566 engraving is the only image that we have of Trinity’s first Hall, which had been built in the early 15th Century for the monks of Durham College. Shown on the left of the Durham quad, the Hall would have been both warm and smoky, with a central louvred chimney above an open heath.

College members might still be eating there today, had not the President had the good idea of controlling undergraduate drinking by brewing high-quality beer in-house. And to facilitate his plan, he hired some workmen to dig a cellar...
Nice Vaults

The collapse was a disaster with a silver lining. Kettell launched a fund-raising campaign, and a new Hall arose, complete with fine cellar below, and the presidential brewing project was off the ground once more.

Kettell’s beautiful and sturdy arches – photographed here when the Beer Cellar bar opened in 1967 – have stood firm for the past four centuries, while the new Hall offered a very useful opportunity to introduce a modern chimney breast with spacious and heated additional accommodation on the first floor.
The decades following the restoration of the monarchy after the Civil Wars and the Commonwealth period saw another major transformation of Trinity’s buildings. The man almost solely responsible was Ralph Bathurst (scholar 1637, fellow, and President 1664—1704). Bathurst devoted his life to rebuilding both the buildings and the community of his beloved college.

The President saw clearly that better accommodation – Garden Quad – would attract more applicants, who in turn would become alumni from whom he could raise funds to build his life dream – a Chapel that would be the envy of Oxford.

At the same time, he re-established Trinity’s financial reserves by the introduction of compulsory ‘gifts’ of silver from all new undergraduates. There was a sliding scale with contributions dependent on one’s family’s status.

In 1721, Francis North, first earl of Guildford, and father of Prime Minister Frederick Lord North (1749), gave this rather splendid ewer in the shape of a helmet.
During the First World War there was neither money nor manpower to maintain Trinity’s ancient buildings properly. The Chapel, for instance, was little used and left largely unheated for several winters in succession.

In 1931 the roof timbers of Bathurst’s magnificent Chapel were discovered to be badly infested with death watch beetle. The 3 mm *Xestobium rufovillosum* favours damp oak timbers on which to lay its eggs. The larvae then spend up to 10 years tunnelling silently through the wood before emerging with the sinister late night tapping that is their mating call. By the time they are discovered, the damage is done.

It was quite a crisis. With characteristic thoroughness, Herbert Blakiston (President 1907–38) investigated every possible treatment available, including this alarming proposal by the London Fumigation Company to seal and cover the chapel roof with ‘brown paper or canvas in addition to the tarpaulins’ before filling the space with poison gas for 7 to 10 days. Horrified at the obvious risk to nearby residents, the President wisely opted for the more expensive but considerably safer alternative of replacing the timbers.

The gas recommended was the latest brand of hydrogen cyanide – Zyklon B – that was to play such a terrible role in the Holocaust.
Danger! Men at Work!

Bathurst’s Chapel had another narrow escape in the Easter vacation of 1959, when workmen involved in the refacing of the stonework left some inflammable softboard – intended to protect the top of the panelling while the windows were removed – in contact with the metal reflectors of the concealed lighting.

The fire that broke out at 6.30 pm was soon spotted, and dealt with by the Fire Brigade. But, unfortunately, when an officer returned at 10.30 pm to check that all was well, he turned on the lights. A few minutes' heat was enough to set another section of softboard smouldering, and by midnight, a second section was ablaze.

By a very fortunate coincidence, that very night Arthur Norrington (President 1954–69) and his wife were hosting a dance for their daughter’s 21st birthday, and the conflagration was quickly noticed and extinguished. The only damage was ‘some charring of the top edge of the panelling... But some of us got no sleep that night,’ recalled Norrington in the College Report.
Bad PR!

Today’s concern for the reputation of the College is nothing new. In the rigorously Protestant 1560s Trinity was suspected – rightly, as it happened – of illegal religious activity, and the fellows had to take drastic action to cover up the blatantly Catholic wall painting in the room beneath the Old Library. So successfully was this done that the roundel with the letters IHS (Jesus) was not rediscovered until the spring of 1986. Fellow Archivist Bryan Ward-Perkins (tutor in History 1981–2019) gave an interview to the Oxford Mail (1986, May 24). He revealed that the College would be giving thought to the prevention of any future negative publicity that would surely have arisen from boorish undergraduates failing to appreciate their cultural heritage.
Fake News!

Once a story sticks or a reputation is born, it can take centuries to shake it off.

There was a joke in the first half of the Eighteenth Century, that Trinity’s fellows — in direct descent as it were from those sixteenth-century Catholics — had erected gates that would only open to admit a Jacobite king. (Don’t get it? The Jacobites were the Catholic supporters of the exiled Stuart line. Twice the Jacobite threat level had reached critical: the 1715 Rising in Scotland, and 30 years later, the attempt by Bonnie Prince Charlie to regain the British throne for his father James Francis Edward Stuart, son of the deposed James II.)

