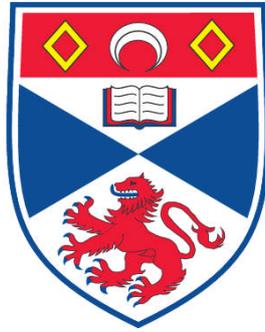


**EDUCATION IN POST-REFORMATION SCOTLAND:
ANDREW MELVILLE AND THE UNIVERSITY OF ST ANDREWS,
1560-1606**

Steven J. Reid

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St. Andrews**



2008

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Steven John Reid

**Education in Post-Reformation Scotland:
Andrew Melville and the University of St Andrews, 1560-1606**

A thesis submitted for the degree of PhD in History at the University of St Andrews
August 2008

Abstract

Andrew Melville (1545-1622) was the leader of the Presbyterian wing of the Scottish Kirk between 1574 and 1607, and he and his colleagues were a perpetual irritant to James VI and I in his attempts to establish a royal and Episcopal dominance over the Kirk. Yet much of Melville's reputation has been based on the seventeenth-century Presbyterian historical narratives written by the likes of James Melville (Andrew's nephew) and David Calderwood. These partisan accounts formed the basis of modern historiography in Thomas M'Crie's monumentally influential *Life of Andrew Melville*. Modern historians broadly agree that Melville's portrayal as a powerful and decisive church leader in these narratives is greatly exaggerated, and that he was at best an influential voice in the Kirk who was quickly marginalised by the adult James VI. However, only James Kirk has commented at any length on Melville's other role in Jacobean Scotland—that of developing and reforming the Scottish universities. Melville revitalised the near-defunct Glasgow University between 1574 and 1580, and from 1580 to 1607 was principal of St Mary's College, St Andrews, Scotland's only divinity college. He was also rector of the University of St Andrews between 1590 and 1597. This thesis provides a detailed account of Melville's personal role in the reform and expansion of the Scottish universities. This includes an analysis of his direct work at Glasgow, but focuses primarily on St Andrews, using the untapped archival sources held there and at the Scottish National Library and Archives to create a detailed picture of the development of the University after the Reformation. This thesis also evaluates the intellectual content of Melville's reform programme, both as it developed during his time in Paris, Poitiers and Geneva, and as we see it in action in St Andrews.

Declarations

I, Steven John Reid, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 80,000 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

Date: 20/08/2008

Signature:

I was admitted as a research student in September 2005 and as a candidate for the degree of PhD in History in September 2005; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St Andrews between 2005 and 2008.

Date:20/08/2008

Signature:

I hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate for the degree of PhD in History in the University of St Andrews and that the candidate is qualified to submit this thesis in application for that degree.

Date: 20/08/2008

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St Andrews, 20 August 2008

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Abbreviations and conventions

<i>Acta</i>	A. I. Dunlop (ed.), <i>Acta Facultatis Artium Sancti Andreae</i> , single volume edition (Edinburgh, 1961)
Acta Rectorum	St Andrews University Library Special Collections, UYUY350, 3 vols. All references are to volume 2 unless otherwise specified.
<i>APS</i>	C. Innes and T. Thomson (eds.), <i>The Acts of the Parliament of Scotland</i> , 12 vols (Edinburgh, 1814-75)
<i>Bannatyne Miscellany</i>	W. Scott and D. Laing (eds.), <i>Bannatyne Miscellany</i> , 3 vols (Bannatyne Club, 1827-1855)
Balcarres Papers	National Library of Scotland, Advocate's Manuscript 29.2
<i>BUK</i>	T. Thomson (ed.), <i>Acts and Proceedings of the General Assemblies of the Kirk of Scotland from the year MDLX</i> , 3 vols (Maitland Club, 1839-45)
Cairns, 'Academic feud'	J. Cairns, 'Academic feud, bloodfeud, and William Welwood: legal education in St Andrews, 1560-1611', <i>Edinburgh Law Review</i> 2 (1998)
Calderwood	D. Calderwood, <i>The History of the Kirk of Scotland</i> , ed. T. Thomson, 8 vols (Wodrow Society, 1842-9)
Cameron, <i>Letters</i>	J. K. Cameron (ed.), <i>Letters of John Johnston and Robert Howie</i> (St Andrews, 1963)
Cant	R. G. Cant, <i>The University of St Andrews: A Short History</i> , fourth edition (St Andrews, 2002)
<i>DPS</i>	A. Johnstone (ed.), <i>Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum</i> , 2 vols (Amsterdam, 1637)
Durkan/Kirk	J. Durkan and J. Kirk, <i>The University of Glasgow 1451-1577</i> (Glasgow, 1977)
<i>Early Records</i>	J. Maitland Anderson (ed.), <i>Early records of the University of St. Andrews: the Graduation Roll 1413-1579 and the Matriculation Roll 1473-1579</i> (SHS, 1926)
<i>EBST</i>	<i>Edinburgh Bibliographic Society Transactions</i>

<i>Evidence</i>	<i>Evidence, Oral and Documentary, taken by the Commissioners appointed by King George IV, for visiting the Universities of Scotland</i> , 4 vols (London, 1837). All references are to volume 3 unless otherwise specified.
<i>FBD</i>	J. K. Cameron (ed.), <i>The First Book of Discipline</i> (Edinburgh, 1972)
<i>FES</i>	D. E. R. Watt and A. L. Murray (eds.) <i>Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae</i> (Scottish Records Society, 2003)
<i>IR</i>	<i>Innes Review</i>
<i>JMAD</i>	J. Melville, <i>The Autobiography and Diary of Mr James Melvill</i> , ed. R. Pitcairn (Wodrow Society, 1842)
Kirk, “Melvillian” reform’	J. Kirk, “Melvillian” reform in the Scottish universities’, in A. A. MacDonald, M. Lynch, and I. B. Cowan (eds.), <i>The Renaissance in Scotland: Studies in Literature, Religion, History and Culture</i> (Leiden, 1994), 272-300
M’Crie	T. M’Crie, <i>Life of Andrew Melville</i> , various editions. All references are to the single volume edition (1856), unless otherwise specified.
<i>Munimenta</i>	C. Innes (ed.), <i>Munimenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis</i> , 3 vols and appendix vol IV (Maitland Club, 1854)
<i>Musae</i>	T. Wilson (ed.), <i>Viri Clarissimi A. Melvini Musae et P. Adamsoni Vita et Palinodia et Celsae Commissionis cue Delagatae Potestatis Regiae in Causis Ecclesiasticis Brevis & Aperta Descriptio</i> (Netherlands, 1620)
<i>ODNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> (Oxford University Press, 2004) (www.oxforddnb.com)
<i>RCP</i>	R. M. Kingdon and J. F. Bergier (eds.), <i>Registres de la Compagnie des Pasteurs de Genève</i> (Geneva, 1962-)
<i>RPC</i>	J. H Burton et al (eds.), <i>The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland</i> (Edinburgh, 1877-)
<i>RSS</i>	M. Livingstone et al (eds.), <i>Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum</i> (Edinburgh, 1908-)

<i>RStAKS</i>	Hay Fleming, D. (ed.), <i>Register of the Minister, Elders and Deacons of the Christian Congregation of St Andrews, 1559-1600</i> , 2 vols (SHS, 1889-90)
<i>SBD</i>	J. Kirk (ed.), <i>The Second Book of Discipline</i> (Edinburgh, 1980)
<i>SHR</i>	<i>Scottish Historical Review</i>
SHS	Scottish History Society
<i>Smart, Register</i>	R. N. Smart, 'Draft biographical register of students at the University of St Andrews, 1579-1747'
<i>StAPR</i>	M. 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)
UYSL	St Andrews University Library Special Collections, Records of St Leonard's College, University of St Andrews
UYSM	St Andrews University Library Special Collections, Records of St Mary's College, University of St Andrews
UYSS	St Andrews University Library Special Collections, Records of St Salvator's College, University of St Andrews
UYUY	St Andrews University Library Special Collections, Records of the University of St Andrews

All dates are given assuming the New Year begins on 1 January. All sums of money are given in £ Scots (£), shillings (*s.*), and pence (*d.*). A merk is equal to two thirds of £1 Scots. All quotations from primary sources have kept original spellings. Contractions and abbreviations in manuscripts have been silently expanded.

