![University of Glasgow]

Thompson, Ashley (2022) *'burdenit…with the bringing up of the yowth': a study of masculinities at the University of St Andrews, 1580-1606.* MRes thesis.

'burdenit…with the bringing up of the yowth': a study of masculinities at the University of St Andrews, 1580-1606

Ashley Thompson

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the
Degree of Master of Research (History)

School of Humanities
College of Arts
University of Glasgow

Word Count: 24,970

Submitted September 2022

Abstract

This thesis explores the presentation of, and interaction between, different masculine practices present at the University of St Andrews during the period in which the educational reformer Andrew Melville was teaching there (1580-1606). Building on Füssell's assertion that early modern academics constituted a separate social group and engaging with Connell's concept of 'hegemonic masculinities', this thesis will argue that the masculinities of masters were different to those of other social groups in Scotland but that there was significant variation between the masculinities of masters within the university itself. This research determines that there was no observable hegemonic masculinity and no clear hierarchy between different masculine practices, despite the university environment aligning with Griffin's use of the concept 'communication community' – where certain masculine practices were encouraged and promoted through shared mechanisms in a specific group. Through analysing records from the University of St Andrews, printed sources and manuscript collections (such as the Balcarres Papers), it is clear that the ideologies of masters, their approaches to family life and their teaching practices were hugely varied but, for the most part, coexisted with each other. The evidence also points to specific practices, such as the skill of disputation, being instilled in students, creating a standard of behaviour which academics promoted. Finally, the external influences of town-gown relations and the impact of the king on the university have been considered, in order to determine how influential these other groups were on the masculinities present within the university. This thesis asserts that although the university was an enclosed and exclusive space, these external groups did exert a considerable influence on the masculine behaviours enacted within the university.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements

Author's Declaration

All translations of Latin passages or of Scots from the Balcarres papers and the University of St Andrews manuscripts have been done by Steven Reid. Any translations of John Johnston's letters have been done by myself. Any errors in this thesis are my own.

Introduction

In the last two decades, our understanding of early modern academia in Scotland has greatly increased, particularly regarding the impact of the educational reformer Andrew Melville (1545-1622). His tenure at the University of St Andrews has been thoroughly scrutinised, thanks in part due to the large amount of surviving material from the university's records.[1] Working from this material, a thorough narrative history of the university in the sixteenth century has been recently established.[2] This analyses the impact of the Reformation on the university, as well as exploring the increasing control exercised by royal authority, and details the lives of the prominent masters and students that worked and studied there. Such work has been invaluable for contributing to our understanding of early modern Scottish academic life and for better understanding to what extent Scottish institutions engaged with wider movements, such as the Reformation or the rise of Humanism.

However, there has been no work done employing gender as a category of analysis. This is surprising as universities in this period were all-male, exclusive institutions where male academics not only taught a small selection of boys an extensive curriculum – which was unavailable to girls in this period – but also shaped these boys, some of whom were as young as eleven, into men. At St Andrews, students lived in the college with the regents (recent graduates kept on to teach) and some of the masters, who took on a parental role through being responsible day-to-day for their young charges.[3] Additionally, there were well-established rules stating that no women were allowed in the colleges, except for the wife and serving lady of the provost/principal master.[4] As such, the gendered behaviours that masters displayed were potentially hugely influential on their students. Furthermore, the masters' views and behaviours affected not only their students, but how the university itself was run, how the individual colleges operated, how the university's relationship with the town developed, and how the local kirk functioned. Therefore, the university as a closely circumscribed community, and as an institution embedded in local networks, was heavily influenced by the masculine ideals and practices of masters. These practices

---

[1] For example, see James Kirk, '"Melvillian" Reform in the Scottish Universities', in *The Renaissance in Scotland: Studies in Literature, Religion, History and Culture*, ed. by Alasdair MacDonald, Michael Lynch and Iain Cowan (Leiden; Brill, 1994), pp.276-300.
[2] Steven Reid, *Humanism and Calvinism* (Surrey; Ashgate Publishing, 2011).
[3] Alan Bray, *Homosexuality in Renaissance England* (London; Gay Men's Press, 1982), p.51.
[4] Balcarres Papers, vol. 7, fo. 98r., September 15. 1563.

shaped their ambitions, their public and private lives, and their relationships with others around them.

Building upon Marian Füssell's notion that academics in the early modern period were a separate social category (from groups such as, for example, the nobility or guild workers), this thesis will use gender as a primary category of analysis to explore the behaviours of masters at St Andrews, analysing their attitudes and conduct as a separate social group. It will argue that that the masculinities expressed by masters did not fully align with other early modern Scottish masculinities, although there was some overlap.[5] This analysis will add to our current knowledge regarding the roles of early modern academics within the history of academia but will also contribute to the wider picture of gender identities and relations in early modern Scotland. This picture has greatly increased in detail over the past few decades as those working on Scottish history have employed a gender lens more rigorously. Notable figures like Mary, Queen of Scots have unsurprisingly generated much interest but there has also been significant work done on Scottish households and familial relationships, the life cycles of Scottish women, and the impact of the kirk on illicit sexual relations.[6] By acknowledging the impact that gender has in shaping relationships and the distribution of power, established narratives can be interrogated and new perspectives gained, adding nuance and greater understanding to 'topics considered historically important'[7], from politics to sexuality.

In analysing the masculinities and expressions of gender by masters, this thesis builds upon the innovative work of sociologist R.W. Connell. Connell further developed the field of masculinities in the late 1980s, arguing that multiple masculinities – i.e., patterns of behaviour displayed by men – exist and that they interact in hierarchical relationships.[8] This changed the contemporary understanding of men's gendered behaviour and the way in which men were understood to interact with each other, exposing nuance in expressions of manhood as shown by men, rather than assuming a fixed state of manhood.[9] She describes the dominant form of masculinity as 'hegemonic masculinity'[10], which is the

---

[5] Marian Füssell, 'A Struggle for Nobility: 'Nobilitas literaria' as Academic Self-Fashioning in Early Modern Germany', in *Scholarly self-fashioning and community in the early modern university*, ed. by R. Kirwan (Abingdon; Routledge, 2016), p.103.
[6] Katie Barclay, Tanya Cheadle and Eleanor Gordon, 'The State of Scottish History: Gender', *The Scottish Historical Review*, Vol.92, No.234 (2013), p.86; 93; 95.
[7] Barclay, et al, 'The State', p.85.
[8] R.W. Connell, *Masculinities* (New York; Routledge, 2020), p.71.
[9] Joan W. Scott, 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis', *American Historical Review*, Vol.91, No.5 (December 1986), pp.1063-1064.
[10] Connell, *Masculinities*, p.76.

idealised form of masculine behaviours and, although not necessarily widely enacted, is the perceived 'normative' masculinity, demonstrating 'the currently most honored way of being a man'.[11] She argues that the most commonly displayed masculinity is 'complicit masculinity': a masculinity below the hegemonic in the hierarchy, which upholds it while reaping the patriarchal dividend – i.e., the consistent privileging of men over women – but does not actually present as hegemonic masculinity.[12] Another type of masculinity she identifies is 'marginalised masculinity': systems of behaviour which do not align with the hegemonic ideal and which are oppressed by hegemonic and complicit masculinities, such as gay culture.[13] Connell places emphasis on hegemonic masculinity (and to a lesser extent, the other types of masculinities) as being an unstable practice, being 'a position always contestable.'[14] Masculinities are subject to context and are always in a process of negotiation, 'whereby the dominance of a particular model is always liable to be challenged.'[15] Through this emphasis on flexibility, alongside the key idea that masculinities interact with each other, Connell's theory changed the field of masculinities, revolutionising the way in which masculinities were understood to develop and interact. It has not yet been overtaken by another theory, as 'no alternative framework has delineated so clearly the significance of power relations between masculinities.'[16] As a result there have been many adaptations and applications of Connell's theory but no alternative approach: those engaging with masculinities must in some way engage with Connell's work.

The early 2000s saw an increase in engagement with Connell's work, with numerous scholars heavily criticising her model. Many – such as Demetrakis Demetriou and Alex Shepard – felt that it was too static, implying fixed characteristics and not acknowledging the fluidity and adaptability of hegemonic masculinity.[17] Others, such as John Tosh, did not agree with the definitive causality that Connell assumed between hegemonic

---

[11] R.W. Connell and James W. Messerschmidt, 'Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept', *Gender & Society*, Vol.19, No. 6 (December 2005), p.832.

[12] Connell, *Masculinities*, p.79.

[13] John Tosh, 'Hegemonic masculinity and the history of gender' in *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History*, ed. by Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagermaan and John Tosh (Manchester; Manchester University Press, 2004), p.51.

[14] Connell, *Masculinities*, p.76.

[15] Lynn Abrams and Elizabeth Ewan, 'Introduction', in *Nine Centuries of Man: Manhood and Masculinity in Scottish History*, ed. by Lynn Abrams and Elizabeth L. Ewan (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press; 2017), p.2.

[16] Ben Griffin, 'Hegemonic Masculinity as a Historical Problem', *Gender & History*, Vol.30, No.2 (July 2018), p.378.

[17] Demetrakis Z. Demetriou, 'Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity: A critique', *Theory and Society*, Vol.30 (2001), p.346; Alex Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford; Clarendon Press, 2006), p.250.

masculinity and patriarchy.[18] In 2018, Ben Griffin surveyed these different critiques of Connell and offered up his own approach to her model, arguing that whilst it is flawed there is still much to be gained from using it, as 'Connell's model offers a way of analysing the power relations that exist between varieties of masculinity'[19], across different periods. Building on Shepard's work on early modern England, he asserts that Connell's model has a 'situational identity problem'[20] as it does not acknowledge that men do not always practice the same masculinity. With Connell's hierarchal model, there is no allowing for men to move between different masculinities, such as a man enacting one masculinity at work and another in the home. Instead, he advocates using Simon Szreter's concept of 'communication communities'[21] to understand how different masculinities might be enacted depending on which social group a man was in at a given time. [22] The concept of 'communication communities' recognises the 'shared engagement in the mechanisms through which individuals were socialised into particular sets of norms, values and expectations'[23] and so explains the existence of multiple hegemonic masculinities. Instead of associating one space with a specific masculinity, the concept encourages the historian to consider different social groupings that one man or many men may have traversed between, over the course of one lifetime, or even over one day as Shepard suggests.[24] This is particularly relevant in the case of early modern Scottish masters, as they enacted masculinities in several distinct spaces, including the home, the university and the kirk.[25]

Taking Connell's theory as a starting point and incorporating Griffin's analysis, this thesis will argue that the University of St Andrews was a distinct communication community, where the systems of masculine behaviour demonstrated by masters at St Andrews varied from other social groups of men in early modern Scotland. However, despite being one communication community, in this institution none of the systems of masculine behaviour amounted to a hegemonic or complicit masculinity due to huge variations between the masculine practices of different masters. Additionally, there are few hierarchal

---

[18] Tosh, 'Hegemonic masculinity', p.53.
[19] Griffin, 'Historical Problem', p.378.
[20] *Ibid.*, p.384.
[21] *Ibid.*, p.385.
[22] Simon Szreter, 'Populations for Studying the Causes of Britain's Fertility Decline' in *Population in the Human Sciences: Concepts, Models, Evidence*, ed. by Philip Kreager, et al (Oxford, Clarendon Press; 2015), p.177.
[23] Griffin, 'Historical Problem', p.385.
[24] Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, p.251.
[25] James Melville's *Autobiography and Diary of Mr James Melvill*, ed. by Robert Pitcairn (Edinburgh, Wodrow Society, 1842) clearly demonstrates the different spaces within which masters operated.

relationships between masculinities within the university, with only a couple of specific exceptions. Instead, the masculinities of masters at St Andrews co-existed, sometimes operating in a cooperative manner but frequently clashing. This work will advocate for a broader understanding of masculinities in the early modern period, which acknowledges the potential lack of hierarchy between different masculinities within a given communication community, where they can operate in co-existing patterns.

Other gender studies of early modern Scotland are useful for understanding the context of gender relations at St Andrews, especially as studies of Scottish masculinities are greatly expanding our knowledge of how men enacted gender across different levels of Scottish society. Janay Nugent's work on household fathers and ministers is particularly relevant, as masters could be heads of households themselves and were often responsible for the spiritual needs of small parishes.[26] Katie Barclay's *Love, Intimacy and Power* also helps to give insight into how Scottish couples may have acted, demonstrating how patriarchal systems shape early modern marriages.[27] More broadly, Alex Shepard's innovative work on masculinities in early modern England provides key comparative material, arguing that masculinities were perceived as inherently tied to stages of the lifecycle and to context, with young men enacting specific masculinities.[28] Similarly, Ruth Mazo Karras argues that there were specific forms of masculinity upheld in different professions, with university students displaying different gendered behaviours to guild workers or nobles.[29] These studies, whilst not directly applicable, are useful for contextualising gendered behaviours and providing insight into how masculinities could be enacted in specific situations.

Understanding the wider political and religious landscape of Scotland is crucial for a gender analysis, as changes here greatly affected the universities. The second half of the sixteenth century was an extremely turbulent time for Scotland. 1560 saw a definitive religious change, as Protestantism was made the official religion 'in defiance of the crown'[30], which caused a large rift between Queen Mary and the Scottish nobility. Protestantism was not widely adopted immediately and issues with the kirk were still being heavily debated in the 1590s. Queen Mary became increasingly unpopular and was

---

[26] Janay Nugent, 'Reformed Masculinity: Ministers, Fathers and Male Heads of Households, 1560-1660' in *Nine Centuries of Man: Manhood and Masculinity in Scottish History*, ed. by Lynn Abrams and Elizabeth L. Ewan (Edinburgh; Edinburgh University Press, 2017), pp.39-52.
[27] Katie Barclay, *Love, Intimacy and Power: Marriage and Patriarchy in Scotland 1650-1850* (Manchester; Manchester University Press, 2011).
[28] Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, p.9; 24.
[29] Ruth Mazo Karras, *From Boys to Men: Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia; University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003).
[30] Gordon Donaldson, *The Scottish Reformation* (London; Cambridge University Press, 1960), p.54.

deposed in 1567, leaving her infant son, King James VI, on the throne. His minority was characterised by civil war, a quick succession of regents, and shifting allegiances, as Scotland moved towards an English alliance.[31] In 1579, at only twelve, James declared himself able to rule independently, but was still heavily influenced by different courtiers.[32] A thorough education – delivered by the renowned scholar George Buchanan and then Peter Young – inspired a great interest in education and learning in the king, which influenced his approach to St Andrews and to Melville.

Against the backdrop of these kingdom-wide changes, the fortunes of the various Scottish universities declined then began to recover with mixed results, due to investment by the royal government and the efforts of reformers such as Andrew Melville.[33] As an ardent Presbyterian, Melville's influence was conditioned by his religious views; for him and his followers 'religion was everything'.[34] As such, changes in religion shaped the approach of Melville – and others – when implementing change in higher education. Additionally, masters at St Andrews were involved in both local and national religious matters, which demonstrates that religion and university life were closely entwined. Margo Todd's influential work on how the Scottish Reformation affected local communities and laypeople gives key insight into how these communities worked, with emphasis on how kirk sessions dealt with local issues.[35] Although more focussed on the early seventeenth century, her account of how local communities operated pairs well with broader works like Alec Ryrie's *The origins of the Scottish Reformation* and Gordon Donaldson's *The Scottish Reformation,* which give thorough political overviews regarding how the Reformation originated and was implemented. Taken together, these works detail both a top-down and bottom-up view of how the Reformation actually did – or did not – affect people's lives, and how Scottish society changed to become Presbyterian, heavily influenced by the kirk.[36] For how kirk discipline operated and accounts of its success and failure, Michael Graham's *The Uses of Reform* is valuable, especially as it compares protestant approaches to discipline and spiritual regulation across several European countries.[37] As St Andrews had a very active kirk session and presbytery, his work gives key contextual information

---

[31] Donaldson, *The Scottish Reformation*, p.177.
[32] Jenny Wormald, 'James VI and I, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*
https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/14592 [accessed 22.08.2022].
[33] Reid, *Humanism*, p.268.
[34] *Ibid.*, p.270.
[35] Margo Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland* (London, Yale University Press; 2002).
[36] Alec Ryrie, *The origins of the Scottish Reformation* (Manchester, Manchester University Press; 2006).
[37] Michael Graham, *The Uses of Reform: 'Godly Discipline' and Popular Behaviour in Scotland and Beyond, 1560-1610* (Leiden; Brill, 1996).

about how these bodies actually worked to control their local populations. The *Books of Discipline* – key texts which set out what the reformers hoped to achieve for Scottish society – make clear that education was seen by reformers as crucial in the spread and maintenance of Protestantism, maintaining a close relationship between the universities and the kirk.[38]

As the universities were under the influence of royal power and were affected by the attitude of the crown, understanding how royal authority was exercised is key. During this period, the royal government during James' minority, and then the king himself from 1579, became progressively involved in the affairs of the university, which mirrored the increasing centralisation of universities taking place across Europe.[39] However, Scottish society functioned in a specific manner, where crown authority depended on a symbiotic relationship with the nobility, who themselves were powerful in their own right, bolstered by geography, a succession of crown minorities and opportunities for internal expansion.[40] During this period, the crown utilised nobles to enact visitations of St Andrews, which had far-reaching consequences for how the university was run. Several scholars give in-depth accounts of how Scottish nobles operated. Julian Goodare's *State and Society* asserts that Scottish politics fundamentally shifted in this period, developing into an 'absolutist state'[41], with a 'politically effective'[42] nobility. Keith Brown takes a more continuity-based approach, arguing that the nobility was an adaptable and changing 'large, organic body'[43], inherently entwined with Scottish power and culture. Jenny Wormald's work brings together the above themes in detailing how kirk, crown and nobles engaged with each other, providing a useful nation-wide overview of how these relationships affected not only each estate but also the communities of Scotland.[44]

---

[38] *The Books of Discipline, and of common order; The Directory for Family Worship; The Form of Process; and the order of election of superintendents, ministers, elders, and deacons* (Edinburgh; Edinburgh Printing Press and Publishing Company, 1836.