In the 21st Century, some people still think that the Parks Road gates do not open.
It is never good when a college’s internal affairs come to the attention of satirists.

Trinity’s Presidential election of 1878 sent shockwaves around the British establishment when a man with no previous connection to the College – John Percival, then Headmaster of Clifton – was voted in over the loyal and efficient internal candidate, Henry Woods.

The Oxford firm of Thomas Shrimpton & Son published this cartoon of the new President crowing over his defeated rival. John Percival’s wife Louisa was amused, and purchased a copy from a shop on Broad Street.

Henry Woods’ wife Margaret made no comment.
Henry Woods succeeded Percival as President in 1886. His ten-year tenure was disturbed on several occasions by the thoughtless, reckless, or downright criminal behaviour of undergraduates – and the risk of bad publicity that might follow.

In March 1892, for example, the Rugby XV went by rail to an away match against Clare College, Cambridge. (Those were the days, when a direct train line linked England’s two great universities...) Their return was followed by a letter from the London and North Western Railway Company, accusing one man of indecent exposure, and seeking redress from Trinity for damage to a first-class compartment.

This photograph is of an entirely different Rugby team of 1900. It would hardly have been gentlemanly to be photographed after a disgraceful incident like that.
The Final Score

Two college meetings and one page of Woods’ notebook were devoted to the repercussions of the railway carriage affair.

The President was to check the letter of apology before it was sent, and the team members who had admitted their part in the vandalism were to raise the large sum of £85 ‘to cover legal proceedings’. The annual Clare College fixture was to be ‘stopped in future’, and none of the players were to represent Trinity in any cricket match in Trinity Term.

Two men – Goff and Taylor – were sent down ‘until October’, and eight for the rest of term.

Five members of the team were completely exonerated by a simple ‘statement that they had committed no offence... or been disorderly or drunk’. To Victorian eyes, being drunk was not a mitigating but an exacerbating circumstance. To be able to hold your drink was the hallmark of a gentleman.
Sir Arthur Norrington was another President to gain experience of dealing with undergraduate malefactors. In June 1960, he found the case of Viscount Encombe (1959) a ‘very tiresome affair’.

As he recorded wearily in his diary, it was not only the ‘noisy barbecue party on the banks of the Cherwell’ in the early hours that had incurred the attention of the police and the proctors, but also the fact that the ‘barbecued victim was a stag from the Magdalen herd, which Encombe had shot and stolen a few days earlier’.

Already on a warning, Viscount Encombe was summarily sent down. An hour after giving his verdict, Norrington ‘had a London newspaper on the telephone, and 2 or 3 more in the course of the evening.’
We are grateful to Andrew May (1969) who donated this fascinating cutting from the *Daily Telegraph*. The paper’s unnamed reporter had gleaned quite a number of juicy details that were missing from the presidential account:

- Viscount Encombe had a beard.
- He also had a pet snake.
- And he was reading History.
- Shooting deer at Oxford was an Encombe family tradition.
- Viscount Encombe’s father Lord Eldon offered to replace the stag with a new one from his own herd in Devon.
- Viscount Encombe held a Sending Down After Party.
- Champagne was consumed, and Jiving occurred.
- The snake was worn as a drape by an LMH undergraduate.
- Some working men nearly had their bicycles stolen.
- One of the guests was a poet.

So, was this just a jolly jape, as the *Daily Telegraph* seems to imply, or a shocking case of staggeringly over-privileged behaviour, as President Norrington clearly thought? We leave it to our readers to decide.
We hope you have enjoyed this Exhibition...

It is always a pleasure to showcase items and stories from the College Archive at alumni events, and we will be delighted to receive feedback, whether about this topic or with suggestions for future exhibitions.

The official archives preserved by the college administration are a rich source of information about Trinity’s past, but there is much that can only be known from the personal records and memorabilia kept by college members themselves. For that reason, we appeal regularly for donations to the Archive, either outright or as loans to be copied. We are interested in material of all kinds, including but not limited to letters, diaries, photographs, sports records, essays, term cards, menus, press cuttings...

We would be particularly interested to hear of members’ own experiences of Trinity in Crisis. How have your studies or plans been affected by the Covid pandemic and concomitant restrictions? Did you have personal experience of one of the incidents included in this exhibition – or of one that was not? Was your academic work or your social life disrupted by the oil crisis and three-day week of 1973-4? Did you take part in a strike while you were up at Trinity, whether over room rents or other burning issues of the day? Did you fall foul of the college or university authorities, or did you successfully evade them? (We are extremely discreet.)

Please do get in touch, via the link provided by the alumni office.

Clare Hopkins, Archivist
James McDougall, Fellow Archivist