Introduction

Andrew Melville (1545-1622) has been seen by most historians as the successor to John Knox and George Buchanan in the tradition of Scottish radical intellectuals. Melville was the leader of the Presbyterian wing of the Kirk from his return to Scotland in 1574 (after a decade of study on the Continent), until his imprisonment in the tower of London in 1607. He and his colleagues were a perpetual irritant to James VI and I in his attempts to establish a royal and Episcopal dominance over the Kirk. Yet much of Melville's reputation has been based on an over-reliance on the Presbyterian historical narratives, written in the early seventeenth century, by the likes of James Melville (Andrew's nephew) and David Calderwood. These partisan accounts formed the basis of modern historiography in Thomas M'Crie's monumentally influential *Life of Andrew Melville*.¹ A number of historians, including Gordon Donaldson, David Mullan, and Alan MacDonald, have reassessed Melville's role in Scottish ecclesiastical politics over the past thirty years. They broadly agree that his portrayal as a powerful and decisive church leader in these narratives is greatly exaggerated, and that he was at best an influential voice in the Kirk who was quickly marginalised by the adult James VI. However, only James Kirk has commented at any length on Melville's other role in Jacobean Scotland—that of developing and reforming the Scottish universities.² Melville revitalised the near-defunct Glasgow University between 1574 and 1580, and from 1580 to 1607 was principal of St Mary's College, St Andrews, Scotland's only divinity college. He was also rector of the University of St Andrews between 1590 and 1597 when the Presbyterian faction enjoyed its greatest favour at the Scottish court. This thesis sets out to provide a detailed account of Melville's personal role in the reform and expansion of the Scottish universities. This includes an analysis of his direct work at

¹ T. M'Crie, *Life of Andrew Melville*, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1819); reissued in a revised and expanded version in 1824, and as a single volume edition in 1856. All references in the thesis to M'Crie's work are to the single volume edition, unless otherwise indicated. The main contemporary accounts of Melville's life are J. Melville, *The Autobiography and Diary of Mr James Melvill*, ed. R. Pitcairn (Wodrow Society, 1842); D. Calderwood, *History of the Kirk of Scotland by Mr David Calderwood*, ed. T. Thomson, 8 vols (Wodrow Society, 1842-49); J. Row, *History of the Kirk of Scotland from the Year 1558 to August 1637*, ed. D. Laing (Wodrow Society, 1842); W. Scot, *An Apologetical Narration of the State and Government of the Kirk of Scotland since the Reformation*, ed. D. Laing (Wodrow Society, 1846).

² J. Durkan and J. Kirk, *The University of Glasgow, 1451-1577* (Glasgow, 1977), 262-346; J. Kirk, "'Melvillian' reform in the Scottish universities", in A. A. MacDonald, M. Lynch, and I. B. Cowan (eds.), *The Renaissance in Scotland: Studies in Literature, Religion, History and Culture* (Leiden, 1994), 276-300.

Glasgow, but focuses primarily on St Andrews, using the untapped archival sources held by both the university and the Scottish National Library and Archives. It also evaluates the intellectual content of his reform programme, both as it developed during his time in Paris, Poitiers and Geneva, and as we see it in action in St Andrews.

The source materials for this thesis are the primarily unpublished records of the University of St Andrews. The acts of the Faculty of Arts, the central administrative body of the university, have been printed up to 1588 with an excellent introduction, as have the post-Reformation re-ordering of the statutes of the Arts and Theology Faculties between 1560 and 1570.³ The university's matriculation and graduation records from its foundation up to 1579 have also been published.⁴ A governmental visitation to St Andrews in the early nineteenth century also resulted in the publication of a number of the key early charters and records of the university.⁵ Manuscript sources held at the university, such as the *Acta Rectorum*,⁶ contain unprinted matriculation and graduation information for the years 1579 to 1746. The UYSS category of manuscript records, consisting of papers relating to St Salvator's College, is particularly useful. This series includes the legal dealings of the college and material from the royal government relating to its administration, and the college's laws and statutes up to the late seventeenth century. The National Archives of Scotland PA10/1 collection is a series of St Andrews visitation records for the period 1574-6. In the Balcarres Papers in the National Library of Scotland there are over 200 folio pages of material relating to St Andrews for the early modern period, particularly in relation to the 1588 and 1597 royal visitations to the university.⁷

There are several reasons for pursuing this thesis. The first is purely narrative. No detailed study exists of the process by which the Scottish universities shed their Catholic heritage, nor is there a detailed understanding of the roles played by the Kirk and the Scottish government in this process. While this thesis initially started as just such a comparative study, it soon became apparent that the other Scottish institutions

³ A. I. Dunlop (ed.), *Acta Facultatis Artium Sancti Andreae* (single volume edition, Edinburgh, 1961). R. K. Hannay (ed.), *The Statutes of the Faculty of Arts and the Faculty of Theology at the Period of the Reformation* (St Andrews, 1910).

⁴ J. Maitland Anderson, *Early records of the University of St. Andrews: the Graduation Roll 1413-1579 and the Matriculation Roll 1473-1579* (SHS, 1926)

⁵ *Evidence, Oral and Documentary, taken by the Commissioners appointed by King George IV, for visiting the Universities of Scotland*, 4 vols (London, 1837). All references are to volume 3 unless otherwise specified.

⁶ St Andrews University Library Special Collections, UYUY350, 3 vols. All references are to volume 2 unless otherwise specified.

⁷ National Library of Scotland Advocates MS 29.27, vols 7-8.

have all recently been well served in this respect via individual narrative histories. The reason such a narrative has not been written for St Andrews is in part down to record accessibility. King's College, Marischal College, and Glasgow University each benefit from comprehensive printed collections of their early modern records, including their statutes and laws, foundation and endowment charters, matriculation and graduation records, and biographical sketches of notable staff and graduates.⁸ Edinburgh has a similar collection for its charters and statutes but not its matriculation records, and has a number of printed narrative accounts of its institutional history.⁹

Works produced from these sources have clarified our understanding of Melville's involvement in higher education outside St Andrews. The most detailed analysis of any of the early Scottish universities is the history of Glasgow University up to 1577 written by John Durkan and James Kirk.¹⁰ A survey of King's College, Aberdeen between 1560 and 1641 by David Stevenson¹¹ concluded that, although Melville's curricular reforms were adopted in a planned re-foundation of the college in 1582/83, they were never implemented to any great extent. In the middle of last century G. D. Henderson wrote an account of the events and cultural context behind the foundation of Marischal College, Aberdeen in 1592,¹² and D. B. Horn wrote an excellent narrative of the early history of Edinburgh.¹³ Both argued that Melville's influence lay behind the curriculum outlined in the statutes of these two foundations. However, a number of short articles by Michael Lynch on the foundation and early development of Edinburgh University, and another article more recently on Marischal College, have argued that both institutions actually had very little 'Melvillian' influence. They were in fact 'toun [town] colleges' erected to provide cheap and

⁸ *Fasti Aberdonenses: Selections from the Records of the University and King's College of Aberdeen*, ed. C. Innes (Spalding Club, 1854); *Fasti Academiae Mariscallanae Aberdonensis*, ed. P. J. Anderson, 2 vols and appendix vol III ed. J. F. Kellas Johnstone (New Spalding Club, 1889-1898); *Munimenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis*, ed. C. Innes, 3 vols and appendix vol IV (Maitland Club, 1854); *Officers and Graduates of University and King's College, Aberdeen*, ed. P. J. Anderson (New Spalding Club, 1893).