[39] Peter A. Vandermeersch, 'Teachers' in *A history of the university in Europe: Vol.2: Universities in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1800*, ed. by Hilde De Ridder-Symoens (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 1997), p.224.

[40] Keith Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland: wealth, family and culture from the Reformation to the Revolution* (Edinburgh; Edinburgh University Press, 2000), p.273.

[41] Julian Goodare, *State and Society in Early Modern Scotland* (Oxford; Oxford University Press, 1999), p.7.

[42] *Ibid.*, p.8.

[43] Brown, *Noble Society*, p.271.

[44] Jenny Wormald, *Court, Kirk, and Community: Scotland, 1470-1625* (Edinburgh; Edinburgh University Press, 2001); Jenny Wormald, 'The Headaches of Monarchy: Kingship and the Kirk in the Early Seventeenth Century', in *Sixteenth-Century Scotland: Essays in Honour of Michael Lynch,* ed. by Julian Goodare and Alasdair MacDonald (Leiden; Brill, 2008), pp.365-393.

Obviously understanding how the university operated at this time is crucial, and the primary focus of scholarship on the institution revolves around the controversial figure of Andrew Melville. Melville arrived in St Andrews in 1580, with his nephew James Melville, having served as rector of the University of Glasgow. St Andrews had three colleges – St Mary's (where Melville was based), St Salvator's and St Leonard's – each governed by a principal master (or provost) and responsible for delivering specific subjects. The chancellor of the university was the Archbishop of St Andrews, Patrick Adamson, who clashed with Melville repeatedly until his death in 1592. Although Melville was appointed by the crown, his unstable relationship with the king saw him escape into exile in 1584 (before returning in 1586), removed from the rectorship in 1597, and placed in ward in 1602 before being forced to leave the university completely in 1606.[45] The literature on Melville's time at the university goes back to the nineteenth century, beginning Thomas M'Crie's *Life of Andrew Melville*.[46] This work gives a detailed narrative account of Melville's time at the university, using James Melville's autobiography as its primary source of information. Although now considered too subjective, M'Crie preserves several pieces of evidence now lost to us that contribute to our understanding of the university at the time. St Andrews and Melville have remained topics of interest to successive generations of historians, particularly from the 1970s onwards. Ronald Cant provides crucial insight into the foundations of the different colleges, as well as providing an overview of the university as a whole from its foundation to modernity, creating a useful frame of reference for the development of the institution.[47] James Cameron focusses more on Melville and his work at St Mary's College, contextualising Melville's approach to education within the development of St Mary's as a fledgling college in the 1540s to a thriving institution, detailing the routines that took place.[48] James Kirk has provided key biographical detail for central figures, as well as analysing the impact of so-called 'Melvillian Reform'.[49] He argues that whilst Melville had

[45] James Kirk, 'Melville, Andrew' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18543 [accessed 04.11.2021].
[46] Thomas M'Crie, *Life of Andrew Melville: containing illustrations of the ecclesiastical and literary history of Scotland during the latter part of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century: with an appendix consisting of original papers* (Edinburgh; Blackwood, 1899).
[47] See Ronald Cant, *The College of St Salvator: Its Foundation and Development* (Edinburgh; Oliver and Boyd, 1950) and Ronald Cant, *The University of St Andrews: A short history* (Edinburgh; Scottish Academic Press, 1970).
[48] James Cameron, 'St Mary's College 1547-1574 – The Second Foundation', in *In Divers Manners: A St Mary's Miscellany*, ed. by D.W.D Shaw (St Andrews; St Mary's College, 1990), pp.43-57.
[49] Kirk, '"Melvillian" Reform', pp.276-300; James Kirk, 'Melville, James' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18547 [accessed 04.11.2021].

been predominately associated – perhaps erroneously – with church reform, his impact in the educational world was greater and should be analysed more carefully.[50]

This call was picked up by Steven Reid who has produced a clear and thorough narrative history of all Scottish universities during the late sixteenth century, but with notable focus on St Andrews and Melville's time there.[51] This provides an in-depth re-examination of Melville's impact as an educational reformer, arguing that he had a crucial but short-lived influence, using university records and the underutilised Balcarres Papers as evidence that Melville was not as revolutionary as has been claimed. Reid also highlights the work and lives of other academics who were present at the university, such as James Martine and John Caldleuch, encouraging a less Melville-fixated approach. However, Reid does not go far enough, still focussing on the political history of the university, rather than situating the masters within their wider academic and familial contexts. Ernest R. Holloway has also heeded the call to re-examine Melville, analysing how his image was shaped during and after his life.[52] He also asserts that Melville's importance has been overstated but argues that he did have a large impact in personal relationships and in his teaching, focussing on Melville at the expense of other masters. His argument has been contested by other scholars, but his work does usefully bring in wider European connections and details Melville's personal relationships in a considered way.

This thesis will focus on the gendered behaviours of masters at St Andrews, using sources from the university, the Balcarres Papers, and printed sources (such as James Melville's *Autobiography and Diary*) to situate these established narratives within the 'communication community' of the university. This will demonstrate the wider context of male relationships, local networks and different enacted masculinities, across the university and beyond. Bringing in examples of behaviours displayed by masters and students from other contexts, such as Alex Shepard's work on students in England, and other scholarship on practices in European universities and academies, will provide insight and comparisons for students and masters, particularly where there is a lack of material for

---

[50] Kirk, '"Melvillian" Reform', p.278.
[51] Alongside his book *Humanism and Calvinism*, he produced an edited volume on Melville with Roger A. Mason: *Andrew Melville (1545-1622): writings, reception, and reputation,* ed. by R.A Mason and S.J Reid (Surrey; Ashgate Publishing, 2014).
[52] Ernest R. Holloway, *Andrew Melville and humanism in Renaissance Scotland, 1545-1622* (Leiden; Brill, 2011).

St Andrews.[53] This paper will significantly nuance and extend the established historical narratives, using masculinities as a critical approach to revise current understandings of relations between masters, and between masters and students. By 'forgetting' gender, a crucial perspective has been overlooked: through its application, a more detailed and complex understanding of Melville emerges, of his impact, but, more importantly, of the lives and relationships of many of the men who had an influence in shaping the next generation of lawyers, ministers and academics.

Focussing on the period that Melville taught at the university (1580-1606), this thesis will analyse the range of masculine behaviours that masters displayed within the university, focussing on how they interacted with each other, revealing a wide range of accepted and divergent behaviours. Within the communication community of the university (comprised of the three colleges), a range of masculine identities existed, indicating that there was no hegemonic masculinity and a lack of hierarchy in how different masculinities interacted. Instead, masters practiced co-existing masculinities, which complimented and contrasted each other at various points. These discreet behaviours can be seen through the ideological differences of the masters, the arguments and feuds that took place between them, and how their families and private lives interacted with their careers and lives as academics. Secondly, this paper will detail ways in which masters interacted with students and how gender practices can be seen in these relationships. Student expressions of masculinity will also be considered, as these will have been shaped almost exclusively by the university environment. Finally, this paper will explore key masculinities present outside the university in different social groups, such as the king, to understand how these impacted masculinities and practices at the university.

---

[53] Alex Shepard, 'Manhood, Patriarchy, and Gender in Early Modern History' in *Masculinities, Violence, Childhood: Attending to Early Modern Women-and Men*, ed. by Amy E. Leonard and Karen L. Nelson (Newark; The Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, 2011), pp.77-95; Karin Maag, 'Schools and Education, 1500-1600', in *A Companion to the Swiss Reformation,* ed. by Amy Nelson Burett and Emidio Campi (Leiden; Brill, 2016), pp.520-541.

Chapter 1 – The Masculinities of Masters

> Mr William Walwod, that sen our last visitatioun, he being at his ordinar lessoun at
> viii houris in the mornyng, the provest, accompaniit with the haill youth of the college,
> come to the scole, and commandit him to come doun, for he wald teich himself at that
> hour; quhairupoun great slander followit.[54]

This quote refers to the fractious relationship between master William Welwood of St Salvator's College (the 'Auld College') and James Martine, the provost of St Salvator's. Their quarrels represent a deep divide between two men who were responsible for a large amount of teaching and pastoral care within the university; responsibilities which had a huge influence on their students. Their feud is an extreme example of the antagonistic relationships that masters commonly had with each other. However, these were men that lived and worked together, 'burdenit not only with the bringing up of the youth…bot also of the preaching of the evangel at the kirk'[55], in an exclusive community separate to the rest of the town of St Andrews. As in the workplace today, masters responded to the pressures of their role in various ways, and forged a variety of relationships, enacting a range of masculinities. This chapter will demonstrate the expectations placed on masters, asserting that varying masculinities can be seen through how different masters approached their work. Analysis of masters working together, the feuds they had, and their views on marriage indicate that these academics approached key aspects of their working and personal lives in very different ways, but that their gendered behaviours could complement each other.

The role of the master

In 1579 the Scottish parliament created an act which dealt with 'the reformatioun of the Universitie of Sanctandrois'[56]; an unpopular 'radical'[57] step. The act attempted to reinvigorate St Mary's College ('New College'), which was suffering from low matriculation numbers and poor management, by appointing Andrew Melville and his nephew James as masters to start in 1580, alongside Melville's former professor John Robertson. [58] The New College was to be a postgraduate school for ministers which was

---

[54] Balcarres Papers, vol. 7, fos. 43-49., May 9. 1588.
[55] UYSS110 – C4/6.
[56] Balcarres Papers, vol. 7, fos. 23-24., Jan. 14. 1579.
[57] Cameron, 'St Mary's College 1547-1574', p.59.
[58] Reid, *Humanism and Calvininism*, p.88; 123.

Andrew Melville's passion project; it would function as a kind of anti-seminary to counter attempts to convert Scots back to Catholicism.[59] Across the university, the well-established regenting system (whereby graduates were obliged to stay on and teach a whole four-year course if they wanted to become masters themselves) was to be abolished – this was successful in the New College under Melville, but the other colleges did not follow suit. The Auld College experienced great upheaval due to the act, as to make room for Melville and his nephew, the professors in Law and Mathematics were transferred over from St Mary's to St Salvator's and maintained on the general college revenues. This greatly angered the other professors in the college, most notably Martine, who 'saw their own meagre stipends reduced to provide for their upkeep.'[60] St Leonard's College escaped relatively unscathed, but the university-wide changes to the curriculum were also aimed at those who worked there. This act – the 'New Foundation'[61] – was intended to be an almost complete overhaul of the university's operations, revitalising teaching with emphasis on public disputations, declamations and daily teaching, and clearly laying out the expectations that the royal government and parliament had of masters.[62]

These expectations were too high for the masters. Influenced by ideas around supporting the kirk and shaped by previous visitations (such as the Earl of Morton's visitation in 1574), the New Foundation demanded a level of dedication that the masters did not live up to. This can be seen in later visitations where the masters were lambasted for not following through on the resolutions made in the New Foundation.[63] Reid argues that, in the Auld College at least, 'there is no evidence…that the masters had made any attempt to improve their teaching or their curriculum.'[64] Various records clearly lay out the expectations that the government had of masters. They were to make sure that the doctrine of the Reformation was observed, that students were disciplined, and that masters taught specialised lessons. Furthermore, some masters were not allowed to leave the college for longer than 14 days (or else they could be accused of negligence and dismissed), and all masters were to follow and obey the established hierarchical order in the university.[65] Additionally, those who received stipends from churches had to fulfil the role of minister for those parishes, and certain roles – such as provost of the Auld College – had specific

[59] Melville, *Autobiography*, p.76.
[60] Cant, *The College of St Salvator*, p.173.
[61] UYSL156, p.69.
[62] Balcarres Papers, vol. 7, fo.25r., 1579.
[63] *Ibid.*, fo.27.
[64] Reid, *Humanism and Calvinism*, p.112; The Balcarres Papers, vol.7, fo. 26v., c.1597-99.
[65] Balcarres Papers, vol. 7, fos. 63r-64r., November 4. 1597.

additional duties, such as preaching to the public four times a year.[66] As well as their practical obligations, masters were also responsible for the welfare of their students; James Melville's experiences as a student himself at St Andrews shows the dependency of younger students on emotional support from their masters and regents. He writes that the material in his first year was so challenging that he 'did nothing bot bursted and grat [sob and weep]'[67], almost quitting, but his regent took him into his own chamber to comfort him, 'causit me to ly with him selff, and everie night teatched me in privat.'[68] This intimate relationship supported fourteen year old James, and it is unlikely that he would have continued in his studies – thereby preventing his successful career – if he had not received this pastoral care.

Making it more difficult to carry out their many responsibilities was the seemingly ever-changing environment of the university during this period. Across Europe, there were increasing attempts by state powers to exercise more influence and authority over universities, and St Andrews was no different.[69] There were more visitations commissioned by the government in this period, and an expectation that the rector of the university would inspect the three colleges several times a year.[70] Events such as Melville fleeing into exile, plague in the town, and the fights between Melville and the archbishop Patrick Adamson, had a knock-on effect on the university, affecting the operation of the institution and student attendance. Therefore, as much as the university was an exclusive institution – where both staff and students had to be picked or pass examinations to work or study there – it was increasingly impacted by outside factors, which had a large influence on how masters interacted with one another.

Differences in approach to work

It is difficult to apply the idea of a hegemonic or complicit masculinity to masters at St Andrews in this period because there were many things which set masters apart from each other, making it hard to find a significant number of masters practicing the same masculinity. Crucially, many of the men working at the university had very different approaches to teaching and fundamentally differed in their ideologies. Their attitudes to

---

[66] *Ibid.*, fo. 96r., 1597.
[67] Melville, *Autobiography*, p.25.
[68] *Ibid.*
[69] Vandermeersch, 'Teachers', p.224.
[70] 'The Opinion of George Buchanan Concerning the Reformation of St Andrews' in the *Bannatyne Miscellany,* vol. 2, ed. by W. Scott and D. Laing (Edinburgh; Bannatyne Club, 1836), p.98.

their work – and the way they viewed education – conditioned their interactions with each other and with their students, shaping their masculine behaviours and relationships.

However, there are a few approaches which multiple masters subscribed to, indicating some wider patterns of masculine behaviour. Unsurprisingly, Andrew Melville had a specific approach to teaching that both united and divided different masters around him. The New Foundation of 1579 has been attributed to Melville and was shaped by the system he had implemented at the University of Glasgow as rector.[71] He had a rigorous approach to education, determined to have permanent professorships in specialist areas and a thorough theological programme, which emphasised the study of Biblical languages.[72] St Mary's was the most affected by the New Foundation because of his determination to create an effective college for ministers when he arrived in 1580; 'Nothing but the best in Melville's mind was good enough for St Andrews.'[73] Teaching in original languages (such as Greek rather than Latin), using Ramism (a controversial method for teaching dialectic and logic) as a pedagogical tool, incorporating hard-line Presbyterianism, and utilising other subjects in his theological curriculum (such as sacred chronology) characterised what Reid refers to as 'the 'Melvillian' reform programme.'[74] Melville's use of Ramist techniques to efficiently teach a large volume of material (with emphasised practical elements) with limited resources was resented by other masters at the university, who 'saw no intellectual merit in it'[75] and who did not approve of Ramist's anti-Aristotelian reputation.[76] Melville's masculine behaviours centred around a dogmatic approach to his work, where he aggressively pushed his views – with some success it seems – onto those who disagreed with him. With a mixture of techniques, including using positive personal relations, to achieve his goals, Melville used his position of privilege – which only a well-educated man could achieve in this period – to advocate for a radical and fervent approach to learning. Although he often prioritised his views and principles over his good-standing with others (as demonstrated by his tumultuous relationship with the king), he did cultivate passionate and deeply-felt relationships with colleagues and friends: another key aspect of his masculinity. This can be seen in his intimate relationship with his nephew – who became his ward and confidant – and also in his turbulent friendship with Patrick Adamson, who relied on Melville in his final illness, despite the many disagreements

---

[71] Cant, *The College of St Salvator*, p.172.
[72] Ronald Cant, 'The New Foundation of 1579 in Historical Perspective', *St John's House Papers*, Vol.2 (1979), p.7.
[73] Cameron, 'St Mary's College 1547-1574', p.62.
[74] Reid, *Humanism and Calvinism*, p.49; 54.
[75] *Ibid.*, p.141.
[76] *Ibid.*, p.60.

between them.[77] These friendships and his expressions (usually in poetry) of his relationships indicate that he was a man who felt intimacy keenly for those around him, and that he did not shy away from expressing his feelings.[78] However, his dogmatic stance and stubborn determination to stick to his principles governed his approach to work and the kirk, which, with no wife or children, was his life.

There are several masters that we know of who admired Melville's style of teaching and upheld the same, or similar, values to himself. In particular, the St Mary's master John Johnston was a close ally of Melville's at the university, having been appointed in 1593 at Melville's insistence.[79] He writes admiringly of Melville to his friends across the Continent, saying that Melville is 'the best and most educated of our people'.[80] Other masters across the university such as Homer Blair, Robert Howie, and David Monypenny were also drawn to him and approached university matters in a relatively pro-active and passionate way.[81] Melville is also credited with swaying those who disagreed with him. James Melville boasts in his *Autobiography* that there were regents in St Leonard's College who were unimpressed with Andrew's handling of Aristotle and publicly argued with him. However, Andrew, 'be his delling [dealing] in publict and privat with everie an of tham, prevalit sa, that they fell to the Laugages, studeit their Artes for the right use, and perusit Aristotle in his awin langage'.[82] Although this success was not university-wide, the emphasis on Melville approaching each regent to persuade them, and the impact that he seemed to have had, demonstrates that this man, who was eager to push his views on others, did attract a following and that others, most notably his nephew, tried to embody his approach. This key aspect of Melville's masculinity points to a wider system of behaviour than just one individual, where Melville inspired other men to adopt certain behaviours and attitudes towards their work.