⁹ *University of Edinburgh Charters, Statutes, and Acts of the Town Council and Senatus 1583-1858*, ed. A. Morgan (Edinburgh, 1937); A. Bower, *The History of the University of Edinburgh*, 3 vols (Edinburgh, 1817-1830), T. Craufurd, *History of the University of Edinburgh from 1580-1646* (Edinburgh, 1808). Craufurd, writing in the seventeenth century, is particularly useful as a contemporary eyewitness.

¹⁰ See note 2.

¹¹ D. Stevenson, *King's College, Aberdeen, 1560-1641: From Protestant Reformation to Covenanting Revolution* (Aberdeen, 1990), esp. chapters 2 and 3, 20-60.

¹² G. D. Henderson, *The Founding of Marischal College* (Aberdeen, 1947).

¹³ D. B. Horn, 'The origins of the University of Edinburgh', *University of Edinburgh Journal* 22 (1967) 213-225, 297-312; *Idem, A Short History of the University of Edinburgh, 1556-1889* (Edinburgh, 1967).

effective education for the sons of the local citizenry, and were controlled by the town councils.¹⁴

The published history of St Andrews is much more fragmentary. Although a considerable amount has been published on the pre-Reformation foundations,¹⁵ there are only short narratives of the university post-1560, written by Ronald Cant and James K. Cameron.¹⁶ St Andrews comprised three separate colleges in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century – St Salvator’s (founded 1450), St Leonard’s (1512), and St Mary’s (1525, and refounded 1537/8 and 1555) – and the total number of students at St Andrews in any given year between 1560 and 1620 outnumbered the total number of students combined at the other Scottish institutions.¹⁷ Consequently, any discussion of Scottish education in the post-Reformation period *must* place St Andrews at the centre, and a new and detailed narrative is required to do this.

The second purpose of this thesis is to locate post-Reformation Scottish education more securely in the Continental reformed context in which it should be seen. In the fifty years since John Durkan published his seminal article ‘The beginnings of humanism in Scotland’,¹⁸ considerable work has been done in tracing the flowering of humanist culture in Scotland and its impact on Scotland’s royal court, its nobles, and its leading thinkers and statesmen.¹⁹ But while our understanding of both late medieval scholasticism and Renaissance humanism has grown considerably

¹⁴ M. Lynch, ‘The origins of Edinburgh’s “Toun College”: a revision article’, *IR* 33 (1982), 3-14; *Idem*, ‘The creation of a college’, in R. D. Anderson, M. Lynch, and N. Phillipson, *The University of Edinburgh: an Illustrated History* (Edinburgh, 2003), 1-49, at 9-18; S. J. Reid, ‘Aberdeen’s “Toun College”: Marischal College, 1593-1623’, *IR* 58.2 (2007), 173-195.

¹⁵ R. G. Cant, *The College of St Salvator: Its Foundation and Development* (Edinburgh, 1950); A. I. Dunlop, *The Life and Times of Bishop James Kennedy* (Edinburgh, 1950); J. Herkless and R. K. Hannay, *The College of St Leonard* (Edinburgh, 1905); J. K. Cameron, ‘A trilingual college for Scotland: the founding of St Mary’s College’ in D. W. D Shaw (ed.), *In Divers Manners: A St Mary’s Miscellany* (St Mary’s College, 1990), 29-42.

¹⁶ R. G. Cant, *The University of St Andrews: A Short History*, 4th edn (St Andrews, 2002); *Idem*, ‘The New Foundation of 1579 in historical perspective’ (*St John’s House Papers* 2, 1979); J. K. Cameron, ‘The refoundation of the university in 1579’, *St Andrews Alumnus Chronicle* lxxi (1980), 3-10; *Idem*, ‘St Mary’s College 1547-1574—the second foundation: the principalship of John Douglas’, and ‘Andrew Melville in St Andrews’, in *In Divers Manners*, 43-73.

¹⁷ See appendix.

¹⁸ *IR* 4.1 (1953), 4-24.

¹⁹ See, for example, B. E. Crawford (ed.), *Church, Chronicle and Learning in Medieval and Early Renaissance Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1999); J. MacQueen (ed.), *Humanism in Renaissance Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1999); S. L. Mapstone and J. Wood (eds.), *The Rose and the Thistle: Essays on the Culture of Late Medieval and Renaissance Scotland* (East Linton, 1998); L. A. J. R. Houwen, A. A. MacDonald, and S. L. Mapstone (eds.), *A Palace in the Wild: Essays on Vernacular Culture and Humanism in Late-Medieval and Renaissance Scotland* (Leuven, 2000); R. A. Mason, *Kingship and the Commonwealth: Political Thought in Renaissance and Reformation Scotland* (East Linton, 1998); A. Thomas, *Princelie Majestie: The Court of James V of Scotland, 1528-1542* (Edinburgh, 2005); K. Stevenson, *Chivalry and Knighthood in Scotland, 1424-1513* (Woodbridge and Rochester, 2006).

over the past few decades, particularly in terms of their interaction after the Reformation, this has not been reflected in Scottish scholarship. Individual studies of the new reformed educational institutions of northern Europe, and general studies of early modern European education, have revised our understanding of the curriculum and of the role of the works of Aristotle within it.²⁰ Particularly, studies of the development of logic and rhetoric in the sixteenth century indicate that, despite developments at the hands of educational reformers including Rudolph Agricola, Juan Luis Vives, Peter Melancthon, and Petrus Ramus, there was nevertheless a fundamental continuation of the scholastic and Aristotelian intellectual heritage.²¹ As Erika Rummell noted succinctly in her discussion of the shifting paradigms and patterns of the humanist and scholastic debate:

Our examination of the humanistic approach to dialectic reveals a number of common characteristics: a critical attitude toward Aristotelian doctrine; rejection of medieval technical terminology; a shift from formal to informal modes of inference; and a concern for the practical applicability of dialectical skills. Humanist criticism of traditional dialectic did not, however, issue in significant new constructs.²²

At the end of the sixteenth century the works of Aristotle, though presented in the original Greek rather than Latin and freed from the constraints of the medieval

²⁰ A. N. Burnett, *Teaching the Reformation: Ministers and their Message in Basel, 1529-1629* (Oxford, 2006); J. M. Fletcher, 'Change and resistance to change: a consideration of the development of English and German universities during the sixteenth century', *History of Universities* 1 (1981), 1-36; G. Lewis, 'The Geneva Academy', in A. Pettegree, P. Duke and G. Lewis (eds.), *Calvinism in Europe 1540-1620* (Cambridge, 1994), 35-63; K. Maag, *Seminary or University? The Genevan Academy and Reformed Higher Education, 1560-1620* (Aldershot, 1995); C. Methuen, 'The teaching of Aristotle in late sixteenth-century Tübingen' in C. Blackwell and S. Kusukawa (eds.), *Philosophy in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: Conversations with Aristotle* (Aldershot, 1999), 189-205; H. Notker-Hammerstein, 'The University of Heidelberg in the early modern period: aspects of its history as a contribution to its sexcentenary', *History of Universities* 6 (1986), 105-133; H. Robinson-Hammerstein (ed.), *European Universities in the Age of Reformation and Counter Reformation* (Dublin, 1998); A. Grafton and L. Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities: Education and the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge, Mass., 1986); H. De Ridder-Symoens (ed.), *A History of the University in Europe, volume II: Universities in Early Modern Europe (1500-1800)* (Cambridge, 1996).

²¹ L. Jardine, 'Inventing Rudolph Agricola: cultural transmission, Renaissance dialectic, and the emerging humanities', in A. Grafton and A. Blair (eds.), *The Transmission of Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Philadelphia, 1990), 39-86; *Idem*, 'Humanistic logic', in C. B. Schmitt *et al* (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy* (Cambridge, 1988), 173-98; P. Mack, *Renaissance Argument: Valla and Agricola in the Traditions of Rhetoric and Dialectic* (Leiden, 1993); C. B. Schmitt, 'Philosophy and science in sixteenth-century universities: some preliminary comments', in J. E. Murdoch and E. D. Sylla (eds.), *The Cultural Context of Medieval Learning* (Dordrecht-Boston, 1975), 485-530, esp. at 489-495; *Idem*, 'Towards a reassessment of Renaissance Aristotelianism', *History of Science* 11 (1973), 159-193.

²² E. Rummell, *The Humanist-Scholastic Debate in the Renaissance and Reformation* (Cambridge, Mass., 1995), 189.

commentators, still provided the underpinning of university curricula. More importantly, Aristotle's logical terminology and methodology provided the common ground and tools for learned debate across Europe, especially in theology. Catholic theology, reacting against the early reformers and coalescing around the debates of Trent, never truly relinquished its Aristotelian heritage.²³ Initially there was a strong reaction against Aristotle amongst reformed theologians, particularly towards his metaphysical teachings which were abhorred for their overly speculative tendencies and their attempt 'to construct a rational science of God'.²⁴ By the end of the sixteenth century, however, Beza and other leading reformers had re-embraced Aristotelianism and metaphysics had begun to reappear in Protestant education, heralding the great age of a systematic Protestant theology in the seventeenth century.²⁵

However, in discussions of Scottish reformed education, there is still a conception that humanism was a radical intellectual force that obliterated a backward-looking, conservative scholasticism, and that there was nothing of merit in the latter and nothing but merit in the former. This is particularly the case in the most recent assessments of both Melville's reform programme, and the role of the works and ideas of Petrus Ramus within it. James Kirk and Hugh Kearney both portrayed Melville's reform programme as 'anti-Aristotelian' and 'anti-scholastic', and portrayed Ramism as an ideological tool used by Melville to recruit young students to radical Presbyterianism. Kearney believed that Melville's reform programme used the universities as centres from which to drive a Presbyterian 'urban revolution' in Scotland and where the practical ideals of Ramism reflected the radical view of social democracy that Melville apparently held. This view developed out of Kearney's social history of the early modern English universities which made the argument, now largely discredited, that Ramism underpinned the development of an 'urban intellectual wing' of Puritanism that was much more radical than its counterpart among the country gentry.²⁶ Kirk's discussion of the 'Melvillian' settlement built

²³ W. Schmidt-Biggemann, 'New structures of knowledge', in *A History of the University in Europe II*, 489-530, esp. 489-495, 503-507.

²⁴ Burnett, *Teaching the Reformation*, 116-117; L. Brockliss, 'Curricula', in *A History of the University in Europe II*, 578-579.

²⁵ Schmitt, 'Philosophy and science in sixteenth-century universities', 491-493; C. H. Lohr, 'Metaphysics and natural philosophy as sciences: the Catholic and the Protestant views in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', in *Philosophy in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, 280-295; R. A. Muller, *After Calvin: Studies in the Development of a Theological Tradition* (New York, 2002).

²⁶ H. Kearney, *Scholars and Gentlemen: Universities and Society in Pre-Industrial Britain, 1500-1700* (London, 1970), esp. chapter 3, 46-70.

heavily on this thesis in a Scottish context, perhaps primarily because it fitted with the strong Presbyterian bias within his work.²⁷ While Kirk is careful not to depict Melville as a *de facto* leader of the Kirk, arguing that he worked in tandem with the older generation of reforming ministers, he does argue that Melville's control of Glasgow and St Mary's College, and his close ties to reform at Aberdeen, meant that he was in control of theological education in Scotland in the 1570s and 1580s. He was thus able to cultivate a body of ministers and students loyal to the Presbyterian movement who shared Ramism as a common approach to study.

It is certainly true that Melville brought Ramism and innovation to the ideology behind the Scottish university reforms, but chapter 1 shows how this was part of an attempt to syncretise a very broad range of the latest developments in European education that retained many Aristotelian elements, with no particular intellectual bias. This open and dynamic approach is clear in the constitutions that he developed for the universities of Glasgow and St Andrews, and is also apparent in the teaching materials and lecture notes that survive at St Andrews from the 'Melvillian' period, discussed in chapters 3-5. The sum total of material that survives to show the content of Melville's theological teaching comprise seven sets of theological disputations defended between 1595 and 1602 and a set of lecture notes by Melville on *Romans* from 1601. The surviving record for arts is in some senses more dismal. While a large body of student essays survive from St Leonard's between 1589 and 1595, they are highly repetitive, and are augmented by just two sets of lecture notes written in the 1580s and 1590s and three sets of philosophy disputations from the early 1600s. Nevertheless, the blend evident in these texts of Ramism and Aristotelianism, of what might be seen as a 'slavish' or 'scholastic' adherence to Aristotle with clear evidence of Renaissance ideas on rhetoric and oratory, and of Greek teaching with Latin, shows how careful we have to be in generalising or pigeonholing the content of Scottish higher education in the later sixteenth century.

In the same way that a growing sophistication has characterised our understanding of the interaction between old and new modes of thought at the early modern universities, our understanding of the role of religion in these institutions has grown. Recent studies of Oxford and Cambridge have shown that behind a united

²⁷ J. Kirk, 'The development of the Melvillian movement in late sixteenth century Scotland', Edinburgh University PhD Thesis, 2 vols (1972); *Idem*, 'John Knox and Andrew Melville: a question of identity?', *Scotia VI* (1982), 14-22; *Idem*, "'Melvillian reform' in the Scottish universities'.

front of ‘anti-Romanism’ a diverse range of theological opinion was accommodated, particularly in the nuances of reformed doctrine and polity.²⁸ New reformed academies like Leiden and Heidelberg also suffered from shifting confessional identities, in the latter due to the confessional predilection of the reigning prince and in the former due to the predominance of lay interests over education in the university. Kirk plays down the influence, for want of better terms, of ‘royal’ or ‘Episcopalian’ influences in the Scottish universities, but a similar mix of shifting confessional affiliations is apparent at Glasgow and St Andrews in the ‘Melvillian’ period. Chapter 2 shows how even two decades after the official adoption of Scottish Protestantism elements of Catholic recusancy still existed at both Aberdeen and in St Mary’s, alongside moderate attempts at change. In this vein, the role of bishops as royal agents at Glasgow and St Andrews in the ‘Melvillian’ period is another under-researched area. Following his elevation to the archbishopric of St Andrews in 1576, Patrick Adamson engaged in heated and bitter conflict with Melville and the Presbyterian party. However, it seems possible to suggest that prior to his elevation he had a considerable hand in helping Melville consolidate the finances of Glasgow University. Furthermore, as archbishop he was not only *ex officio* chancellor of St Andrews but was also installed as a theology lecturer at the university during Melville’s exile between 1584 and 1586.²⁹

Similarly, research into the intellectual and religious allegiances of the majority of other masters and regents at the universities in the ‘Melvillian’ period has been minimal, and what little has been done has shown a considerable divergence of opinion between teaching staff.³⁰ This is seen in the example of John Johnston and Robert Howie, two scholars who, though fellow students at Aberdeen and at a number of Continental universities, returned to university careers in Scotland in the 1590s on completely opposite ends of the Presbyterian-Episcopalian spectrum.³¹ It is perhaps best reflected in the person of James Martine, a previously obscure name in the history of St Andrews who figures prominently in this narrative. As provost of St

²⁸ M. H. Curtis, *Oxford and Cambridge in Transition, 1558-1642* (Oxford, 1959); D. Hoyle, *Reformation and Religious Identity in Cambridge 1590-1644* (Boydell, 2007); S. L. Greenslade, ‘The Faculty of Theology’, and J. Loach, ‘Reformation controversies’, in James McConica (ed.), *The History of the University of Oxford, volume III: The Collegiate University* (Oxford, 1986), 295-334, 363-396.