However, this masculinity was not widespread, as there were those at the university who clearly had a very different approach to their work and professional relationships, such as James Martine, provost of the Auld College. Martine was well-established at St Andrews,

---

[77] Alan MacDonald, 'Best of Enemies: Andrew Melville and Patrick Adamson, c.1574-1592', in *Sixteenth-Century Scotland: Essays in Honour of Michael Lynch,* ed. by Julian Goodare and Alasdair MacDonald (Leiden; Brill, 2008), p.274.
[78] A good example of Melville's passionate poetry is the epitaph that he composed upon hearing of Alexander Arbuthnot's death: Melville, *Autobiography*, p.140.
[79] Holloway, *Andrew Melville*, p.230.
[80] John Johnston, 'Letter XXV' in *Letters of John Johnston, c.1565-1611 and Robert Howie, c.1565-1645*, ed. by James K. Cameron (Edinburgh, Oliver & Boyd, 1963), pp.82-83.
[81] Holloway, *Andrew Melville*, p.201; Reid, *Humanism and Calvinism,* p.113.
[82] Melville, *Autobiography*, p.124.

having been promoted through the masters' ranks at a comparatively young age and appointed provost in 1577.[83] Compared to Melville's turbulent tenure at St Andrews, Martine kept his provostship for 43 years; a seemingly successful career during an unstable period.[84] This did not mean, however, that he had a smooth and efficient administration. Having become accustomed to total control over the college in 1577, the 1579 New Foundation did not sit well with Martine.[85] Despite the requirement to have an economus (a steward) to keep detailed financial records, visitation reports from 1588 make no mention of an economus for the Auld College (in contrast with the New College).[86] Martine was also accused by the other masters of not being willing to show them the register of the college, indicating that he still had tight control over the finances.[87] Indeed, Martine's refusal to allow William Welwood and Homer Blair access to the college records because they did not live in the college demonstrates a desire to keep the masters in check and under his direct supervision.[88] This indicates that Martine's masculine behaviours centred around control and protecting his interests, whilst his relationships with his colleagues suffered as a result.

One of Martine's consistent goals was to place university resources and revenues at the disposal of different members of his family, showing that familial relationships were more important to him than those with his fellow academics. Indeed, part of the reason for Martine's intense campaign against Welwood was that his transition to the Auld College displaced John Arthur, the previous chair of law and Martine's cousin, forcing him out of the university completely.[89] Records from St Salvator's are littered with references to Martine's family – both the Arthurs and the Martines – and even his nephew, George Martine, succeeded him as provost in the college.[90] Martine's blatant nepotism can be seen in the accounts of the Auld College prebendaries (a particular type of kirk stipend) from 1597. In them, Martine comes up as a surname more than any other, with George Martine, John Martine and David Martine all receiving a substantial amount.[91] Using his tight control over the college finances, Martine focused on 'familial nepotism and self-

---

[83] Reid, *Humanism and Calvinism*, p.111.
[84] *Ibid.*, p.110.
[85] *Ibid.*, p.112.
[86] Balcarres Papers, vol. 7, fos. 23-24., Jan. 14. 1579.
[87] *Ibid.*, fos. 43-49., May 9. 1588.
[88] *Ibid.*, fos. 43-49., May 9. 1588.
[89] John W. Cairns, 'Welwood, William', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/29033 [accessed 25.11.2021].
[90] Cant, *The College of St Salvator*, p.175.
[91] Balcarres Papers, vol. 7, fos. 110v-113v., 1597.

aggrandisement'[92] – contrasting Melville's focus on reform – with demonstrable support from the crown, as well as certain powerful members of the church, such as his kinsman Archbishop Patrick Adamson. For although Martine clearly resented the increasing control that royal government demanded, he enjoyed what seems to have been a good personal relationship with James VI, again contrasting with Melville. Indeed, when the other masters of the Auld College in 1588 led a campaign against Martine, the king stepped in and forbade them to 'tak upon hand to put ony of the said lettres to executioune…aganis the said maister James'[93]. Among college records are several grants that the king made to Martine, rewarding him for his 'guid labour and travilles qlk the said mr james takis in the said college'.[94] This points to a positive relationship where Martine was frequently recompensed for his continuing loyalty to the crown, during a period where over in the New College, Melville often challenged the king's authority. Martine was also keenly aware of his image, fighting against being made to teach medicine (as part of the New Foundation) as he wanted to teach theology, being regarded more highly in academia and the traditional subject of the provost.[95] Therefore, Martine was concerned with how he was perceived and used his privileged position to secure as many benefits for himself and his male kin as possible, attempting to maintain a superior position through his 'liberties and privilegis'[96] and his treatment of the other masters. Although it is difficult to say whether there were other masters who followed Martine and displayed the same masculine behaviours, his family working at the university definitely benefitted from his approach to work and perhaps did participate in the same behavioural systems.

Even if this is not the case, Martine's masculine behaviours were clearly very different to Melville's, demonstrating that within the communication community of the university, there were hugely varying masculinities present, enacted by similarly powerful and privileged men. Reid argues that Melville and Martine stood in opposite camps in the university – both determined to run things in the way that they wanted, but in ways which were diametrically opposed; analysing their gender practices corroborates this.[97] Whilst Melville's masculine behaviours were clearly enmeshed with the academic environment that he worked in, Martine's overlapped with more traditional, wider masculine practices,

---

[92] Reid, *Humanism and Calvinism*, p.10.
[93] Balcarres Papers, vol. 7, fo. 147r, May 25. 1588.
[94] UYSS110 – C4/12, December 1590.
[95] Reid, *Humanism and Calvinism*, p.119.
[96] Balcarres Papers, vol. 7, fo.143r., April 16/17. 1588.
[97] Reid, *Humanism and Calvinism*, p.109.

such as familial bonds and high maintenance of kinship networks.[98] However, Martine's behaviours were inappropriately displayed within the university environment to the detriment of his colleagues and ultimately did the university a disservice, as demonstrated when Martine tried to get his inexperienced kinsman, Magnus Arthur, a position as regent in the college.[99] Even though Melville and Martine had oppositional approaches, it is unlikely that their masculinities dominated the university in a power struggle. As principal masters they wielded a large amount of influence over their individual college, but – as the failed reforms across the university show – this did not carry over to the rest of the institution. Melville's short tenure determined that his impact at the university was minimal, and Martine's behaviours alienated his colleagues to the extent that they tried to have him removed. Therefore, these two men displayed contrasting but co-existing masculinities at the university, where neither enjoyed a large amount of influence over other masculinities.

Working together

Despite the clear differences between these two men, there is evidence that their behaviours did sometimes complement each other. Many masters played an important role in the town by sitting as elders on the St Andrews kirk sessions and the local presbytery. An examination of the presbytery records reveals that Melville and Martine were very active in their positions, and that – despite the differences the men had in their approach to teaching at the university – they worked side-by-side over the years that they both sat as elders. The St Andrews presbytery was established in 1586 and dealt with issues affecting the town, mainly concerning the behaviour of townspeople (often cases which the kirk session had referred over), the maintenance of local clergy, and dealing with more serious concerns, such as witchcraft. The presbytery would meet and discuss the issues at hand, and then would send elders to solve the problems raised. For example, in March 1590, Andrew Melville and James Melville were sent to a local kirk to examine Nan Murit who was suspected of practising witchcraft.[100]

---

[98] J.R.D. Falconer, 'A Family Affair: Households, Misbehaving and the Community in Sixteenth-Century Aberdeen', in *Finding the Family in Medieval and Early Modern Scotland*, ed. by Elizabeth Ewan and Janay Nugent (London; Routledge, 2008), p.140.

[99] Reid, *Humanism and Calvinism*, p.113.

[100] Mark Smith, 'The Presbytery of St Andrews 1586-1605: A Study and Annotated Edition of the Register of the Minutes of the Presbytery of St Andrews' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of St Andrews, 1985), p.41.

Frequently Melville and Martine were sent on these tasks together, usually in cases where negotiation with local landowners needed to take place. One notable example is where they were sent by the presbytery in December 1590 to negotiate an important agreement between the lairds of Forrett and Kyneir who were engaged in a long, protracted dispute which is not specified in the records but was feared to become violent.[101] Martine had been involved in the issue since September, having been instructed to write letters on behalf of the presbytery to the laird of Forrett, so his involvement in the face-to-face negotiation is clear. As rector of the university and a well-known presence in both church and university business, Melville will have added gravitas and more experience in negotiations. That Melville and Martine were sent on this important assignment together – as well as many others – indicates that they were able to work together well enough that the presbytery trusted them to cooperate. Their collaboration was not restricted to local matters either. In 1587 Melville and Martine were sent to the convention of the estates (a national legislative body) in Edinburgh, as joint representatives of the presbytery with the instruction to report back at the next presbytery session.[102] Again, this demonstrates considerable trust in their ability to work together, especially considering the amount of time they would have had to spend together on this trip. In kirk matters, it seems that these two men were willing to put aside their differences and work together to achieve certain goals. Throughout the *First Book of Discipline* there is emphasis on people working together to achieve religious goals – such as electing a minister – and so co-operation can be seen as a trait that the kirk wanted men to embody.[103] Given the lack of censure from the presbytery or scandal following these entries in the presbytery records (which is in abundance elsewhere) it can be construed that Melville and Martine were successful in their cooperation. It must also be noted that these men will have lived and worked in close proximity to each other, as St Andrews was a small town, and so interaction was inevitable despite their working in different colleges. Therefore, there will have had to have been a degree of cooperation in their daily lives as well as working together for the kirk. This is a key insight into how co-existing masculinities functioned at the university. Other things bring these two men together – reinforcing Füssel's argument that academics were a separate social group – such as Latin being the main language of use for academics, both being well-educated to a high level, and both holding prestigious, permanent posts in Scotland's most famous university. Whatever their differences, which manifested in very different behaviours, they belonged to the same exclusive club of Scottish academics.

---

[101] *Ibid.,* pp.56-57; 60; 68.
[102] *Ibid.,* p.26.
[103] *The Books of Discipline*, p.26.

However, despite Melville's and Martine's apparent cooperation with each other, Martine could not cooperate with one man in particular: William Welwood. As previously mentioned, Martine was already set against Welwood as he had ousted Martine's cousin – John Arthur – from the chair of law. The quote opening this chapter aptly demonstrates the petty altercations that the two men had with each other, particularly instigated by Martine who most likely wanted to assert his dominance as provost. Their quarrels with each other were the expression of a deep family feud which involved both the town of St Andrews and the university. John W. Cairns has done thorough research on the feud between Welwood and Martine, pointing out that although the origin of the feud is not clear, it lasted for a long time, with the Welwood side being comprised of the Welwood family, the Smiths and the Geddies, and the Martines being joined by the Arthurs – who also were closely related to Patrick Adamson.[104] Although throughout the university records it is clear that Martine was directly antagonistic towards Welwood, one of the most detailed altercations did not directly involve Martine. James Melville writes that in 1589 Archbishop Patrick Adamson stirred up trouble by convincing one of his armed retainers – Henry Hamilton, another relative of Adamson's – to attack Welwood, who did so as Welwood made his way to a lesson Melville was delivering, hitting him with his sword guard.[105] After Hamilton's master's degree was rescinded and he was told to make amends, Adamson's people in the town made him a burgess of St Andrews, showing their support and, as Cairns argues, demonstrating the significance of town politics in the feud.[106] With Welwood too scared to teach, Hamilton promised the rector he would make amends publicly, but instead attacked Welwood who, having been reassured by this promise, was on his way to teach a class. This time he was 'crewallie woundit'[107] and was forced to take refuge in his mother's house. Welwood's friends came to his defence but those on Hamilton's side came too, so that there was 'a grait tumult of all sort rinning togidder in armes'.[108] In the mess, James Arthur, brother-in-law to Adamson and brother of the ousted

---

[104] Cairns, John W., 'Academic Feud, Bloodfeud, and William Welwood: Legal Education in St Andrews, 1560-1611', *The Edinburgh Law Review*, Vol.2 (1998), p.255.
[105] Melville, *Autobiography*, p.272.
[106] Cairns, 'Academic Feud', p.260.
[107] Melville, *Autobiography*, p.273.
[108] Melville, *Autobiography*, p.273.

John Arthur, was stabbed and killed. The whole issue became a convoluted legal matter, which resulted in several members of the Welwood side being banished for murder.[109]

This episode reveals much about the way in which men associated with the university engaged with violence, as well as indicating how the town was involved in the relationships between masters. Firstly, physical violence was a socially inappropriate way to settle issues but was nevertheless utilised as an expression of anger and to enact revenge, as demonstrated both through Hamilton's actions against Welwood and the ensuing fight that happened outside Welwood's mother's home. Male violence is a key category of analysis for gender historians, with it being one of Sylvia Walby's 'six patriarchal structures'.[110] Although it might seem obvious, it is important to highlight that throughout this ordeal only men are involved – even though Welwood's mother is mentioned, it is her house that is referenced, rather than herself. Here, every active agent is a man, and violence is portrayed as an extreme, but not unusual, form of male expression; James Melville is not surprised at the violence of this quarrel and indeed many of the events he relates in his autobiography (which concerned the university and the town) are characterised by violence, indicating that this was a common negative expression of male behaviour Melville encountered. Connell and Messerschmidt point to male violence as being a practice which is often used to 'stabilize gender dominance'[111] and this can be seen with Hamilton repeatedly using violent means in an attempt to assert dominance over Welwood. This echoes Shepard's assertion that violence was 'central to the regulation of social relations between men'[112] in the early modern period. She argues that humiliation was key in using violence against another men, and Hamilton's repeated attempts to attack Welwood in public point to an attempt to shame him.[113]

Welwood, by contrast, did not use violent means at all, instead using the university hierarchy to try and get retribution for Hamilton's first attack by approaching the rector – James Wilkie – who took away Hamilton's degree and pressured him into making an apology.[114] When this did not work, Welwood appealed to the Lords of the Session, who upheld Wilkie's decision but obviously Hamilton ignored this. This points to a more formal and measured response from Welwood, but also his fear, as he stopped teaching

---

[109] Cairns, 'Academic Feud', p.263.
[110] Judith Benett, *History Matters: Patriarchy and the Challenge of Feminism* (Philadelphia; University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), p.58.
[111] Connell and Messerschmidt, 'Hegemonic Masculinity', p.840.
[112] Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, p.128.
[113] *Ibid.*, p.144.
[114] Melville, *Autobiography*, p.272.

and was worried – justifiably – about further physical attacks. The different expressions from Hamilton and Welwood point to different masculinities: one where violence was a tool to try to subjugate and humiliate, and the other where diplomacy and intervention were used when disputes arose. Alongside Melville and Martine's valued negotiation skills utilised for the kirk, the emphasis on disputation in an educational environment (as detailed below) and Welwood's confidence in Hamilton's promise to not attack him again, Welwood's approach demonstrates that within the communication community of the university, it was not 'unmanly' to approach conflicts through non-violent means as an academic. Indeed, in the early modern period, as Shepard's work demonstrates, the use of violence in a way which upturned differences in status were greatly disapproved of and so it could have been particularly inappropriate for an academic – a privileged and educated man – to behave in such a manner.[115] However, Hamilton's repeated violent attacks, and the support that he received from those living in St Andrews, indicate that within the town violent means were more regularly used. This is corroborated by the violence that Melville experienced at the hands of the townspeople of St Andrews, highlighting the differences in masculine behaviours between these communication communities.[116]

Wives and families

Another of Walby's 'six patriarchal structures' is sexuality.[117] In this period, emphasis was placed on heterosexual marriages, with other types of sexual relationships outlawed. As a result, marriage was portrayed as 'the primary bond upon which a household was founded'[118] in English conduct literature, and across Scotland breaking one's marriage vows was seen as a scandalous and sinful transgression.[119] However, despite the emphasis on marriage as an 'essential force'[120], the practice of marriage created tensions for those working at St Andrews. In 1584, King James wrote to the university stating that regents (therefore only affecting the Auld College and St Leonard's College) were not to have wives, as it made the regent in question 'unhabill for to discharge his office'.[121] As regents were expected to live in the college alongside the students, James' argument that 'Nather can it aggrie w[i]t[h] gude order that regentis sould be joynit in mareage nor that thay

---

[115] Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, p.147.
[116] Melville, *Autobiography*, p.307.
[117] Bennett, *History Matters*, p.58.
[118] Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, p.70.
[119] Janay Nugent, '"None Must Meddle Betueene Man and Wife": Assessing Family and the Fluidity of Public and Private in Early Modern Scotland', *Journal of Family History*, Vol.35, No.3 (2010), pp.220-221.
[120] Falconer, 'A Family Affair', p.140.
[121] UYSS110 – AN/1, December 1584.

sould remane in collegis eftir the[re] mereages'[122] points to the contradiction that a married regent posed: as a regent he was to live in the college but as a husband he was to live in a separate household with his wife. James' resolution to this problem was to order the dismissal of any married regents and to place a ban on regents getting married in the future, in addition to the established rules of no women being allowed in the colleges.[123] This decree had been brought about by the marriage of a regent in the Auld College, William Cranston, which supposedly impacted his duties. Although Cranston is singled out in the document, it was apparently a wider issue that was taken seriously by the masters, as James was writing in response to a 'supplicatioun providet be the chancellour rector dene of facultie and remanent maisteris and prof[e]ssouries of the universitie of sanctandrois'.[124] Clearly many masters at the university – particularly those in powerful positions – deemed this a serious enough issue to notify the king and ask for a solution. This indicates even official, sanctioned relationships with women were deemed to be cause for concern in situations where specific, and exacting, demands were made of men – in this case the expectation that regents would live in the colleges. That James responded with a ban on married regents indicates that the king too was concerned about the impact of women on the academic community and that the image and work of the university could suffer as a result.