²⁹ M’Crie, 123-127.

³⁰ Kirk, ‘The development of the Melvillian movement’, II, 371.

³¹ J. K. Cameron, *The Letters of John Johnston and Robert Howie* (St Andrews, 1963), esp. pp. xiv-lxxx.

Salvator's between 1577 and 1620 Martine pursued a career at the college centred around familial nepotism and self-aggrandisement through Royalist and Episcopal support. Martine survived and thrived in what has always been seen as a radical Presbyterian environment, eventually outlasting Melville and his educational reforms. Martine's fortunes also rose in direct opposition to his Presbyterian colleague in St Salvator's, the law professor William Welwood. The story of the protracted dispute between them involves not just their religious affiliations but also their allegiances to opposed kin networks in the town and their own professional grievances within the university. It is this blend of religious, social and personal factors that shows how complex university politics were at St Andrews in the post-Reformation period, and paints a very different picture from a 'Melvillian' and Presbyterian supremacy.

Studies of both Oxford and Cambridge have also shown the rise of a 'Tudor interventionist policy' at work in both institutions in the sixteenth century, binding them ever closer to crown supervision and crown interests. Cambridge was reformed via letters patent in 1561, new statutes in 1570, and an act of Parliament in 1571. These measures greatly increased the power of the *caput senatus* and the heads of colleges, who were directly answerable to royal government, against the more democratic diffusion of power and decision-making that had existed previously among the wider body of teaching regents.³² While Oxford was not fully reformed until the 'Laudian' statutes of 1634, considerable attempts were made to restrict power there along similar lines in the 1560s during the Earl of Leicester's chancellorship, including the relegation of university business to a committee of the vice-chancellor, doctors, heads of houses and proctors.³³ While recent studies of Scottish state formation in the early modern period perhaps overstate the case for the development of an embryonic Stewart absolutism and a centralised Scottish bureaucracy,³⁴ it is possible to discern the rise of greater crown interference in the Scottish universities. In this respect, the importance of royal commissions of visitation in shaping the Protestant educational settlement at St Andrews is another under-researched area discussed here at length. Commissions of visitation were occasionally

³² V. Morgan, 'The constitutional revolution of the 1570s' and 'Cambridge University and the State', in V. Morgan and C. Brooke, *A History of the University of Cambridge, volume II: 1546-1750* (Cambridge, 2004), 63-146.

³³ P. Williams, 'Elizabethan Oxford: State, Church and University', in McConica, *History of the University of Oxford III*, 397-440.

³⁴ J. Goodare, *State and Society in Early Modern Scotland* (Oxford, 1999); *Idem*, *The Government of Scotland, 1590-1625* (Oxford, 2004).

sponsored by the General Assembly but were mainly ordered by act of Privy Council or Parliament on an *ad hoc* basis to enact major reform at the universities or to correct (and in some cases punish) when standards of education or behaviour were deemed to have fallen too far. The first commission was organised by the Lords of Articles to St Andrews in 1563, and others followed in the period under discussion to one or more of the universities in 1569, 1574, 1576, 1579, 1580, 1582-3, 1593, 1597 and 1599. These commissions were often decisive in shaping policy at the universities. For example, a commission to Aberdeen in 1569 purged the university of Catholic staff who had refused to leave in 1560, and replaced them with moderate men who could smooth the disruption to distressed students.³⁵ Likewise, many new operating statutes were introduced to St Andrews by the commissions of 1574 and 1576, and the 'New Foundation' of the university in November 1579 was notably achieved by act of Parliament. An increasingly critical tone can be seen in the 1588 visitation commission to the university, and a decade later their jurisdictional power had grown to such an extent that they were able to remove Andrew Melville from his role as rector with no complaint and to alter radically the supervisory relationship between central government and university in the process.

Finally, in addition to reassessing the reform of the Scottish universities in general, and St Andrews in particular, this thesis hopefully goes some way towards reassessing Andrew Melville himself. It is only very recently that scholars have begun to assess Melville's surviving neo-Latin poetry and what it reveals about his intellectual outlook,³⁶ and the majority of scholars over the past thirty years have instead focussed on subjecting Melville's involvement in Kirk politics to a form of severe reductionism. Despite differing interpretations of whether Episcopalian or Presbyterian factions held the controlling interests in the Kirk in the reign of James VI, historians have all been sceptical of Melville's actual power in ecclesiastical politics. Alan MacDonald has recently argued that the existence of a group of hard-line Presbyterian ministers, centred on Melville, is largely a product of seventeenth-

³⁵ A. S. Watt and J. Durkan, 'George Hay's *Oration*', *Northern Scotland* 6 (1984-5), 91-112.

³⁶ J. Doelman, 'King James, Andrew Melville, and the neo-Latin religious epigram', chapter 4 of his *King James I and the religious culture of England* (Cambridge, 2000), 57-72; S. J. Reid, 'Early polemic by Andrew Melville: *The Carmen Mosis* (1574) and the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre', *Renaissance et Réforme* 30.4 (2006/07), 63-82. Translations of some of Melville's key poems, and commentary on them, can be found in D. Hume, *The British Union: a Critical Edition and Translation of David Hume of Godscroft's De unione Insulae Britannicae*, ed. P. J. McGinnis and A. Williamson (Aldershot, 2002), 9-19, 136-139; *The Political Poetry of George Buchanan*, ed. P.J. McGinnis and A. Williamson (SHS, 1995), 276-282.

century Presbyterian historiography. MacDonald argues that the line between Presbyterian ‘Melvillians’ and Royalist ‘Episcopalians’ was extremely fluid, and that the first 11 years of the adult reign of James VI (1585-1596) saw opposition to the wider royal religious policy arising not from concerns with Episcopalianism but rather with the young king’s vacillating policies towards the Catholic earls of Huntly, Errol and Angus. James took decisive action against the Catholic earls between 1594 and 1596, and between 1596 and 1603 developed a Kirk polity which was acceptable to the majority of the ministry. This resulted in Melville and a small group of hard-line Presbyterian ministers being increasingly marginalized.³⁷ Other modern historians have largely agreed with this assessment, with some difference in emphasis. David Mullan, developing the ideas of Gordon Donaldson,³⁸ argues that Episcopacy was used as a tool of royal policy that was never removed, even in the decade following 1560, and was effective in checking the rise of Presbyterianism.³⁹ All these writers are agreed that Melville’s role in the development of this church was at best as a leading *influence* and at worst inconsequential. While there is no further evidence at present to confirm or deny whether this is true, perhaps the most important aim of this thesis is to show that there is another dimension to Melville—as an educator and teacher of some standing, whose university reform programme attempted to bring about considerable change and progress in early modern Scottish intellectual culture.