In most analyses of the university at this time, very little is mentioned of women and the personal relationships of the masters. Indeed, if there was not the occasional clue, it would be easy to assume most of the masters were unmarried. However, the above document demonstrates the underlying tensions that marriage exposed. Before the reformation, those working at the university would have ostensibly been celibate religious men, but the religious and political shifts in 1560 meant that officially celibate men could now get married and have families whilst discharging their duties. This represents a large shift from the Catholic emphasis on chastity and abstinence, as demonstrated in the *First Book of Discipline,* which almost immediately refutes the idea of 'forswearing marriage'[125], calling for it to be 'utterly abolished from this realme'.[126] In Protestantism, marriage 'took centre stage in the Christian life.'[127] Twenty years later, however, boundaries and expectations were still being worked out, with marriage a contentious subject for some. Whilst masters

---

[122] *Ibid.*
[123] Balcarres Papers, vol. 7, fo. 98r., September 15. 1563.
[124] UYSS110 – AN/1, December 1584.
[125] *The Books of Discipline*, p.22.
[126] *Ibid.*
[127] Kim Phillips and Barry Reay, *Sex before Sexuality: A premodern history* (Cambridge; Polity Press, 2011), p.38.

could get married without any problems, regents could not. This is most likely due to masters having an official post within the university, with the privilege and standing to match, whereas regents were recent graduates who did not have proper stipends or much legitimate authority within the institution. The distinction between masters and regents regarding marriage demonstrates that not only was there a hierarchy within the university regarding the position you held, but also that there was a hierarchy of masculine privilege. By allowing masters the opportunity to marry if they wished (some, like Andrew Melville, did not) but forbidding regents, masters were able to partake in a series of societally acceptable – and expected – masculine behaviours that were withheld from regents. However, in the case of Cranston, although he was supposed to be discharged from his post as regent, this did not happen, as in 1585 he was appointed third master in the Auld College after John Rutherford vacated his post.[128] Therefore, it seems that although the issue was deemed serious enough to petition the king, either the masters were not concerned enough to uphold the ruling, or personal relationships with Cranston determined that he was not to be treated as the king had called for, with a promotion being given. Perhaps this rise in status was so that Cranston could continue working at the university even though he was married. He, at least, was able to participate in masculine behaviours reserved for those in permanent positions at the university by becoming a master.

Marriage between men and women was a fundamental building block of early modern protestant Scotland, which underpinned the patriarchal structures that dominated society. Additionally, early modern Scotland saw an emphasis placed on the roles of parents, specifically the role of the father in governing the home and family. Melissa Hollander convincingly argues that unlike England, which placed more significance in godparents and their duties towards children, Scotland looked to fathers to claim responsibility for the child and to raise children in the faith.[129] This is reflected in the St Andrews kirk session records where there are many instances of the session dogmatically asking an expectant mother for the father's name, or asking a man to answer allegations that he was the father of a child, such as in the case of Henry Lawmonth in 1583.[130] This was both to make fathers financially accountable for their children – so that the children were not reliant on kirk funds – but also because of the important role that fathers were seen to have in their

---

[128] Reid, *Humanism and Calvinism*, p.115.

[129] Melissa Hollander, 'The Name of the Father: Baptism and the Social Construction of Fatherhood in Early Modern Edinburgh' in *Finding the Family in Medieval and Early Modern Scotland*, ed. by Elizabeth Ewan and Janay Nugent (London; Routledge, 2008), pp.63-72.

[130] *Register of the Minister Elders and Deacons of the Christian Congregation of St. Andrews*, Part Two: 1582-1600, transcribed and edited by David Hay Fleming (Edinburgh; T. and A. Constable, 1889), p.500.

children's – and wider family's – lives.[131] Nugent asserts that, as a result of the Reformation, fathers were 'likened to ministers'[132] and were expected 'to take an active role in reforming their household', which could comprise of their wife, children and servants. This was also the site where 'religion was taught, practiced, discussed and reinforced on a daily level'[133], and so the maintenance of order in this space was seen as crucial by kirk authorities. Across Scottish society, husbands were supposed to have an active role in the household, and to take their responsibility to their households seriously.

Due to the emphasis on the role of the father in wider Scottish society and the importance of fathers in maintaining kirk doctrine and discipline, once masters became fathers it is reasonable to assume that married masters were expected to undertake the same duties in their own households. There are very few sources which directly deal with marriage or close familial relationships of those who worked at the university, and those that do survive are mostly concerned with prohibitions (such as the document from 1584 discussed above), making it difficult to come to any definitive conclusions regarding the attitude and behaviours of masters within the home. However, given the stress placed on the responsibilities of fathers elsewhere, it is unlikely that masters were considered differently to other Scottish men in this regard. This then resonates with what Griffin calls the 'situational identity problem'[134] as masters will have traversed the different environments of home and university, where different masculine behaviours will have been expected and encouraged. There will have been similarities between these two communication communities, given that responsibility for the welfare and spiritual wellbeing of children was a key part of both. However, with a lack of evidence there are fundamental questions which remain, regarding how masters managed their familial duties alongside their obligations in their academic life and how the life cycle of those in academia was expected to progress. Clearly regents were not supposed to get married, indicating that a dedication to academia was considered more important for a graduate, roughly around the age of nineteen, in the short term. Additionally, regents' lives were controlled, through both the strict hierarchy at the university and the fact that they had to live within the college with the students, whereas the masters did not. Perhaps the expectation was that academics would get married after they had finished regenting and were looking for permanent positions, or if they left academia. With so few sources on this topic, it is hard to say.

---

[131] Hollander, 'The Name of the Father', pp.63-64.
[132] Nugent, 'Reformed Masculinity', p.40.
[133] *Ibid*.
[134] Griffin, 'Historical Problem', p.384.

However, marriage as a master was not a simple matter. Rules against women and children residing in the colleges were repeated frequently, demonstrating that there was friction between the masters' careers and their lives as married men. Despite their legal position as married women, wives of masters were not treated with distinction from other women, being thought of as a temptation to students and regents. One notable example of this is from 1579, where it was stated

> That the wyves bairns and Servandis of the Principallis and uthers Maisteris in the Universitie be put apart in the City out of the Colleges swa [so] that women to an evil and slanderous Example have na Residence among the young men students nor yet that the same women have any Administration or handling of the common Gudis [Goods] of the Collegis to the great prejudice thairof and of sic as wald frelie give thame selfis to the studies of Letters[135]

This shows several fears regarding the impact that women might have on the university. Firstly, the apprehension that wives of masters would be sexual objects for the students is explicit, clearly aligning women with sin. Secondly, that women might have some role in the governance of the institution, allowing for opportunity of thievery, indicates that women were seen as less trustworthy. Finally, and perhaps most significantly, there is concern that women might even study at the university themselves – those who 'wald frelie give thame selfis to the studies of Letters'. During this period there were few opportunities for girls to be educated; only if there was a local 'Dame school'[136], or the family of the girl in question decided to privately educate, could girls gain some level of education.[137] The quote above is the only surviving instance of a link being made between women and learning at the St Andrews; usually the emphasis is placed on women being sexual temptations for students and regents. However, the fear of women having any kind of authority in the university, or becoming educated, stresses the deep-rooted sexism present at the university and the continuity from the medieval period of universities remaining an exclusively male space. Just as certain men at the university were barred from enacting specific masculine behaviours (such as marriage), so too women connected to the university (usually through marriage) were forbidden to access resources that were deemed 'too masculine' for them.

---

[135] UYSL156, p.73.

[136] John Durkan, *Scottish Schools and Schoolmasters*, ed. by Jamie Reid-Baxter (Woodbridge; The Boydell Press, 2006), p.175.

[137] *Ibid.*, p.80; 95.

Conclusion

Surviving evidence points to different masters at St Andrews exhibiting distinct masculine behaviours, from Melville's dogmatic approach to reform, to Martine's attempts to control college revenues for himself and his family. Some masters (such as those who were close to Melville) enacted similar behaviours, but with such divergent practices present, it is clear that a hegemonic masculinity did not exist in the communication community of the university, and that the masculinities within the institution co-existed without dominating one another. Ultimately each master approached his job differently, with varying priorities. The frequency of feuds and accusations of failing to take duties seriously reflects this. Analysis of these feuds shows that there were different approaches taken to dealing with conflict, with men associated with the town resorting to violence – which had specific social implications – whilst those within the university sought resolution through institutional structures. Fights between the masters also demonstrate the bonds present between masters and colleagues, or masters and family members, who were clearly more than willing to get involved in arguments between those working at the university, often with dramatic results. Another source of tension for masters was managing their role as a husband and father alongside their duties at the university, where women were seen as sexual temptations and were forbidden to engage with the university. Heterosexual marriage – a widely accepted social practice – was withheld from regents, creating hierarchies of masculine behaviours as well as causing friction between masters and regents. It is impossible, therefore, to delineate a consistent set of hegemonic practices and Connell's hierarchical model at the university, as the surviving sources are filled with conflicts between masters, focussed on their divergent behaviours. However, there are several examples of masters working together despite their differing masculinities, demonstrating that – at times – these could co-exist with, or even complement each other. The examples used in this chapter emphasise how masters operated in a specific and enclosed communication community, encountering issues and relationships which are unlikely to be replicated outside of the University of St Andrews bubble. This reinforces the idea that academics were a separate social category, living and working in ways which overlapped with other masculine social groups but overall operating in a distinct way.

Chapter 2 – Masters and students

Despite the indication that teaching was not always consistent, the key duty of every master was to teach students.[138] Exploring the way in which masters interacted with students reveals further insights into the masculinities of masters. As students both lived and studied in the colleges, their lives were spent in an almost exclusively homosocial university environment, influenced by their regents and masters, in addition to their peers. Analysing these interactions and what masters expected of students demonstrates how the university operated day-to-day and shows wider patterns of masculine behaviour within this communication community. It is also important to consider the masculinities of students in their own right, as this is an understudied topic and has not been considered for Scottish universities in this period. However, it must be pointed out that there is very little surviving evidence regarding direct expressions of gendered behaviour for students and so other case studies from England and Europe have also been considered to gain a broader understanding of how students at St Andrews may have behaved. In particular, other studies regarding student violence and sexuality have provided useful context and potential similarities. Through examining discipline and student violence, as well as teaching styles and the curriculum, it is clear that masters had specific expectations of student behaviour, alongside cultivating distinctive masculine behaviours through training. Students also had a range of experiences at university, navigating emotional troubles and sexual relationships, although there is a distinct lack of evidence for male-male sexual relations.

Discipline and violence

As might be expected from a protestant government, the disciplining of students was a key concern for those attempting to enact change at the university after the events of 1560. Discipline is mentioned frequently in commissions for the colleges, visitations and general records.[139] One of the charges laid against Melville in 1597, when he was removed from the office of rector, was that it had become very lax under his rectorship and that the New Foundation had not been observed 'in doctrine, oeconomie nor discipline.'[140] The emphasis on discipline in these documents indicates the view that students were to be kept

---

[138] Balcarres Papers, vol. 7, fo.27.

[139] For example, the commission detailing Melville's appointment to the New College in 1580 mentions that the appointed council are to consider the 'ordour of discipline in the saidis collegis': Balcarres Papers, vol. 7, fo.31., December 28. 1580.

[140] Balcarres Papers, vol. 7, fo.61r., July 12. 1597.

in line and that it was the responsibility of masters – particularly those that held key offices such as provost or rector – to ensure that this was the case. Students were generally poorly thought of across western Europe by their local communities, as demonstrated by the lists of student vices in Italian student conduct books, such as refusing to take studies seriously and being disobedient.[141] The Scottish government categorised students who had not completed their studies – otherwise known as 'vagabond scholars'[142] – as idle beggars, legally unable to ask for alms and equated to counterfeiters and conmen. Without strong discipline and a firm hand, it was feared that students would run amok and not become the dedicated and serious men that society wanted them to be. This indicates that being committed and responsible were core expectations of masculinity in wider Scottish society.

Shepard's work on the life cycle of men in early modern England demonstrates that there was a long-held expectation that young men would be more prone to violence, with male youth being 'widely characterized as an age of extremes.'[143] In order to fashion young men who would operate within the patriarchal norms of society and one day ideally embody patriarchal manhood (i.e., being responsible, godly, heading a household, etc.), discipline and direction of 'spirited action'[144] were key. Shepard points to conduct literature of the period advocating for these two approaches – highlighting positive actions for male youths but also encouraging a strong, firm hand from relevant authority figures should they misbehave, as they were expected to do. Being aware of their relationships with other men and respecting these boundaries was crucial.[145] This particularly applies in an environment like St Andrews, where students would have very little contact with anyone who was not a student, servant, regent, or master, all of whom would have been male, apart from washerwomen. Shepard's work demonstrates that the fear of violent youths goes far beyond one institution and is embedded in lots of literature and cultural artifacts from the period, across Scotland and England. The emphasis on discipline throughout university records from the Reformation onwards, and the willingness of the king and other authorities to take action in violent disputes, points to a societal priority in keeping young

---

[141] Jonathan Davies, 'The Ideal Student: Manuals of Student Behaviour in Early Modern Italy', in *Scholarly self-fashioning and community in the early modern university*, ed. by R. Kirwan (Abingdon; Routledge, 2016), pp.28-29.

[142] 'James VI: Translation, 1579, 20 October, Edinburgh, Parliament, Parliamentary Register 10 November 1579, Legislation, For punishment of the strong and idle beggars and relief of the poor and impotent, chapter 7', *Records of the Parliaments of Scotland,* https://www.rps.ac.uk/search.php?action=fetch_index_frame&fn=jamesvi_trans&id=10017&query=university&type=trans&variants=universally|universities|universal&google=universally|universities|universal [accessed 26.06.22].

[143] Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, p.24.

[144] *Ibid.*, p.30.

[145] *Ibid.*, p.34.

men within certain boundaries, although it was clearly anticipated that this would be contested by the young men. Violence and youthful excess were expected but not encouraged, particularly in a space where feuds could escalate quickly, to the extent that two colleges had to be kept separate; not an easy task in a small town.

Accusations of poor discipline are frequent in the university records and were levied at many different masters. Although Martine clearly wanted to exercise independent control in his college, the other masters working with him felt that he was not able to keep the students in check. When they called for him to be deposed in 1588, they argued that

> As tuiching discipline use say yat ordour and discipline qulkis as it war the bondis and perommis [promise] of all commonwealthis ar altogidder neglect and dissolvit amang us for excepting sa far as everie prime lectour with gryt difficultie compellis his awin dysipls[146]

This conjures up an image of each master fighting for order within their class, being unsupported by Martine who, as provost, was responsible for overall college discipline.[147] According to the masters, students were not attending lessons, instead hanging around the college and speaking 'most filthie and ungodlie scottis'[148] instead of Latin. Martine refuted these allegations, but his rather lacklustre defence and the specificity of the complaints against him indicate that he was not ensuring discipline was carried out, either by himself or the other masters. Discipline in this period was often physical, carried out in front of other students to set an example; before Melville's arrival, some students in St Mary's protested at being made to dispute in examinations and were publicly disciplined in the college as a result.[149] As Shepard has shown, violence was a key part of upholding order in early modern society, having 'a formal disciplinary role'.[150] The main role of disciplinary action was to shame the offender, through public display, exclusion and undermining reputation.[151] The use of public punishments within the university matches this and indicates that preventing other students from copying the transgressors was key. Although there is no explicit mention of physical violence being used at St Andrews, the repeated emphasis on disciplining students in university records, who were to be 'shairplie

---

[146] Balcarres Papers, vol. 7, fo.135r., April 16. 1588.
[147] Balcarres Papers, vol. 7, fo.132r., 1588.
[148] *Ibid.*, fo.135r., April 16. 1588.
[149] Reid, *Humanism and Calvinism*, p.44.
[150] Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, p.131.
[151] *Ibid.*, p.133.

punnischit'[152], implies that physical punishment was used. Shepard's work demonstrates that students were publicly beaten at the University of Cambridge and this is likely to have taken place at St Andrews, or at least would have if masters disciplined 'appropriately'.

The use of violence against students indicates a fear that, if left unchecked, they would be ungovernable and would resort to violence themselves. McLaren writes that at the University of Aberdeen during this period, third year students studied Cicero's *On Duties* in order to improve their behaviour and morals, not just to improve their Latin.[153] In 1607, the king and his council sent a letter to St Andrews declaring that the Auld College and St Leonard's College were to exercise and play in separate places due to the 'verry gryt Insolence'[154] that had grown between the students of the two colleges. The students, who 'be ye convinencie and oursicht of thair masters and regents'[155], were fighting amongst themselves in a feud that had been going on for some time but had 'at last…burst out in action and open hostilitie and sum blood sched'.[156] Lack of discipline on the part of the masters, it seemed, had led to students openly fighting in the streets and caused disruptions to learning – a reminder of what could happen if students were not kept in check. This demonstrates that violence was also a part of student masculinities, with physical altercations between students common in this period.[157]

Separation was deemed the best course of action in this situation, until the prescribed disciplinary actions had taken effect and the students could safely be in each other's company again. It was not just students who had to be monitored and disciplined. In 1579, a falling out between David Balzie – a regent of the New College – and John Rutherford – the third master of the Auld College – led to Balzie hitting Rutherford so hard that blood was drawn. The disagreement escalated after this and Balzie drew his sword, 'Quhairby gryt tumult [was] rasit in ye toun and ye common bell was roung.'[158] A committee convened to hear their complaints and dispense justice, with confessions and apologies given on both sides. This incident demonstrates that although masters and regents were in very influential positions of responsibility (given the collegiate living standards), some of them were not above setting a poor example to the students by expressing their grievances

---

[152] Balcarres Papers, vol. 7, fo.139r, April 17. 1588.
[153] Colin McLaren, *Aberdeen Students 1600-1800* (Aberdeen; Aberdeen University Press, 2005), p.5.
[154] UYSL110/A/22, March 10. 1607.
[155] *Ibid*.
[156] *Ibid*.
[157] Even when James Melville was only a schoolboy he got into trouble for fighting; Melville, *Autobiography*, p.21.
[158] UYSS100/AH/3, July 1579.

and arguments in a physically violent manner. The use of swords here – and the mention of knives in a dispute between William Cranston and David Martine – demonstrates that these fights, like the one Welwood found himself in, had the potential to be lethal.[159]

It is surprising, then, that some masters were unwilling (or perhaps too lazy, as the charges against Martine indicate) to discipline their students thoroughly. The accusations against Martine in 1588 were thrown back at the masters by Martine himself, who wrote to the king arguing that 'Thay uss na maner of disciplin in correcting and punisching. They waige in ye toune resorting to commoune tavernis and keitchpillis [tennis courts].'[160] He accused the other masters of becoming overly familiar with the students, making 'their disciplis companyeonis and familiaris with thame.'[161] This was a common complaint heard at the university, where it seems that many masters and regents struggled to maintain strict boundaries.[162] As mentioned above, failing to carry out discipline and keep the students under control was one of the cited reasons for Melville being removed from the position of rector in 1597, indicating that there were men across the university with varying masculine practices that either did not consider discipline a priority or were not willing to punish students for transgressions. Without more evidence it is difficult to say, but it is clear that both within the university and outside it, there was a call for discipline to combat the perceived nature of students. By not disciplining students efficiently, these men were transgressors themselves, refuting a standard of masculine behaviour that was deemed key: punishing those who defied authority. Although several of these men (especially Martine) were concerned with being able to exercise the authority and rights given to them by their roles, it appears that punishing students was not a masculine behaviour they practiced to the standards expected of them, by their colleagues and wider society.