³⁷ A. MacDonald, *The Jacobean Kirk: Sovereignty, Polity and Liturgy, 1567-1625* (Aldershot, 1998), esp. at 31-34, 58-65, 171-80; *Idem*, ‘James VI and the General Assembly’, in J. Goodare and M. Lynch (eds.), *The Reign of James VI* (Edinburgh, 2000), 170-185.

³⁸ G. Donaldson, *James V-James VII* (Edinburgh, 1965), 198-207.

³⁹ D. Mullan, *Episcopacy in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1986), 78-79.

Chapter 1: Melville—the making of an educational reformer, 1545-1574

To understand the significance of Melville's reform programme, it is necessary first to understand the scope and depth of his own intellectual training. A detailed analysis of his formative years at home in Scotland and abroad at the educational establishments of Paris, Poitiers, and Geneva provides a range of new details, clarifications and insights into his early life. From these the character of his approach as an educator emerges. In one sense, what we find is completely expected. Melville, at every stage of his early development, showed an interest in classical literature and language, including the languages of the Bible, that formed the underpinnings of his teaching and stayed with him for the rest of his life. We also find that Melville did indeed show a predilection for the work of Petrus Ramus, and made considerable effort to hear his lectures across the Continent. On the other hand, what is surprising is the range of disciplines that Melville tried before finally settling on the study of divinity at Geneva. Melville absorbed the full wealth of the intellectually vibrant (and more importantly, free) lectures on a range of subjects at the Collège de France between 1563/4 and 1566/7, before moving on to study law at Poitiers. Indeed, if not for pressing circumstances caused by the wars of religion, it is unclear whether Melville would have actually chosen to move to Geneva in 1569. However, he did, and despite being accorded a greater reputation for his teaching there in the narratives of his Scottish contemporaries than is actually warranted, it appears that it was at Geneva that he found his calling as a 'doctor' of the church. What this analysis reveals is not a narrowly-focussed Presbyterian divine, but rather a restless and precocious intellectual whose wealth of experience would drive the modernisation of the early modern Scottish university curriculum.

Early years in Scotland

Andrew Melville was born at Baldovy, near Montrose, on 1 August 1545 to Richard Melville, a cadet of the house of Glenbervie, and Giles Abercrombie, the daughter of a burghess of Montrose.¹ Melville was the youngest of nine children, and his family

¹ Melville himself confirms his birthday in the marginalia of his copy of Abraham Bucholtzer's *Isagoge Chronologica, Id est: Opusculam ad Annorum Seriem in Sacris Bibliis Contexendam*,

were clearly adherents of some form of reformed religion prior to the widespread adoption of Protestantism in 1560. Three of his brothers became ministers in the reformed church, including the eldest, Richard, who accompanied John Erskine of Dun to the Lutheran University of Greifswald in 1546 to study under Melanchthon for two years, and then proceeded to Denmark to hear John Maccabeus, a Scottish professor of Divinity at the University of Copenhagen.²

Another early Protestant influence on Melville was Thomas Anderson, his teacher at the grammar school of Montrose. Melville took the precocious step of using part of his inheritance to fund two additional years at the grammar school, to learn Greek under the tuition of the Frenchman Pierre de Marsilliers, a scholar invited to Montrose by John Erskine of Dun.³ Melville must have begun this tuition no later than 1557, presumably unaware that undertaking such a course put him at the forefront of Scottish intellectual developments in the 1550s. While fragmentary evidence survives to show that Greek was taught or at least understood by some scholars at the University of Aberdeen in the forty years prior to 1560, the first recorded instance of formal tuition of Greek in Scotland was the appointment of Edward Henryson in 1556 by Bishop Robert Reid to give a series of public lectures in Edinburgh.⁴

Melville matriculated at St Andrews in either 1559 or 1560, entering the New College, or St Mary's, on the eve of the Reformation.⁵ The fact that Melville chose to enter what was then a college founded to promote Catholic orthodoxy is unsurprising. Melville entered the university in a period of greatly reduced student numbers and extremely poor administration and at this point St Mary's was the largest and best-endowed college. It was thus the best hope in St Andrews, and perhaps in Scotland, for a halfway decent arts education. While very little survives to show what Melville's personal experience was like at St Andrews, the university staff were largely sympathetic to the reformed cause by 1559/60. As we shall see, they tried to maintain

Compendio Viam Monstrans ac Fundamenta Indicans (In Officina Sanctandreana, false imprint, 1596), NLS, E.84.f.16, f. OO VIIIv, entry for the year 1545: 'And: Melvinus natus, circa Calend. Augusti.'

² Durkan/Kirk, 263; M'Crie, 1-2.

³ *JMAD*, 39.

⁴ W. Forbes-Leith, *Pre-Reformation Scholars in Scotland in the Sixteenth Century* (Edinburgh, 1974), 8.

⁵ The matriculation roll of the university states that Melville entered St Mary's in 1559 (*Early Records*, 267), but Melville himself says that he began his studies in October 1560 (Bucholtzer, *Isagoge Chronologica*, f. QQ IIIr, entry at 1560: 'And. Melvinus Andreapoli ad philosophos Octobri ineunte'). It is hard to say which one is correct. On one hand, the matriculation roll for the years on either side of the Reformation are extremely fragmented and likely to be mistaken; on the other, the earliest Melville could have written this is 1596 and so his exact recollection of the date may be open to question.

as traditional a teaching course as possible in the initial Reformation period. The *Nova Fundatio* of St Mary's had stipulated that separate classes would be held in grammar and rhetoric, and lectures in both law and philosophy. If the arts statutes of the 1560s and the experience of Melville's nephew James in the following decade are any indication, Melville would have learnt selections from Aristotle in Latin translation, with works in philosophy by Plato, Xenophon, and Cicero, in rhetoric by Cassander, and in law by Cicero and Justinian, with exposition of some scriptural passages by teaching staff.⁶ That no Greek or training in other biblical languages was given is evinced by the well-known anecdote that Melville amazed his tutors by reading Aristotle direct from the Greek, which 'his maisters understud nocht'.⁷

The teaching staff at St Mary's were, according to the stipulations of the *Nova Fundatio*, to consist of three divinity professors, three in philosophy, and one a piece in canon law, rhetoric, and grammar. John Douglas was rector of the university, principal of St Mary's, and the first professor of divinity during Melville's period of study. Five of the other teaching staff have been accounted for as members of the Hamilton family.⁸ The other staff, if they were indeed in place during this period, are unknown. It is also unclear who acted as Melville's regent, the teaching member who would have taken him through his course. Thomas Dempster, in his *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum*, states that Alexander Ramsay, a 'most learned' man who apparently wrote Latin works including a correction of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, was Melville's *praeceptor in patrio Sanctandreamo Gymnasio*,⁹ but no reference to such a man exists in the university muniments. It also seems unlikely, as others have suggested, that this man could be William Ramsay.¹⁰ Ramsay was the second master of St Salvator's, and would have had no sustained contact with the students of St Mary's or St Leonard's. Regardless of this dearth of information, it is clear that Melville's intellectual capabilities made an impression on the university staff. John Douglas was particularly taken with him, and James Melville records that Andrew was shown especial favour by him.¹¹

⁶ *Acta*, 414-421; *JMAD*, 24-30.

⁷ *JMAD*, 39.

⁸ J. Lee, *Lectures on the History of the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1860), 101. Lee cites the names of Robert, Archibald, Alexander, James and John Hamilton, though it seems that he may be confusing these names with the names of regenting staff found in the *Acta Rectorum* in the later 1560s and early 1570s.

⁹ T. Dempster, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum*, 563, cited in M'Crie, 6.