Teaching and curriculum

Through exploring what students were taught (and how), we gain insight into what masculine behaviours were encouraged in students by masters and the institution. As students spent most of their time at university studying a comprehensive curriculum, the materials they encountered will have influenced them. The curriculum, led by the masters, will have been very similar to what the masters had studied at university themselves but

---

[159] Balcarres Papers, vol. 7, fo.135r, April 16. 1588.
[160] *Ibid.*, fo.143r., April 16/17. April.
[161] *Ibid*.
[162] In 1563 the regents of the university were accused of being 'overly familiar' with the students: Balcarres Papers, vol. 7, fo.98r., September 15. 1563.

would have been influenced somewhat by the master's own views and masculinity. The curriculum was specifically for a male audience – where, as Karras points out, the absence of women 'was taken for granted rather than contested'[163] – and had not radically changed since the medieval period, either in content or delivery.[164] The learning experience of students was shaped by a male-focussed, complex curriculum, which had not changed significantly since the medieval period.

It is important to acknowledge the impact that studying specific materials will have had on students. With limited contact with girls or women, the materials that they read will have shaped their understanding of the opposite sex. These materials – such as Aristotle's *Ethics* and Cicero's *On Duties* – were all written by men (usually educated and privileged), and presented to the students predominately in Latin (with masters like Melville promoting Greek or Hebrew), which was studied for perhaps four or five hours a day (nearly every day during term time) for several years.[165] As such, these boys and young men will have had a limited view of women – heavily shaped by classical and biblical teachings – for a significant amount of time during a formative period of their lives. Additionally, as Karras asserts, many of the texts they will have encountered at school and then at university, involved depictions or mentions of rape, such as in Ovid's *The Art of Love*.[166] Exposure to these texts, which portray rape as 'an act of manhood'[167], will have normalised the concept of sexual violence and may have intersected with the kinds of violence detailed above to encourage violent and domineering approaches to women, particularly without mitigation from actual contact with women. Although difficult to spot in the surviving sources, it is not unreasonable to posit that the study of sexist materials which depicted violence towards women could have encouraged certain trends of behaviour in students.

However, the focus of a university education was the development of specific skills – the exclusion of women was merely an incidental element in higher education. The predominant skill that students learned was to compete with other men in the art of arguing. With the curriculum mainly based on the works of Aristotle, influenced by other classical and Christian authors, students gained the skills to 'dispute' or spar verbally with

[163] Karras, *From Boys to Men*, p.67.
[164] Reid, *Humanism and Calvinism*, p.7.
[165] Laurence Brockliss, 'Curricula' in *A history of the university in Europe: Vol.2: Universities in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1800*, ed. by Hilde De Ridder-Symoens (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 1997), p.573; Reid, *Humanism and Calvinism*, p.38; 87.
[166] Karras, *From Boys to Men*, pp.77-78; Marjorie Curry Woods, 'Rape and the pedagogical rhetoric of sexual violence', in *Criticism and dissent in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Rita Copeland (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 1996), p.58.
[167] Woods, 'Rape and the pedagogical rhetoric', p.62.

other men, using the powers of disputation to overcome the intricate arguments thrown at them. This skill, along with gaining knowledge useful for specific positions in society (such as minister, clerk etc.), was the main goal of a university education.[168] Disputations formed a key part of the learning experience, being considered important enough for oversight of disputations to be one of the duties of the rector.[169] Particularly under the tutelage of Melville, students from the New College were expected to dispute in public before the St Andrews presbytery every week.[170] This was, as he argued, 'being a thing most necessary for the training up off the zouth that suld serve in the ministrie of the kirk heirafter.'[171] When Melville fell from grace in 1597, the king banned theology students from disputing in public, which angered Melville greatly. He complained several times to the presbytery – arguing for the great benefit that the exercise gave to his students – and after a couple of years his students were allowed to dispute before the presbytery again.[172] The emphasis on disputation as a key skill demonstrates that the ability to argue against other men was considered a crucial part of manhood for a university graduate. Unlike other masculine behaviours identified at the university in this period, this was one that was actively prescribed to the students – across the institution – by the masters, and the long-standing curriculum inherited from the medieval standard. This bolsters the argument of Karras, and others, that men defined themselves and their masculine traits in relation to other men, rather than to women.[173]

Physical exercise was another focus of the curriculum through 'the regular practice of archery, fencing, running, leaping, wrestling, swimming, and other athletic and manly exercises and sports'.[174] Challenging the mind was not the sole focus of a university education, with it being understood that the students needed to be kept physically fit too; this was a continuation from the medieval institution. Engaging in sport allowed for group bonding and a healthy venting of energy, most likely aiding in keeping the students in check.[175] Prescribing to humoral theory (which asserted that the body was comprised of four humours which should be kept in balance), contemporaries believed that boys and young men were governed by the hot humour of blood, giving them fiery natures and

---

[168] Karras, *From Boys to Men*, p.67.
[169] 'The Opinion of George Buchanan', p.98.
[170] Smith, 'The Presbytery of St Andrews', p.300, July 1599.
[171] *Ibid.*, p.233, September 1597.
[172] *Ibid.*, p.233, September 1597; p.300, July 1599.
[173] Karras, *From Boys to Men*, p.11.
[174] Pitcairn, 'Prefatory Notice' in *Autobiography and Diary of Mr James Melvill,* ed. by Robert Pitcairn (Edinburgh; Wodrow Society, 1842), p.vi.
[175] Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, p.113.

uncontrollable urges.[176] Exercise was a way of expelling boys' energy in a social and relatively controlled way. As Connell argues, sport 'embeds definite social relations: competition and hierarchy among men, exclusion or domination of women. These social relations are both realized and symbolized in the bodily performances.'[177] Therefore, the playing fields of the university can be seen as a space where masculine social hierarchy and dominance were embodied, seen through the playing of competitive sports and the exclusion of women. Like the art of disputation, skill in sport was encouraged and was a clear signifier of masculinity. However, participating in sport – such as football and archery – came with pressure. Each student was expected to provide their own equipment for sports and the stress of appearing well-equipped affected students. James Melville wrote that when he was a student, his father had provided him with the relevant equipment for archery and golf, but he did not have 'a purs for catchpull'[178] (a game requiring rackets). It seems his father did not deem them necessary. He apparently learned to get by, but his insecurity around not being able to participate in catchpull is clear, particularly as he was writing about the episode many decades later.[179] The pressure to conform to the masculine standards promoted by masters across the university was clearly something which weighed on students and affected familial relationships.

Participating in physical exercise could also be dangerous. The separation of Auld College students and St Leonard's College students in 1607 was ordered for when the two groups of students needed to exercise outside of their respective colleges but could not be trusted to mingle, due to fights breaking out causing 'sum blood sched'.[180] This demonstrates that the playing of sport could create spaces where boundaries were blurred and unwelcome interactions took place. This potentiality was keenly felt, with a memorandum from between 1574 and 1576 stating that 'And als yat baith within and without ye college ye magisteris or regentis will nocht play or exerceis ony game with yair discipillis.'[181] Although physical exercise was an emphasized part of the curriculum, the risks of creating spaces where established hierarchies could be transgressed were obviously a concern, with emphasis on keeping masters and regents separate from students. Connell argues that spaces which are 'insistently masculinized'[182], like sports fields, cause young people to resist authority due to the intensity of the gendered space. By fighting with each other,

---

[176] *Ibid.*, p.26.
[177] Connell, *Masculinities*, p.54.
[178] Melville, *Autobiography*, pp.29-30.
[179] *Ibid.*, p.30.
[180] UYSL110/A/22, March 10. 1607.
[181] NAS PA10/1/2.
[182] Connell, *Masculinities*, p.147.

students transgressed masculine standards set by the institution and so had to be monitored and separated. Therefore, physical exercise was used as a marker of masculinity but was also an activity where boundaries could be disrupted, leading to violence. This violated both the masculine standards of the university, but also wider social rules which authorities – such as principal masters or the king – wanted to maintain.

Emotional experience

The students' behaviour on the playing fields demonstrate that students could experience significant emotional conflicts at university, with their emotional experiences impacting their masculine behaviours. The expression and regulation of emotion is key in the construction of masculinities, with patriarchal structures built around the forbidding of different emotional expressions, such as male-male sexual relations.[183] Although evidence is scarce for direct expressions of student emotion it is clear that, for some, the transition to university and the student experience could be difficult, with significant emotional outbursts from students. James Melville struggled greatly when he went to St Andrews in 1571. Faced with being taught entirely in Latin – which he did not fully understand – and the demanding curriculum, he would sit and cry in lessons, 'cast in sic a greiff and dispear'.[184] He writes that he almost dropped out of university but the intervention of his regent helped him, and he successfully completed his degree.[185] The understanding reaction of the regent and his help demonstrate that this expression was, to a certain extent, permitted, or even expected. However, it must be noted that James was still a child (only thirteen years old). Early modern society was less forgiving of non-religious men weeping, influenced by the classical texts studied at university, which asserted that crying was unmanly.[186] It must be assumed that if he was an adult, James' tears would not have been tolerated to the same extent. Throughout the university records there is an emphasis on boundaries and positions being respected, with distinctions made between masters, regents and students, but it appears that this was not always maintained, with intimate relationships taking place.[187] In James' case, the regent comforted him by allowing him to sleep in his bed and coached him privately until James was able to participate in the classes fully.[188]

---

[183] *Ibid.*, pp.85-86.
[184] Melville, *Autobiography*, p.25.
[185] *Ibid*.
[186] Bernard Capp, ''Jesus wept' but did the Englishman? Masculinity and emotion in early modern England', *Past and Present*, no.224 (2014), p.78; 95.
[187] Balcarres Papers, vol. 7, fo. 98r., September 15. 1563.
[188] Melville, *Autobiography*, p.25.

Sharing beds, particularly in an university environment, was common in this period, and as Michael Young asserts, 'is not proof positive of sexual activity'.[189] Shepard argues that whilst bedroom checks were carried out to make sure students were behaving at Oxford, 'the familiarity of bed-fellows was routinely assumed'[190], indicating that James' relationship with the regent was an accepted expression of affection. However, although this clearly helped James and was a positive interaction, the regent's position of authority over James was a large power imbalance in their relationship and could have been used to cause James harm in a different situation. Despite this, James' anecdote demonstrates that positive, intimate male relationships did take place between students and regents, and that some took their responsibility for students' emotional states seriously.

These intimate relationships also took place between masters and students. John Johnston became a master in the New College in 1593 but prior to this had taught at Heidelberg in Germany. He made long-lasting connections with people whilst he taught there, including with several students. In particular, he kept regular communications with Rudolf Simler, a former student. Johnston's language is affectionate, calling him 'my most sweet Simler'[191], and he responds directly to events happening in Simler's life, indicating genuine interest and positive, platonic attachment to another man. His letters – to Simler and others – also give insight into the wider social nature of epistolary communications between academics. Most of Johnston's letters include details regarding the happenings of other masters in the same institution as himself – such as Melville – and contain messages from some of these other men. In a letter sent in 1594 to Johnston's former mentor, Grynaeus, Johnston asks him to speak to several people that he misses and passes along greetings to Grynaeus from Melville.[192] This demonstrates the wide networks that masters cultivated between themselves, not just on an individual level but collectively. Johnston's letters are affectionate and speak to a longing for connection with others in the academic community. His missives also point to one of the downsides of academia: in moving to St Andrews to take up his new post, Johnston had to leave many friends behind which clearly affected him and the way he fashioned himself in his letters. In his writing his behaviours appear characterised by caring relationships with other men, where he fears being left out of social interactions (such as when he berates a friend for not writing recently), and tries to include

---

[189] Michael Young, 'James VI and I: Time for a Reconsideration?', *Journal of British Studies*, vol.51, no.3 (2012), p.543.
[190] Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, p.121.
[191] Johnston, 'Letter IX', pp.32-33.
[192] Johnston, 'Letter XXVI', pp.86-87.

messages from other men, indicating his willingness to be affectionately expressive to other academics. [193]

Although direct expressions of students' feelings are few, there are some indications of how students felt about their studies. The Orator's Book from the Auld College was used almost every week between 1589 and 1595 by students to record the disputations which had taken place on Saturday mornings. The students took it in turns to write out the essay given in Latin, to varying levels of quality. Although most of the book merely contains the essays, there are occasional drawings by different students sketched around the edges of, or underneath, the essay they were writing.[194]

---

[193] Johnston, 'Letter XXVI', pp.90-91.
[194] UYSL320.
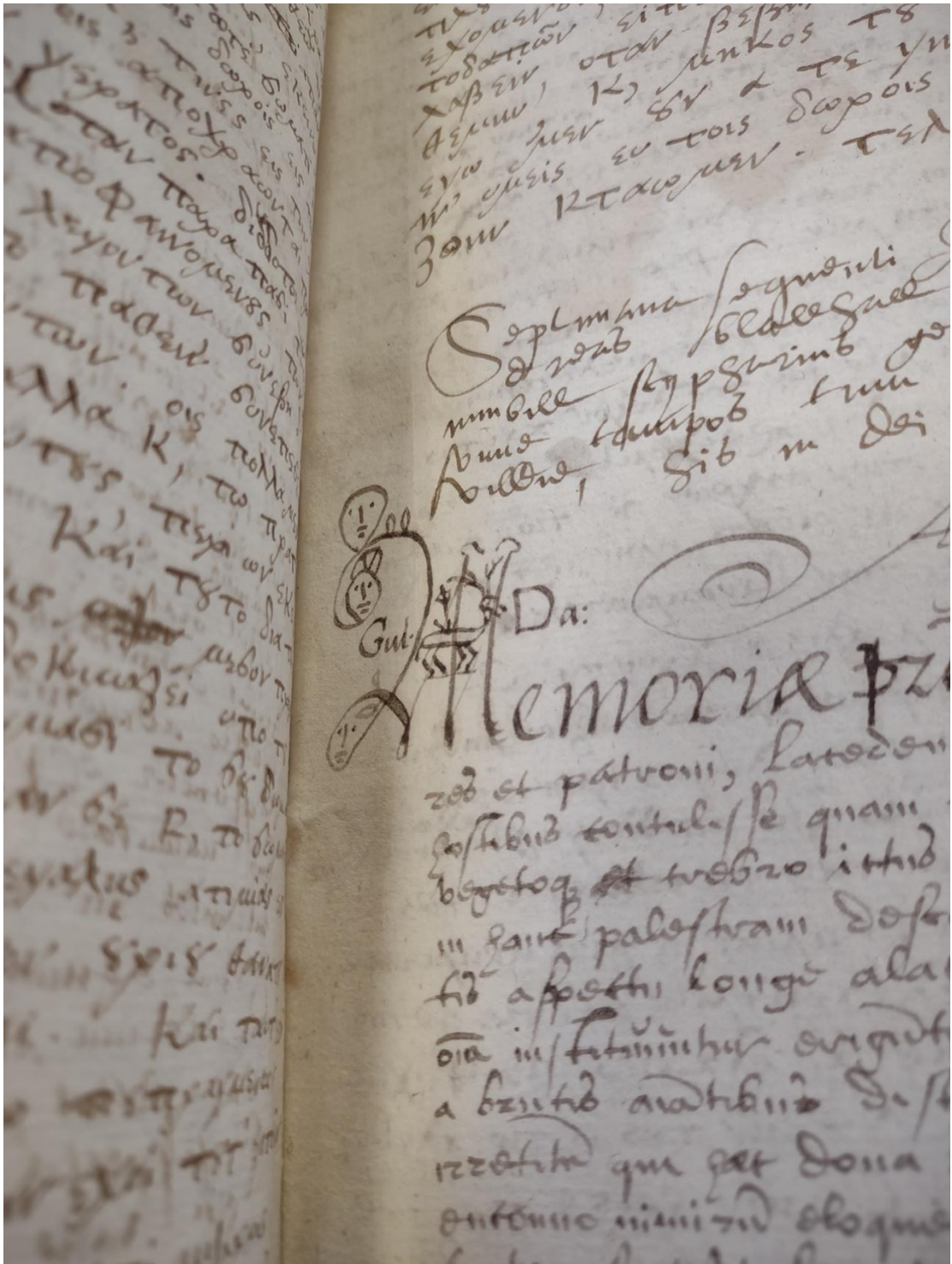
Image from UYSL320, University of St Andrews Special Collections, taken by Ashley Thompson.

The drawings vary in size and subject: one from May 1595 shows an elaborately decorated 'S' at the beginning of the word *semper* (always). In a similar entry, the 'M' from the word *memoria* (memory) has small faces drawn within the intricate curls of the letter. Although detailed, these are small and unobtrusive within the larger body of text.
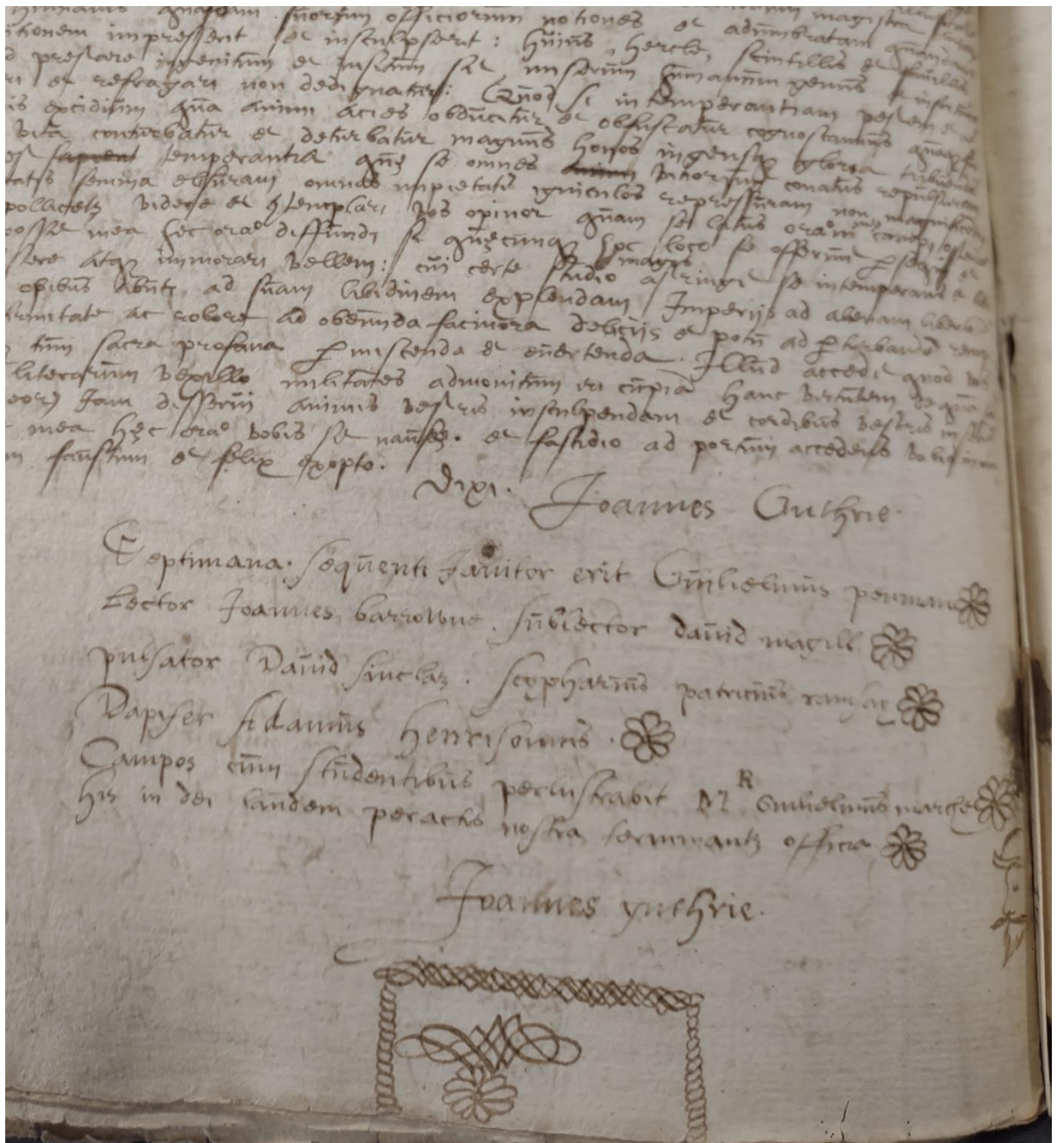
Image from UYSL320, University of St Andrews Special Collections, taken by Ashley Thompson.

One larger piece, from April 1595, shows small flowers drawn at the end of each line of the concluding paragraph, followed by a complex patterned box containing a flower and Celtic knot-type design after the signature of the student: Joannes Guthrie. At the edge of the page, tucked almost in the spine of the book, a small profile of a male face, complete with pointed beard, appears to be sleeping. The presence of the drawings indicates boredom on the part of Joannes and his peers, the doodles of bored scholars. However, Joannes' drawings are very detailed and were clearly created in a deliberate way, with the placing of the drawings indicating significant thought. The use of flowers in his drawing could also be notable, perhaps pointing to a less feminine association with flowers than we

have today. It is not unreasonable to assume that these drawings are an attempt to personalise the essays written, so that they would stand out amongst the many similar looking essays in the book. Additionally, the prevalence of drawings during 1595, where there are no drawings across other years, indicates that there was a lack of supervision on the part of the master or regent responsible for overseeing the entries. This was a relatively stable period at the university, so it is not clear why there was a lack of supervision, but it seems that there was little attention paid to what students were actually putting in the Orator's Book during several weeks across 1595. The students, it seemed, took full advantage of this, and added their own personal flourishes to otherwise routine pieces of work. The few pieces of surviving evidence we have, plus the few personal testimonies, like James Melville's, indicate that students experienced challenges with adjusting to life at university and that, even when settled, they were not always engaged with their studies. Feuds between students and violent exchanges could often dominate views of students and characterise how student relations are viewed, but there are often subtle indications of other types of behaviour and different emotional challenges that students faced. The bursts of self-expression from the Orator's Book imply a desire to be marked out from peers and, perhaps, a wish to hone drawing skills, indicating the passions of some students.

Sexual relations

There are very few actual examples of students engaging in sexual relations during this period at the university. The examples we do have are from the kirk session records, where two different students fathered children – one in 1576 and the other in 1580. In early modern Scotland, pre-marital sex was forbidden, and so many sexual relations took place secretly, with pregnancy one of the only sure signs that sex had happened. Kirk session members were responsible for tracking down absentee fathers and attempted to make unmarried mothers get married, as 'legal, religious and social pressures demanded a paternal presence'.[195] This was the case in both instances of students fathering children, with Margaret Murray made to 'confessis hir witht childe to Coline Campbel, sumtyme student in the New College'[196], and Agnes Orok forced to 'confessit…the bairne borne off hir was begotten be Mr. Murdo Murcheson, student in St Leonardis'.[197] These cases demonstrate that illicit sexual relations between students at the university and women in

---

[195] Hollander, 'The Name of the Father', p.67.
[196] *Register of the Minister Elders and Deacons of the Christian Congregation of St. Andrews*, Part One: 1559-1582, transcribed and edited by David Hay Fleming (Edinburgh; T. and A. Constable, 1890), p.416.
[197] *Register*, Part One, p.447.

the town did take place, but the scarcity of records mean that it is impossible to determine how common these types of relationships were. It is likely that there were prostitutes in the town, but there is no mention in the kirk session records or the minutes of the presbytery of prostitution in St Andrews at this time, let alone between prostitutes and students. Despite this, as Elizabeth Ewan argues, St Andrews was populated with many unmarried men, so it is likely prostitution 'flourished'[198] from the late medieval period onwards. Karras echoes this by asserting that 'prostitutes were extremely common in university towns'[199], and Shepard points to the University of Cambridge's attempts to identify prostitutes and expel them from the town boundaries. This supports the idea that there was prostitution in St Andrews, perhaps even with business aimed at university students.[200] In university towns where there is definitive evidence that prostitution took place, it was the woman who 'bore the brunt of the blame'[201] and she was punished, rather than the student. However, if the sexual relations were with an unmarried woman not associated with prostitution, such as Margaret or Agnes, and a child was conceived, it is likely that the student was made to take responsibility for his sexual act, as Margaret and Agnes named the fathers. Hollander asserts that Scottish fathers were made to take responsibility for their children by the kirk session, which censured men who did not carry out their 'duty to care for, nurture, and sustain their children.'[202] Therefore, it is likely that these students were expected and pressured to take on the role of father. This demonstrates a wider idea of socially acceptable masculine practice: one where a young man would take accountability for his sexual act and become a responsible father figure.

However, this would have only been the case where sexual relations had taken place with a woman. Male-male sexual relations were forbidden in early modern Scottish society, being heavily dictated by Christian thought and patriarchal norms. Although conviction rates were relatively low across western Europe, many countries had the death penalty in place for same-sex relations, reflecting a level of intolerance.[203] Despite the level of revulsion felt by some for this act, there is no actual evidence for homosexual relations having taken place at St Andrews in this period. There is also no mention of male sexual relationships in either the kirk session records or the presbytery minutes. Although there are mentions of close and intimate relations between masters/regents and students – such as Martine's

---

[198] Elizabeth Ewan, 'Living in the Late Medieval Town of St Andrews', in *Medieval St Andrews: Church, Cult, City*, ed. by Michael Brown and Katie Stevenson (Woodbridge; Boydell & Brewer Ltd., 2017), p.130.
[199] Karras, *From Boys to Men*, p.79.
[200] Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, p.119.
[201] *Ibid.*, p.120.
[202] Hollander, 'The Name of the Father', p.63.
[203] Phillips and Reay, *Sex before Sexuality,* p.64.

accusations towards the other masters mentioned above – there is no mention of sexual relations or anything more inappropriate than overt familiarity.[204]

This lack of information is unlikely to mean that these relations did not take place, as male sexual relations are clearly evidenced in other early modern universities and schools.[205] It could be that it was considered so unnatural and distasteful – with sodomy standing 'as shorthand for general crimes against the state, society and God'[206] – and perceived as so antithetical to patriarchal structures and the natural order, that it was not recorded either in disciplinary, kirk, or visitation records. Although, as Shepard points out, male sexual relations were a potential 'sexual outlet'[207] they were a dangerous and unstable type of relationship; any intimate relations between two men 'could be easily construed as illegitimate and unsafe.'[208] However, Bray asserts that the term 'sodomy' and its other associated terms ('ganymede, pathic, cinaedus, catamite, bugger, ingle'[209]) were used broadly to describe a variety of seemingly debauched acts, indicating a looseness in definition which may help to explain the lack of clear labels used in the records.[210] Sexual relations between two men were also categorised as an act of excess sexual appetites, rather than a type of relationship between the two men or as a male identity.[211] This means that recognition of same-sex relations was defined in a brief and narrow way, perhaps contributing to the lack of information in sources.[212] He also argues that male sexual relations were 'overwhelmingly something which took place between neighbours and friends'[213] due to the lack of wider social tolerance and the threat which such relations posed to the patriarchal order. The private nature of sexual relations between men will have been intensified in a university environment, where students lived in close quarters with each other, and masters and regents had lots of contact with their charges. This can be seen in the non-sexual but very intimate relationship that James Melville had with his regent.[214] It is also conceivable that the authoritative position which the masters held led to abuse of their relationships with students, particularly as there are many other examples of masters using their privileged situations for personal gain. However, there is no evidence

[204] Balcarres Papers, vol. 7, fo.143r., April 16/17. 1588.
[205] Alan Bray, *The Friend* (Chicago; University of Chicago Press, 2003), p.52.
[206] Phillips and Reay, *Sex before Sexuality,* p.62.
[207] Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, p.116.
[208] *Ibid.*, p.122.
[209] Bray, *Homosexuality*, p.13.
[210] Bray, *Homosexuality*, p.14; 16.
[211] Phillips and Reay, *Sex before Sexuality,* p.86.
[212] Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, p.116.
[213] Bray, *The Friend*, p.43.
[214] Melville, *Autobiography*, p.25.

to support this, and no mention of homosexual relations in general at the university. These observations will have to remain, for the time being, conjecture. From the little evidence available, we know that the sexual relations of students could lead to increased pressure and responsibility if caught engaging sexually with women, but it is hard to say how the sexual relationships of students at St Andrews impacted their gendered behaviour overall.

Conclusion

Within the communication community of the university, which was influenced by outside authorities, it is clear that masters were supposed to uphold certain standards, particularly with regards to discipline and teaching. The damning reports from visitations, and the accusations masters hurled at each other regarding the standards of discipline, indicate that some masters' own masculine practices differed from those set by outside authorities or from other masters who were more efficient at discipline. Physical exercise and disputations reinforced masculine standards, sometimes causing students to feel pressure to conform. Although there is not much evidence for either direct emotional expression from students or their sexual relations, it is clear from the evidence we have that students could experience great emotional upheaval at university or were not as focussed on their studies as expected, with some attempts to personalise the work they undertook. What the students were taught, and how they were taught, encouraged certain types of behaviour which became reinforced throughout their time at university. These types of behaviour included an acceptance of the exclusion of women from the university space, competitiveness, and adherence to moral standards in line with the kirk and wider societal expectations. Deviance from these behaviours, and the lack of enforcement on the part of masters, illustrates divergence in the masculine practices present at the university, amongst both students and masters. Unless more evidence is found, it is difficult to make definitive conclusions regarding the masculinities of students, but some progress has been made with the sources that we currently have.

Chapter 3 – Outside masculinities and their impact

Despite the enclosed environment of the university, external influences still played a large role in shaping the masculinities of those who worked there, and the interactions which took place between masters and those outside the communication community of the university give further insight. As can be seen by the New Foundation and the various visitations which took place, the university was heavily influenced by the king and government, who directly oversaw the institution and set rules for it. Appeals were made to the king regarding university matters which could not be resolved internally, such as the attempted deposition of James Martine in 1588.[215] Most notably, the king's intervention and impact on the university can be seen in his removal of Melville from the rectorship in 1597.[216] The other major external influence on the university was the town of St Andrews itself, where town-gown relations could greatly affect how masters and students lived, as demonstrated through the support that Hamilton enjoyed when he launched his attacks against Welwood.[217] The relationship between the town and the university was often a turbulent one, where certain individuals – such as Melville – became targets for anti-university sentiments. These external influences affected the lives of masters and shaped their behaviours, leading to the demonstration of certain masculine behaviours which either conformed or contrasted with those of external parties who tried to affect the university.

Town-gown relationships

James Melville's autobiography often paints the town and university – most notably Melville – as being locked in an antagonistic relationship, with those living in the town acting aggressively against those at the university. The anecdotes he includes emphasise the university as a separate communication community from the town, where academics were seen as a distinct type of man. James presents the townspeople as being easily provoked, particularly against his uncle. In 1592, he writes, 'the devil steered upe a maist dangerus uproar and tumult of the people of St Androis against my uncle, Mr Andro, to the extreme perrell of his lyff'.[218] This was brought about because of master John Caldcleuch's lack of archery skills, when he accidently shot a townsperson instead of the archery butt

---

[215] Balcarres Papers, vol. 7, fo.147r., May 25. 1588.
[216] *Ibid.*, fos.53r-54v; 58, July 4. 1597.
[217] Cairns, 'Academic Feud', p.260.
[218] Melville, *Autobiography*, p.307.

when overseeing a physical education lesson. James adds that the consumption of alcohol inflamed the townspeople's anger, which caused Melville to barricade himself inside his chamber, whilst attempting to negotiate.[219] He was saved by the intervention of the minister and Robert Wilkie, principal of St Leonard's college, as well as 'uther Maisters and schollars of the Universitie'.[220] James conjures up an image of members of the town and the university aggressively facing one another, with Melville caught in between. The supposed reason for this incident was Melville's attempts to stomp out the town's 'ungodlie and unjust delling [dealing]'[221], as well as their drinking, and the belief of the townspeople that Melville 'sought the wrak and trouble of the town'.[222] Although James' account depicts a blameless Melville and a drunk and disorderly group of townspeople – which must be viewed with scepticism – the candid portrayal of the fractious relationship between the town and the university indicates that fights between the two were common and could be explosive. The portrayal of Melville here again emphasises that the approach of negotiation and diplomacy was more highly valued and respected within an academic environment, as opposed to a violent and physical approach.

James mentions members of the town storming the university on several occasions after Melville joined as a staff member in 1580, which is unlikely to be a coincidence. Scholars point to Melville's work as an elder as a continuing source of tension, as his attempts to 'strengthen the kirk session discipline'[223] ruffled feathers in the town. Melville and his allies – such as his nephew and John Johnston – clearly took the positions of elder and Doctor of Theology seriously; even Martine dedicated significant time and resources to the kirk session and presbytery, despite his different priorities and masculine behaviours.[224] This indicates that, for academics in St Andrews, taking an active role in the kirk and local issues was a significant part of a professional masculinity. However, there were many in the town who believed that Melville took this role too far. When the position of minister became vacant in 1581, Melville enthusiastically took to the pulpit until he suspected that certain people were benefiting from there not being an official minister in post, with the town provost accused of pocketing the ministerial stipend.[225] Starting a campaign of sermons to humiliate those he believed responsible, he drew 'a clear boundary between the

---

[219] Melville, *Autobiography*, p.308.
[220] *Ibid*.
[221] Melville, *Autobiography*, p.307.
[222] *Ibid*.
[223] Cameron, 'St Mary's College', p.62.
[224] Smith, 'The Presbytery of St Andrews', pp.56-57; 60; 68.
[225] Reid, *Humanism and Calvinism*, p.123.

standard of behaviour in the town and their [the Melvilles'] own zealous expectations.'[226] This did not result in a minister being appointed – only in 1584 was John Rutherford given the post – but did create further divisions between Melville and the town. It is important to note that other masters, such as Martine, Homer Blair and David Moneypenny, who were also involved in the kirk session and presbytery, did not incur the wrath of the town indicating a more reserved level of involvement in town matters. This demonstrates that although involvement in local issues was key for academics, there was an accepted level of involvement which many academics were cognizant of.