¹⁰ Durkan/Kirk, 264.

¹¹ *JMAD*, 39.

There are no records showing when Melville graduated, as there is only a partial list of graduates for the period from 1560 to 1565.¹² M’Crie suggested that Melville had left St Andrews to proceed to the Continent in Autumn 1564, and James Kirk has more recently argued for October 1563 as a more realistic date. This latter calculation is based on Melville entering the university in 1559 and taking the traditional four years to complete his MA. It is also based on the fact that Melville’s classmate Thomas Maitland (made famous as one of the characters in Buchanan’s *De Jure Regni*) left for the Continent in the same month, who could potentially have been Melville’s travelling companion. An encomiastic verse to the young Melville by the Italian reformer and poet Pietro Bizzarri, who was at the Scottish court between February and summer 1564 where he made the acquaintance of Buchanan and Rizzio, confuses this issue further.¹³ The poem, making a play of Melville’s name, states that ‘no sweeter honeys’ (*nulla magis dulcia mella*) or wines could be collected than those ‘whom you, a sweet man, present before me, with sweet discourse, and with your honied words, and ways, and with a natural innate talent.’¹⁴ This poem was published along with a verse to Buchanan at Venice in 1565.

Melville must have met Bizzarri through Buchanan, but although the suggestion has often been put forward that Melville and Buchanan met at St Andrews before the latter left for Paris it is highly unlikely. Buchanan returned to Scotland after more than two decades on the Continent in 1561, and worked for Queen Mary at court in the early 1560s as a tutor and translator. He also made appearances at the General Assembly from 1563, and was appointed to a committee charged with reforming education at St Andrews. Although Buchanan did produce an abortive reform plan for the university at some point in the early 1560s which is discussed below, it is unlikely that he lectured in any way until his appointment to the principalship of St Leonard’s at some point after 8 November 1566.¹⁵ Much has been made of the assertion that Melville calls Buchanan his *praeceptor* in a dedicatory epistle recorded in the edition of Buchanan’s *Opera Omnia* edited by Thomas Ruddiman. However, this allusion is

¹² *Early Records*, 157-159. The names of known St Mary’s scholars Hercules Carnegie (St Mary’s, 1557), Alexander Boyd, James Dalzell, George Ballenden, (1558) Alexander Jardine (Unknown), and Hector Munro (1559) are recorded between 1559 and 1561.

¹³ I. D. Macfarlane, *Buchanan* (London, 1981), 227-228.

¹⁴ P. Bizzari, *Varia Opuscula* (Venice, 1565), f. 109. The poem is reprinted in its entirety in M’Crie, 8. ‘Quam mihi dulcis ades, dulci sermone, tuisque/ Mellitis verbis, moribus, ingenio.’

¹⁵ Macfarlane, *Buchanan*, 208-225.

either figurative, or relates perhaps to the connection between the two at Paris.¹⁶ Regardless, what is clear is that no later than 1564 Melville had left for the Continent, after receiving in Scotland what can be conjectured as a rather rudimentary education.

Paris and Poitiers, Buchanan and Ramus

Sources for Melville's time in Paris and Poitiers between 1563/4 and 1569 give nothing but the barest account of what he studied and to whom he chose to listen. The *Acta Rectoria Universitatis Parisiensis* and associated sources have no record of Melville matriculating at the university, nor is there any documentary evidence for his time as a regent in Poitiers.¹⁷ The only real evidence we have for this highly formative period of his intellectual development comes from the short account written by his nephew, James Melville:

[At] Paris, whar he remeanit in the Universitie twa yeiris at his awin studies, heiring the lightes of the maist scyning age in all guid letters, the King's publict professours, Andreas Tornebus in Greik and Latine Humanitie; Petrus Ramus in Philosophie and Eloquence; Jo. Mercerus in the Hebrew langage, whereupon he was speciallie sett.¹⁸

This account has to be treated with caution, as it was written long after Melville returned from the Continent. However, it is clear from the names given, as James Kirk has suggested, that Melville chose to pursue the public lectures in languages and philosophy offered at the Collège De France,¹⁹ founded by Francis I in 1530 for the study of Latin, Greek and Hebrew.²⁰ The names of Adrien Turnèbe and Jean Mercier, two of the foremost philologists of the age, suggest that the central focus of Melville's time in Paris was to develop his interest in classical and Biblical languages. This interest in turn would be the most important component of his intellectual reform programme on his return to Scotland.²¹ Melville also came into contact for the first

¹⁶ M'Crie, 7; *Georgi Buchanani...Opera Omnia*, ed. Thomas Ruddiman (2 vols., Edinburgh, 1714-15), I, 21. The line in question states 'Andreas Melvinus Geo[rgio] Buchanano Praeceptoru suo & Musarum parenti', and the epistle dates from the early 1580s.

¹⁷ W. A. Macneill, 'Scottish entries in the *Acta Rectoria Universitatis Parisiensis* 1519 to c.1633', *SHR* 43, 1964, 66-86.

¹⁸ *JMAD*, 39-40.

¹⁹ Durkan/Kirk, 266-267.

²⁰ A. Lefranc *et al*, *Le Collège de France 1530-1930* (Paris, 1932), 3-58.

²¹ On Turnèbe, see J. Lewis, *Adrien Turnèbe (1512-1565): A Humanist Observed* (Geneva, 1998).

time at Paris with Petrus Ramus, the man whose work in educational reform had a considerable influence on him.

Since one of the central questions to answer in treating higher education in Scotland after the Reformation is the extent to which Ramism made inroads into Scottish intellectual circles, it seems right to provide some background on Ramus and his ‘method’. With the publication in 1958 of Walter Ong’s *Ramus, Method and the Decay of Dialogue* and its accompanying bibliographical volume *The Ramus and Talon Inventory*,²² the significance of Ramus (or Pierre de la Ramée in the vernacular) in the field of educational and philosophical reform has been subjected to intense scrutiny and research. There is still little consensus about his impact and influence.²³

His ‘method’ is clear enough in outline. Ramus’s reforms to the teaching of dialectic and logic had their roots in the criticisms of scholastic logic made by Lorenzo Valla and Rudolph Agricola. Valla’s *Dialecticae Disputationes* and *Elegantiae* focussed on the relationship between grammar and logic, and argued that most of the overly complex problems of medieval scholastic logic could be resolved by proper consideration of grammar and syntax. Rudolph Agricola’s *De Inventione Dialectica*, completed in 1480 and first published in 1515, built on this and became the central textbook used at universities across Europe from the 1530s onwards. Agricola challenged the necessity of the rigour of Aristotelian logic, particularly in the requirement of the syllogism and the other highly technical methods of proof that

²² W. Ong, *Ramus, Method and the Decay of Dialogue: From the Art of Discourse to the Art of Reason* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958); *Idem, Ramus and Talon Inventory* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958).