From the Melvilles' perspective, the townspeople were self-serving and needed discipline, which Andrew was more than willing to provide. His dogmatic approach characterised his behaviours within the university but also dominated his external relationships, to the detriment of town relations with the New College. His use of the pulpit and public speaking during this dispute – and others – demonstrate his belief that he needed to use his authority to do what he thought was right, and also show the value that he placed in the masculine academic skills (knowledge of theology and the ability to dispute) which were taught at university. He was willing to intervene, even if that meant disrupting important relations with prominent townspeople. Indeed, Melville's handling of the ministerial stipend incident set the trend for his relationship with the town provost, leading to further altercations in 1591 and 1593.[227] Despite the violent reactions he precipitated, he continued attempting to exercise a level of control over the behaviours of those in the town, trying to affect the masculinities of the townsmen. Melville also had the backing of the king throughout the majority of the town-gown conflicts, who, after Melville was attacked by an angry mob in 1592, wanted to prosecute those involved (instead they made assurances they would not storm the university again). [228] This demonstrates that those working at the university were seen as separate from the rest of the town, and were given more favourable treatment and a higher level of respect than the townspeople.

The repeated emphasis in James' autobiography that the townspeople attempted to use violent means against Melville and the New College echoes the incident in 1589 when Welwood attempted to use negotiation and university structures to resolve his dispute, whereas Hamilton and his supporters in the town responded with violence. This indicates that there was a difference in conflict resolution between the town and masters like

---

[226] Reid, *Humanism and Calvinism*, p.123.
[227] Reid, *Humanism and Calvinism*, pp.152-153.
[228] *Ibid.*, p.153.

Welwood and Melville (who used their positions and cultivated skills in disputation to try and settle issues), highlighting a key difference between these communication communities. This difference was acknowledged by the masters themselves. In 1593, when the former provost of the town was attacking citizens due to losing the provostship election, Melville gathered some of the other masters to oppose him and, with the white spear of the rector's office in his hand, convinced those who followed the former provost that 'thair nibours of the town war oppressed'[229] and they should therefore stop their violence against the town. Here Melville is portrayed by James as a knightly figure, saving those who were ill-treated with his diplomatic ways and supported by the might of the university. Again, this is a heavily biased account, carefully constructed to showcase the qualities – like leadership and negotiation – which James approved of, but it does demonstrate that Melville and other masters were aware of the differences between themselves and those in the town.

Melville's approach to the town, and the duties of masters on the kirk session and presbytery, make clear that many of the masters felt responsible for the welfare of the townspeople. Melville evidently took this responsibility too far, but other masters – such as Martine – worked cooperatively with local authorities. As masters were inherently involved in town matters lines were often blurred between the university and the town, despite the separate status that the university enjoyed. As demonstrated, Melville continually overstepped his role and attempted to shape the behaviours of those in the town; other masters who were involved in the kirk session and presbytery could also pass judgement on townspeople through their role as elders and were involved in the election of the town minister (the university had to agree to the appointment).[230] Students could cause havoc through ignoring the established boundaries between institution and town, leading to complaints about how town spaces were used.[231] The university leased out different buildings to townspeople and rented land itself, which generated many issues regarding rent, inheritance and corruption, and created financial obligations between town and institution.[232] Therefore, although the university was an enclosed and exclusive environment for men to get into, those within the university were constantly involved in different areas of the town. This generated a large amount of conflict in town-gown relations, especially when those connected to the university used the town as a

---

[229] Melville, *Autobiography*, p.314.
[230] *Register*, Part Two, pp.687-688.
[231] Balcarres Papers, vol. 7, fo.98r., September 15. 1563.
[232] UYSL110 – D, July 18. 1600.

battleground for their own feuds. These conflicts emphasise the cultivation of disputation skills as a privilege of academics, not ordinary people, and the use of academic rights and positions to impose certain views on 'ordinary' folk. The behaviour of Melville and the involvement of other masters in town matters indicate a hierarchy of masculine practices between these communication communities, where those displayed by academics were respected more by the king and kirk authorities but caused conflict with the town.

The king's impact

Arguably, the king and his government were the biggest influence on the way in which the university was run. The crown had direct oversight of the universities, and as Scotland's oldest and most famous university, St Andrews was often a focal point for royal attention. Visitations were ordered by the king or government and were carried out frequently, usually to see if previous reforms had been adhered to and that there were adequate records for finances and college possessions. This matches the trend on the Continent, as towards the end of the sixteenth century and at the start of the seventeenth, the role of the university as an institution was changing across western Europe. More men wanted degrees in the pursuit of clerical or civil careers, and due to the religious atmosphere, there was increased pressure for ministers to be educated to a high standard, as demonstrated through Melville's insistence that theology students take part in public disputations.[233] There was movement towards universities promoting 'home talent' rather than seeking staff from abroad (although in Scotland almost all masters were Scottish), alongside less independence for institutions, with more state and royal control.[234] This is reflected in the increasing amount of visitations to St Andrews towards the end of the sixteenth century. Overall, the developments in the relationship between crown and university were not unique to Scotland, but the personal way in which James VI ruled and the religious turmoil which Scotland experienced during this period did add a unique twist to the situation at St Andrews. The king had the authority – and determination – to shape the behaviour of masters at the university to match his expectations.

In 1597 James himself headed a visitation to the university with the express intention of removing Melville from the rectorship.[235] It was a large commission, with thirteen other men, including some who had previously come to blows with Melville. Reid points to this,

---

[233] Smith, 'The Presbytery of St Andrews', p.233, September 1597; p.300, July 1599.
[234] Vandermeersch, 'Teachers', p.212; 217.
[235] M'Crie, *Life of Andrew Melville*, p.111.

and the focus on the New College compared to the other colleges in the documentation, as evidence that the aim was to humble Melville.[236] The changes that the king ordered were designed to shake up the university and remind the masters who was in charge. Melville's dogmatic approach to kirk matters had become too disruptive and it was clear that James felt his influence at the university was too great, as he immediately ordered Melville to relinquish the rectorship, and set up a council to supervise university matters, creating another level of bureaucratic oversight. To prevent any further involvement in kirk business, ostensibly 'for the bettir ordour…in the haill collegis'[237], he ordained that all masters and regents who had teaching responsibilities (and were not ministers) were not allowed to take part in the General Assemblies and were not permitted to teach in churches, except when doing specific exercises which were for training students. It is hard to not see this as being directly aimed at Melville, who refused to abide by the ban and continued trying to take part in national kirk matters.[238] This also underlined the level of involvement that the king expected masters to have in kirk matters: local kirk issues via the kirk sessions and presbyteries were acceptable but there was to be no involvement at a higher level. Through this act, the king regulated the professional masculinities of masters, whose relationships with the kirk were now under increased scrutiny.

It is clear that there were failings during Melville's time as rector, with Cameron asserting that 'There were undoubtedly grounds for concern and complaint'[239], in addition to the king wanting to specifically restrict Melville's sphere of influence. Although the rector was supposed to be responsible for university-wide discipline, there are no records of Melville taking on this responsibility and there were significant gaps in other records (like those of student matriculation) which Melville was supposed to manage. Reid argues that these oversights indicate that Melville did not want to handle the administrative responsibilities of the role, even if he was 'an inspirational intellectual and teacher'.[240] Melville's insistence in being a part of kirk matters also will have meant that he will have had repeated absences from the university, in addition to the times where the king summoned him for meetings, contributing to instability at St Andrews.[241] This demonstrates that despite Melville's dogmatic approach to his work, he could be just as self-serving and reluctant to take up responsibility as other masters, as he chose to dedicate his time and

---

[236] Reid, *Humanism and Calvinism*, pp.164-165.
[237] Balcarres Papers, vol. 7, fos.53r-54v; 58, July 9. 1597.
[238] Melville, *Autobiography*, pp.436-437.
[239] Cameron, 'St Mary's College 1547-1574', p.69.
[240] Reid, *Humanism and Calvinism*, p.167.
[241] Cameron, 'St Mary's College 1547-1574', p.69.

fervent energy to what his own interests, instead of his duties at the university. This is reflected in his being relatively unaffected by the removal from the rectorship, as he felt pressure from the role being 'a mixture of the Civill Magistracie, with the Ministerie Ecclesiastic'[242] – an enforcement and bureaucratic role. His demotion by James, and the censure of the poor records from the New College, indicates that the king had expectations of bureaucratic efficiency and competent oversight from Melville which he did not live up to, shown through the emphasis placed on records not being kept during the 1597 visitation.[243] Instead, Melville dedicated his energies to attempting to sway the Episcopacy vs Presbyterianism debate which was engulfing the kirk at this time, even though James made it clear that Melville's place was at the university.

This points to a contradiction between the masculine behaviours that the king expected Melville to uphold and the masculine behaviours that Melville actually demonstrated: Melville's masculinity did not match the king's expectations. James was relatively tolerant of Melville's outbursts over the course of their relationship and clearly highly respected him. They had a positive relationship for many years, with the king telling James Melville in 1594 that he thought Andrew 'to be maist faithfull and trustie'.[244] The king clearly valued academia as a field, being noted himself for the vast volume of writings he produced, being dubbed the 'Writer-King'[245] by Jane Rickard. As previously mentioned, he also supported Melville in his disputes with townspeople in St Andrews, even threatening them with prosecution.[246] His estimation of higher education and of Melville himself can be seen in his 1587 visit to the university, when he brought the visiting French poet Du Bartas to St Andrews, specifically to hear Melville teach.[247] This, as Holloway points out, shows 'the King's own estimate of Melville as an eminent scholar'.[248] However, the king demanded loyalty and obedience, two behaviours Melville would not, or could not, practice towards him. When the king brought Du Bartas, he demanded a lecture from Melville and Melville's initial response was that he had already taught that morning, with the implication that he would not do so again.[249] Melville did acquiesce to giving a lecture but used it as an opportunity to berate the king's supposed interference in

[242] Melville, *Autobiography*, p.418.
[243] Balcarres Papers, vol. 7, fos.53r-54v; 58, July 9. 1597.
[244] Melville, *Autobiography*, p.317.
[245] Jane Rickard, 'The Writings of King James VI and I and Early Modern Literary Culture', *Literature Compass*, vol.9, no.10 (2012), p.658.
[246] Reid, *Humanism and Calvinism*, p.153.
[247] Melville, *Autobiography*, p.255.
[248] Holloway, *Andrew Melville*, p.221.
[249] Melville, *Autobiography*, p.255.

the kirk, leaving James angry, particularly as the lecture was given in front of the whole university.[250]

In contrast, Martine's masculine behaviours did include loyalty and obedience to James. Through a comparison of the king's relationship with Martine and his relationship with Melville, it is clear that James desired masters at the university to support his university and kirk reforms, and act as responsible caretakers of the institution. This created a hierarchy of masculinities at the university, driven by the king, where aligning with his expectations and values led to reward and royal support. When the other masters in the Auld College complained about Martine to the rector in 1587, Martine appealed to the king who ordered the other masters to be obedient to Martine and leave him to handle college business.[251] This favourable treatment towards Martine was consistent and notable, as only a few months after Melville was removed as rector, Martine's 'prerogatives, privileges and jurisdiction'[252] as provost were laid out, clearly giving Martine supremacy over the other masters in the Auld College and commanding them to 'obey and be bound to their said provost'.[253] Compared to Melville, Martine kept his head down regarding reform and national kirk matters, preferring to focus on his own status within the university. Although it can be argued that James and Melville had a more personal and intimate relationship, ultimately Martine's long tenure as provost, compared to Melville's eventual life-exile, demonstrates that he was valued more by James. As a conservative who was loyal to the king, Martine's behaviours – such as appealing to the king and therefore overtly acknowledging his jurisdiction and power – were consistently rewarded by James, with the other masters being made to acknowledge Martine's position over them.[254] Although Martine's behaviours often focussed on self-advancement, this was not at odds with his loyalty to the crown and this was the trait that was rewarded by James, despite the repeated complaints against the provost.

However, Melville's behaviour towards the king and his responsibilities demonstrate there were similarities between him and Martine. Both used their positions as masters and academics to pursue passions which were detrimental to the university (to varying degrees) and which were to their benefit over others. Both clearly felt entitled to certain rights and privileges – whether that be using funds for personal purposes or demanding a say in kirk

---

[250] *Ibid*.
[251] UYSS110 – C4/9, 1587.
[252] Balcarres Papers, vol. 7, fo.96r., October 18. 1597.
[253] *Ibid*.
[254] Reid, *Humanism and Calvinism*, p.121.

matters – and this had a large impact on the university. This indicates that a core part of their masculinities related to the privilege that their positions afforded them, and their attempts to control others' behaviours (Martine with the other masters of the Auld College and Melville with the townspeople) indicate that whilst they did repeatedly demonstrate different masculine behaviours during their careers at St Andrews, there was a similarity in their ignoring certain responsibilities and pursuing other matters for their own gain. However, since they were in positions of authority, where they were personally responsible for a wide range of matters from teaching to discipline, their focus on other affairs and absences created issues. Their using their privilege to further their own interests and gains, despite their varying goals and other masculine behaviours, indicates that privilege and entitlement was also a key part of the academic identity, which could often cause conflict with both those within the same communication community and those without.

Conclusion

The biggest external influences on the university were the town and the king, with each shaping the masculine behaviours of the masters in different ways. Through examining these relationships, we can see how masters like Andrew and James Melville, and James Martine, reacted to different social groups, from participating in local kirk matters to openly criticising the king. These relationships also demonstrate that even though the university was an exclusive, relatively closed-off environment, many masters regularly engaged with different communication communities, showing how their individual behaviours and views were influenced and prioritised. The clear distinction between masters and those who belonged to other social groups – such as the king and his nobility, and the townspeople of St Andrews – reinforce Füssell's argument that academics were perceived as a distinct social category. This distinction is often emphasised, with the kirk session records consistently recording the position of the master mentioned in addition to his name, even when the same masters appear repeatedly.[255] The broader differences in masculine behaviours between these groups – such as the recourse to violence shown by the townspeople in St Andrews compared to the diplomatic approaches of the masters – also show sharp distinction between masters and other groups. Although the masters' masculinities varied too much to show a homogenous masculinity, relations with external influences demonstrate that there were often similarities in dealing with outside forces or show that the behavioural traits of some masters – like Melville and Martine – align in

---

[255] *Register*, Part Two, p.523.

some ways more easily than it first appears. It is clear that external influences with authority (such as the king) created a hierarchy of masculinities, where alignment with certain values and approaches by masters led to recognition and reward, whereas the demonstration of other behaviours led to censure and punishment.

Conclusion

Connell's work is an excellent starting point for thinking more broadly about masculinities and how they interact with each other. By analysing different behaviours and acknowledging the variety in masculine behaviours – whilst recognising wider patterns and systems – sources can be approached with a fresh perspective, filling in the 'gender gap'. However, Connell's theory is rigid and unwieldy, focussing on strict hierarchies that are often specific to certain situations, and does not apply well to historical case studies. Instead, by using concepts such as Szreter's 'communication communities', it is possible to analyse masculine behaviours within a specific environment, such as the University of St Andrews, relating these masculinities to each other and also to those outside of the specific environment. The above research shows that there were many variations in masculine behaviours at St Andrews and that these were heavily conditioned by the privileges, expectations, and responsibilities that masters had towards their students, the university, and local institutions, such as the kirk. Therefore, these masculinities were unique to an academic environment during this period and specific to the men that enacted them. This means that terms like 'hegemonic masculinities' do not apply to this environment, as the behaviours and positions of masters were not emulated by those outside of the institution, and within the university there was too much divergence for one system of masculine behaviour to dominate. This can be seen in the differences between Melville and Martine.

Alternatively, this thesis posits that by recognising these masculinities as 'co-existing masculinities', it is possible to acknowledge both the variations and similarities in masculine behaviours, whilst creating more avenues for research that are not bound by strict labels and hierarchies. Griffin advocates for 'communication communities' so that Connell's hierarchies of masculinities can be used within many different social groups, but, as this thesis has shown, there does not have to be a clear hierarchy of masculinities – with a hegemonic masculinity, complicit masculinity, etc. – for masculinities to interact and shape each other. As the university encompassed three colleges, with many masters, regents, and students, it is impossible to point to one masculinity, or even a couple, that shaped how these men behaved and interacted with one another. Instead, by taking multiple masculinities together, and analysing how these complemented or contrasted each other, we see that masculine behaviours were centred around the individual but would influence and shape others, such as Melville influencing Johnston or Melville and Martine

working together on kirk issues. That is not to say that hierarchies did not exist. It is clear that there were some hierarchies within the university itself – such as regents being unable to marry and therefore being forbidden the status of being a husband – and that outside influences – particularly the king and government – rewarded or punished certain men depending on their actions, creating hierarchies of behaviours. However, these hierarchies do not align with the hegemonic and complicit relationships that Connell lays out. Rather, the hierarchies point to different social groups having various expectations of masters and students, that did influence those at the university but did not create complicit or marginalised masculinities. This is due to the exclusive nature of the university and the varying perceptions that external groups had of those working at the university. Within the institution, broad groups – such as masters, regents, and students – operated in hierarchical patterns but again, this does not align with Connell's hierarchies, as there was no single hegemonic masculinity for the masters, one complicit masculinity for students and regents, etc. However, by analysing the various masculinities and treating them as co-existing, it is possible to explore how these behaviours interacted with each other, as well as with external factors.

By approaching academic history through a gendered lens, further insight has also been gained into the lives of those working and studying at the university. For example, analysing the attacks on Welwood with gender as the focus has demonstrated that masters attempted to use diplomacy and their position within the university to resolve disputes, whereas other men – associated with the town – often used violence as a way to achieve dominance. This demonstrates the value of exploring gender in adding to established narrative histories, providing more detail and re-contextualising events and relationships. Focussing on the way in which men related to each other and how these relations shaped their behaviours yields further insight into a relatively unknown environment, during a fascinating and turbulent period of Scottish history. This thesis adds to the growing research on gender in early modern Scotland and highlights a different approach to academic history. It also emphasises Füssell's argument that academics constituted a separate social category, calling for more research to be undertaken on masters and universities as distinct groups within early modern societies. The next step in this research will be a national study of Scottish universities at the end of the sixteenth century, exploring variations and similarities in masculinities between different institutions, such as the University of Glasgow or the University of Aberdeen. Such a study will indicate whether the masculine behaviours and identities demonstrated above were specific to St

Andrews and how academics behaved more broadly in a Scottish context, with the opportunity to compare these to other western European institutions.

Bibliography

Primary Sources – Manuscript

National Archives of Scotland

- Papers relating to the University of St Andrews (PA 10/1)

National Library of Scotland

- The Balcarres Papers (Advocates MS 29.27), vols. 7-8

St Andrews University Library

- Letter from David Anderson concerning Patrick Adamson (MS BX4705.A4A6)
- Papers relating to the lands and privileges of St Leonard's College, St Andrews (UYSL100)
- Pringle's Book (UYSL156)
- The St Leonard's College Orator's Book (UYSL320)
- Papers relating to the lands and privileges of St Mary's College, St Andrews (UYSM100)
- Papers relating to the lands and privileges of St Salvator's College, St Andrews (UYSS100)
- Papers relating to the provosts and principles of St Salvator's College St Andrews (UYSS200)
- Papers relating to executive proceedings in St Salvator's College, St Andrews (UYSS400)
- Howie's Book (UYUY152/2)
- Matriculation and Graduation Rolls (UYUY305-6)

Primary Sources – Printed

- *Bannatyne Miscellany,* vol. 2, ed. by W. Scott and D. Laing (Edinburgh; Bannatyne Club, 1836)
- Bannatyne, Richard, *Memorials of transactions in Scotland, A.D. MDLXIX-A.D.MDLXXIII* (Edinburgh; Bannatyne Club, 1836)
- Johnston, John, *Letters of John Johnston, c.1565-1611 and Robert Howie, c.1565-1645*, ed. by James K. Cameron (Edinburgh; Oliver & Boyd, 1963)
- Melville, James, *Autobiography and Diary of Mr James Melvill*, ed. by Robert Pitcairn (Edinburgh; Wodrow Society, 1842)

- Moysie, David, *Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland 1577-1603* (Edinburgh; Bannatyne Club, 1830)

- Records of the Parliament of Scotland (www.rps.ac.uk)

- *Register of the Minister Elders and Deacons of the Christian Congregation of St. Andrews*, Part One: 1559-1582, trans. and ed. by David Hay Fleming (Edinburgh; T. and A. Constable, 1890)

- *Register of the Minister Elders and Deacons of the Christian Congregation of St. Andrews*, Part Two: 1582-1600, trans. and ed. by David Hay Fleming (Edinburgh; T. and A. Constable, 1889)

- Smart, R. N., *Alphabetical register of the students, graduates and officials of the University of St Andrews 1579-1747* (St Andrews; University of St Andrews Library, 2012)

- Smith, Mark, 'The Presbytery of St Andrews 1586-1605: A Study and Annotated Edition of the Register of the Minutes of the Presbytery of St Andrews' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of St Andrews, 1985)

- *The Books of Discipline, and of common order; The Directory for Family Worship; The Form of Process; and the order of election of superintendents, ministers, elders, and deacons* (Edinburgh; Edinburgh Printing Press and Publishing Company, 1836)

Secondary Sources

- Abrams, Lynn, and Elizabeth L. Ewan, 'Introduction' in *Nine Centuries of Man: Manhood and Masculinity in Scottish History*, ed. by Lynn Abrams and Elizabeth L. Ewan (Edinburgh; Edinburgh University Press, 2017), pp.1-14

- Austin, Kenneth, 'Academic Exchanges: Letters, the Reformation and Scholarly Self-Fashioning', in *Scholarly self-fashioning and community in the early modern university*, ed. by R. Kirwan (Abingdon; Routledge, 2016), pp.39-58

- Barclay, Katie, *Love, Intimacy and Power: Marriage and Patriarchy in Scotland 1650-1850* (Manchester; Manchester University Press, 2011)

- Barclay, Katie, Tanya Cheadle and Eleanor Gordon, 'The State of Scottish History: Gender', *The Scottish Historical Review*, Vol.92, No.234 (2013), pp.83-107

- Barnes, Jonathan, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Aristotle* (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 1995)

- Bennet, Judith, *History Matters: Patriarchy and the Challenge of Feminism* (Philadelphia; University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007)

- Bradley, Harriet, *Gender* (Cambridge; Routledge, 2013)

- Bray, Alan, *Homosexuality in Renaissance England* (London; Gay Men's Press, 1982)

- Bray, Alan, *The Friend* (Chicago; University of Chicago Press, 2003)

- Brockliss, Laurence, 'Curricula' in *A history of the university in Europe: Vol.2: Universities in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1800*, ed. by Hilde De Ridder-Symoens (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp.563-620

- Brown, Keith, *Noble Society in Scotland: wealth, family and culture from the Reformation to the Revolution* (Edinburgh; Edinburgh University Press, 2000)

- Burnett, Amy Nelson, 'Revisiting Humanism and the Urban Reformation', *Lutheran Quarterly*, Vol. 35, No. 4 (2021), pp.373-400

- Cairns, John W., 'Academic Feud, Bloodfeud, and William Welwood: Legal Education in St Andrews, 1560-1611', *The Edinburgh Law Review*, Vol.2 (1998), pp.255-287

- Cairns, John W., 'Welwood, William', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/29033 [accessed 25.11.2021]

- Cameron, James, 'St Mary's College 1547-1574 – The Second Foundation', in *In Divers Manners: A St Mary's Miscellany*, ed. by D.W.D Shaw (St Andrews; St Mary's College, 1990), pp.43-57

- Cant, Ronald, *The College of St Salvator: Its Foundation and Development* (Edinburgh; Oliver and Boyd, 1950)

- Cant, Ronald, 'The New Foundation of 1579 in Historical Perspective', *St John's House Papers*, Vol.2 (1979)

- Cant, Ronald, *The University of St Andrews: A short history* (Edinburgh; Scottish Academic Press, 1970)

- Capp, Bernard, ''Jesus wept' but did the Englishman? Masculinity and emotion in early modern England', *Past and Present*, no.224 (2014), pp.75-108

- Connell, R.W, *Masculinities* (New York; Routledge, 2020)

- Connell, R.W., and James W. Messerschmidt 'Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept', *Gender & Society*, Vol.19, No.6 (December 2005), pp.829-859

- Cornell, Harriet, 'Social Control and Masculinity in Early Modern Scotland: Expectations and Behaviour in a Lowland Parish' in *Nine Centuries of Man: Manhood and Masculinity in Scottish History*, ed. by Lynn Abrams and Elizabeth L. Ewan (Edinburgh; Edinburgh University Press, 2017), pp.183-199

- Cowan, Ian, *The Scottish Reformation: Church and Society in sixteenth century Scotland* (London; George Weidenfeld and Nicolson Limited, 1982)

- Davies, Jonathan, 'The Ideal Student: Manuals of Student Behaviour in Early Modern Italy', in *Scholarly self-fashioning and community in the early modern university*, ed. by R. Kirwan (Abingdon; Routledge, 2016), pp.21-37

- Dawson, Graham, Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities (London; Routledge, 1994)

- Demetriou, Demetrakis Z., 'Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity: A critique', *Theory and Society*, Vol.30 (2001), pp.337-361

- Ditz, Toby L., 'The New Men's History and the Peculiar Absence of Gendered Power: Some Remedies from Early American Gender History', *Gender & History*, Vol.16, No.1 (2004), pp.1-35

- Donaldson, Gordon, *The Scottish Reformation* (London; Cambridge University Press, 1960)

- Donaldson, Mike, 'What is Hegemonic Masculinity?', *Theory and Society*, Vol.22, No.5 (October 1993), pp.643-657

- Duncanson, Claire, 'Hegemonic Masculinity and the Possibility of Change in Gender Relations', *Men and Masculinities,* Vol.18, No.2 (2015), pp.231-248

- Durkan, John, *Scottish Schools and Schoolmasters*, ed. by Jamie Reid-Baxter (Woodbridge; The Boydell Press, 2006)

- Ewan, Elizabeth, 'Living in the Late Medieval Town of St Andrews', in *Medieval St Andrews: Church, Cult, City*, ed. by Michael Brown and Katie Stevenson (Woodbridge; Boydell & Brewer Ltd., 2017), pp.117-140

- Ewan, Elizabeth, and Janay Nugent, 'Introduction: Where is the Family in Medieval and Early Modern Scotland?' in *Finding the Family in Medieval and Early Modern Scotland*, ed. by Elizabeth Ewan and Janay Nugent (London; Routledge, 2008), pp.1-8

- Falconer, J.R.D., 'A Family Affair: Households, Misbehaving and the Community in Sixteenth-Century Aberdeen', in *Finding the Family in Medieval and Early Modern Scotland*, ed. by Elizabeth Ewan and Janay Nugent (London; Routledge, 2008), pp.139-150

- Foyster, Elizabeth A, *Manhood in Early Modern England*: *Honour, Sex and Marriage* (Harlow; Addison Wesley Longman Limited, 1999)

- Füssel, Marian, 'A Struggle for Nobility: 'Nobilitas literaria' as Academic Self-Fashioning in Early Modern Germany', in *Scholarly self-fashioning and community in the early modern university*, ed. by R. Kirwan (Abingdon; Routledge, 2016), pp.103-120

- Goodare, Julian, *State and Society in Early Modern Scotland* (Oxford; Oxford University Press, 1999)

- Graham, Michael, *The Uses of Reform: 'Godly Discipline' and Popular Behaviour in Scotland and Beyond, 1560-1610* (Leiden; Brill, 1996)

- Green, Ian, *Humanism and Protestantism in Early Modern English Education* (Farnham; Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2009)

- Griffin, Ben, 'Hegemonic Masculinity as a Historical Problem', *Gender & History*, Vol.30, No.2 (July 2018), pp.377-400)

- Harvey, Karen, 'Gender II: Masculinity Acquires a History' in *The SAGE Handbook of Historical Theory*, ed. by Nancy Partner and Sarah Foot (London; SAGE Publications, 2013), pp.282-291

- Hern, Jeff, 'From hegemonic masculinity to the hegemony of men', *Feminist Theory*, Vol.5, No.1 (2004), pp.49-72

- Hern, Jeff, 'So What Has Been, Is, and Might Be Going on in Studying Men and Masculinities? Some Continuities and Discontinuities', *Men and Masculinities*, Vol.22, No.1 (2019), pp.53-63

- Hollander, Melissa, 'The Name of the Father: Baptism and the Social Construction of Fatherhood in Early Modern Edinburgh' in *Finding the Family in Medieval and Early Modern Scotland*, ed. by Elizabeth Ewan and Janay Nugent (London; Routledge, 2008), pp.63-72

- Holloway, Ernest R., *Andrew Melville and humanism in Renaissance Scotland, 1545-1622* (Leiden; Brill, 2011)

- Karras, Ruth Mazo, *From Boys to Men: Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia; University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003)

- Kearney, Hugh, *Scholars and Gentlemen: Universities and Society in Pre-Industrial Britain, 1500-1700* (London; Faber and Faber, 1970)

- Kirk, James, 'Adamson [Constantine], Patrick', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/145 [accessed 04.11.2021]

- Kirk, James, 'Melville, Andrew' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18543 [accessed 04.11.2021]

- Kirk, James, 'Melville, James' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/18547 [accessed 04.11.2021]

- Kirk, James, '"Melvillian" Reform in the Scottish Universities', in *The Renaissance in Scotland: Studies in Literature, Religion, History and Culture*, ed. by Alasdair MacDonald, Michael Lynch and Iain Cowan (Leiden; Brill, 1994), pp.276-300

- Leonard, Amy E., 'Introduction' in *Masculinities, Violence, Childhood: Attending to Early Modern Women-and Men*, ed. by Amy E. Leonard and Karen L. Nelson (Newark; The Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, 2011), pp.3-18

- Maag, Karin, 'Schools and Education, 1500-1600', in *A Companion to the Swiss Reformation,* ed. by Amy Nelson Burett and Emidio Campi (Leiden; Brill, 2016), pp.520-541

- MacDonald, Alan, 'Best of Enemies: Andrew Melville and Patrick Adamson, c.1574-1592', in *Sixteenth-Century Scotland: Essays in Honour of Michael*

Lynch, ed. by Julian Goodare and Alasdair MacDonald (Leiden; Brill, 2008), pp.257-276

- Mason, Roger A., 'University, City and Society', in *Medieval St Andrews: Church, Cult, City*, ed. by Michael Brown and Katie Stevenson (Woodbridge; Boydell & Brewer Ltd., 2017), pp.268-297

- McCallum, John, '"Sone and servant": Andrew Melville and his nephew, James (1556-1614)', in *Andrew Melville (1545-1622): Writings, Reception and Reputation*, ed. by R.A. Mason and S.J. Reid (Farnham; Ashgate, 2014), pp.201-14

- McLaren, Colin, *Aberdeen Students 1600-1800* (Aberdeen; Aberdeen University Press, 2005)

- M'Crie, Thomas, *Life of Andrew Melville: containing illustrations of the ecclesiastical and literary history of Scotland during the latter part of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century: with an appendix consisting of original papers* (Edinburgh; Blackwood, 1899)

- Messerschmidt, James W., 'The Salience of "Hegemonic Masculinity"', *Men and Masculinities,* Vol.22, No.1 (2019), pp.85-91

- Müller, Rainer A., 'Student Education, Student Life' in *A history of the university in Europe: Vol.2: Universities in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1800*, ed. by Hilde De Ridder-Symoens (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp.326-354

- Nugent, Janay, '"None Must Meddle Betueene Man and Wife": Assessing Family and the Fluidity of Public and Private in Early Modern Scotland', *Journal of Family History*, Vol.35, No.3 (2010), pp.219-231

- Nugent, Janay, 'Reformed Masculinity: Ministers, Fathers and Male Heads of Households, 1560-1660' in *Nine Centuries of Man: Manhood and Masculinity in Scottish History*, ed. by Lynn Abrams and Elizabeth L. Ewan (Edinburgh; Edinburgh University Press, 2017), pp.39-52

- Petersen, Alan, 'Research on Men and Masculinities: Some Implications of Recent Theory for Future Work', *Men and Masculinities*, Vol.6, No.1 (2003), pp.54-69

- Phillips, Kim, and Barry Reay, *Sex before Sexuality: A premodern history* (Cambridge; Polity Press, 2011)

- Plattard, Jean, 'Scottish Masters and Students at Poitiers in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century', *Scottish Historical Review*, Vol.21 (1924) pp.82-86

- Reid, Steven, *Humanism and Calvinism* (Surrey; Ashgate Publishing, 2011)
- Reid, Steven, and Roger A. Mason, 'Introduction' in *Andrew Melville (1545-1622): writings, reception, and reputation,* ed. by R.A Mason and S.J Reid (Surrey; Ashgate Publishing, 2014), pp.1-10
- Rickard, Jane, 'The Writings of King James VI and I and Early Modern Literary Culture', *Literature Compass*, vol.9, no.10 (2012), pp.654-664
- Ryrie, Alec, *The origins of the Scottish Reformation* (Manchester; Manchester University Press, 2006)
- Saarinen, Iida, 'Boys to manly men of God: Scottish seminarian manliness in the nineteenth century', *The Innes Review*, Vol.65, Vol.2 (2014), pp.113-127
- Scott, Joan W., 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis', *American Historical Review*, Vol.91, No.5 (December 1986), pp.1053-1075
- Shepard, Alex, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford; Clarendon Press, 2006)
- Shepard, Alex, 'Manhood, Patriarchy, and Gender in Early Modern History' in *Masculinities, Violence, Childhood: Attending to Early Modern Women-and Men*, ed. by Amy E. Leonard and Karen L. Nelson (Newark; The Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, 2011), pp.77-95
- Stevenson, Katie, 'Heresy, Inquisition and Late Medieval St Andrews', in *Medieval St Andrews: Church, Cult, City*, ed. by Michael Brown and Katie Stevenson (Woodbridge; Boydell & Brewer Ltd., 2017), pp.330-344
- Szreter, Simon, 'Populations for Studying the Causes of Britain's Fertility Decline' in *Population in the Human Sciences: Concepts, Models, Evidence*, ed. by Philip Kreager, et al. (Oxford; Clarendon Press, 2015), pp.172-192
- Todd, Margo, 'The Church and Religion in 1625' in *Scotland: the Making and Unmaking of the Nation C.1100-1707 (vol.2)*, ed. by Bob Harris and Alan R. MacDonald (Dundee; Dundee University Press, 2007), pp.107-125
- Todd, Margo, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland* (London; Yale University Press, 2002)
- Tosh, John, 'Hegemonic masculinity and the history of gender' in *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History*, ed. by Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagermaan and John Tosh (Manchester; Manchester University Press, 2004), pp.41-58
- Vandermeersch, Peter A., 'Teachers' in *A history of the university in Europe: Vol.2: Universities in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1800*, ed. by Hilde De

Ridder-Symoens (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp.210-255

- Woods, Marjorie Curry, 'Rape and the pedagogical rhetoric of sexual violence', in *Criticism and dissent in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Rita Copeland (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp.56-86

- Wormald, Jenny, *Court, Kirk, and Community: Scotland, 1470-1625* (Edinburgh; Edinburgh University Press, 2001)

- Wormald, Jenny, 'The Reign of James VI: 1573-1625' in *Scotland: the Making and Unmaking of the Nation C.1100-1707 (vol.2)*, ed. by Bob Harris and Alan R. MacDonald (Dundee; Dundee University Press, 2007), pp.18-35

- Wormald, Jenny, 'The Headaches of Monarchy: Kingship and the Kirk in the Early Seventeenth Century', in *Sixteenth-Century Scotland: Essays in Honour of Michael Lynch,* ed. by Julian Goodare and Alasdair MacDonald (Leiden; Brill,2008), pp.365-393

- Wormald, Jenny, 'James VI and I, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/14592 [accessed 22.08.2022]

- Young, Michael, 'James VI and I: Time for a Reconsideration?', *Journal of British Studies*, vol.51, no.3 (2012), pp.540-567