²³ The most thorough accounts of the vast array of literature on Ramus are the invaluable summaries by P. Sharratt: ‘The present state of studies on Ramus’, *Studi Francesci* 16 (1972), 201-213; ‘Recent work on Peter Ramus (1970-1986)’, *Rhetorica* 5 (1987), 7-58; ‘Ramus 2000’, *Rhetorica* 18 (2000), 399-445. The most comprehensive account of Ramus and Ramism is Ong, *Ramus*—but see the cautionary comments below. A short and accessible account of his reforms of logic and their context can be found in L. Jardine, ‘Humanistic Logic’, in C. B. Schmitt and Q. Skinner (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy* (Cambridge, 1998), 173-198. For Ramus’ work on educational reform see J. V. Skalnik, *Ramus and Reform: University and Church at the end of the Renaissance* (Missouri, 2002); P. Sharratt, ‘Peter Ramus and the reform of the university: the divorce of philosophy and eloquence?’ in P. Sharratt (ed.), *French Renaissance Studies, 1540-1570: Humanism and the Encyclopedia*, 1976), 4-20; and K. Meerhoff and M. Magnien (eds.), *Ramus et l’Université* (Paris, 2004). For the impact of Ramus and his teachings across Europe, particularly in Sweden, Switzerland, England and at Trinity College Dublin, see M. Feingold, J. S. Freedman, and W. Rother (eds.), *The Influence of Petrus Ramus: Studies in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Philosophy and Sciences* (Basle, 2001). Older studies of Ramism in England, though equally valuable, are W. S. Howell, *Logic and Rhetoric in England, 1500-1700* (Princeton, 1956), and Kearney, *Scholars and Gentlemen*. For Ramus’ impact on central Europe, see J. S. Freedman, ‘The diffusion of the writings of Petrus Ramus in central Europe, c. 1570- c.1630’, in his *Philosophy and the Arts in Central Europe, 1500-1700* (Aldershot, 1999), 98-152; *Idem*, ‘Melancthon’s opinion of Ramus and the utilization of their writings in central Europe’, in *The Influence of Petrus Ramus*, 68-91; and H. Hotson, *Commonplace Learning: Ramism and its German Ramifications, 1543-1630* (Oxford, 2007).

flourished in the logic schools of the Middle Ages. He placed far greater emphasis on the importance of practical argument and the ability to create rhetorical strategies and techniques to influence an opponent.²⁴ Agricola thus began the process by which humanist dialectic would concern itself with creating arguments that were more rhetorically convincing than provable by Aristotelian logic, a process that Ramus would in turn complete.

In 1543 Ramus published his first works, the *Aristotelicae Animadversiones* ('Remarks on Aristotle'), and the first edition of his *Dialecticae Institutiones* ('Training in Dialectic').²⁵ Both works heavily criticised the authority of Aristotle, and by extension the central role the traditional university curriculum afforded him. However, the 'rampant anti-Aristotelianism' of Ramus' reform is often overblown, and in fact his reputed MA thesis on Aristotle, entitled *Quaecumque ab Aristotele dicta essent, esse commentitia* most likely attacked the late-medieval scholastic baggage that had accrued around Aristotle rather than Aristotle himself.²⁶ It is true that Ramus did subject the logical and rhetorical works of Aristotle, Cicero and Quintilian to great reduction and criticism, but his central aim in his initial reforms was to remove the redundancy in the medieval trivium of logic, rhetoric and grammar where invention (the 'discovery' or elucidating of material for argument) and arrangement (the construction of arguments from this material) were covered multiple times.²⁷ The final revisions after 1555 structured logic under these two headings, with no recourse to rhetoric. This reduced rhetoric from a separate art to the 'handmaiden' of logic that confined itself to the teaching of style and delivery.²⁸ Moreover, the reduction of a need for formally valid proof initiated by Lorenzo Valla and Rudolph Agricola was carried to its logical conclusion by Ramus—the Aristotelian predicables were seen as no longer necessary and all except the most basic form of the syllogism, the central tool of Aristotelian logic, were removed.

The reforms of logic and rhetoric were only part of the wider unified 'method' for teaching all arts and sciences developed by Ramus in successive editions of his works, particularly after the publication of the 1555/6 French and Latin versions of his most famous work, the *Dialecticae in Libri Duo*, and the 1557 *Quod sit unica*

²⁴ Jardine, 'Humanist Logic', 181-184.

²⁵ Published initially as the *Partitiones Dialecticae* ('The Structure of Dialectic'). Freedman, 'Melanchthon's opinion of Ramus', 71.

²⁶ As explained in detail by Ong, *Ramus*, 36-47. Howell, 146-147.

²⁷ Howell, 153-155; Ong, *Ramus*, 270;

²⁸ Skalnik, 47.

methodus.²⁹ The concept of a systematised ‘methodical’ approach to teaching and learning, still in its infancy in the century before Descartes’ *Discours sur la methode*, was one that exercised not only Ramus but Johan Sturm, Johann Caesarius, and Philip Melanchthon.³⁰ The central concern of the Ramist discussion on method was that Aristotle had approached an understanding of this process in his works on logic, but that it had lacked proper organisation.

Ramus created ‘three laws’ derived initially from discussions on the requirements of a middle term in a syllogism in the *Posterior Analytics* – known in English as the law of truth, the law of justice and the law of wisdom – which formed the basis of his reforms. The law of truth established that the rules and precepts connected to an art be proven and ‘true’ in a universally accepted sense rather than via syllogistic reasoning, thus describing a subject via a series of axioms rather than by a series of formally proven statements. The law of justice allowed only those statements directly connected to an art to form part of the discussion or methodisation of it. The law of wisdom, the centrepiece of the Ramist ‘method’, organised these definitions and associated material by stating that some statements are naturally more evident or conspicuous than others.³¹ According to the Ramist method, propositions of utmost generality are placed first, then those of lesser generality, scaling down through a topic to specific teaching examples in a subject. Thus a statement of the cause of a thing is more evident than a statement of its effect, and a general and universal statement on a subject is more evident than a particular or singular detail regarding that subject. An oft-quoted example, in this case from Ramus’ earliest discussion of method, is that of grammar. The most general statement that can be made regarding grammar is that it is ‘the doctrine of speaking well’. The next most general statement that can be made is that it has two parts, etymology and syntax. Then the student would rank third separate statements of the definition of etymology and of syntax, and rank the next most general statement about each, and so on until specific detailed examples of the usage of grammar would appear at the bottom of the list.³²

²⁹ Ong, *Ramus*, 30; Skalnik, 43.

³⁰ Ong, *Ramus*, 257-258; N. Gilbert, *Renaissance Concepts of Method* (New York, 1960), 3-66. The proliferation of approaches to the concept of method and its meaning in works in central Europe, which often mixed and compared the approaches of Ramus and Melanchthon with others, is given in Freedman, ‘The diffusion of the writings of Petrus Ramus in Central Europe, 1570-1630’, Table J, 108-10.

³¹ Ong, *Ramus*, 245-257; Skalnik, 44; Hotson, 45; Howell, 150-151, 160-61.

³² Ong, *Ramus*, 245-46; Skalnik, 44-45; P. Ramus, *Dialectique* (1555), ed. M. Dassonville (Geneva, 1964), 122-123.

These three laws provided the basis for what Ramus saw as the ideal method of preparing a subject for teaching. Ramus has been understood, as a result of this ordering via axiomatic statement, as structuring all discussion on a subject into a series of ‘either...or’ dichotomies, but this is a process that was developed by his disciples, including the British followers of Ramism.³³ What Ramus did argue, however, was that the ordering of subjects should be qualified as ‘natural’ and ‘prudential’. The ‘natural’ ordering came out of a subject following strictly the doctrine of the three laws, but the ‘prudential’ was when, for the sake of the audience being preached to or the class being taught, material could be organised into the order that would most effectively get the message across to them.³⁴ The ‘prudential’ method was one used by poets, orators and historians intent on achieving a rhetorical and emotional effect, but where the speaker also educated the audience while he spoke as a secondary process.

Finally, Ramus acknowledged two types of argument. Those that were ‘artistic’ stemmed from indirect or circumstantial evidence and took greater rhetorical skill to put forth. ‘Non-artistic’ arguments comprised direct evidence such as witnesses, documents, and the divine testimony found in scripture or axioms generally held to be eternally true of human nature. The ‘artistic’ grouping was of far greater interest to Ramus than the ‘non-artistic’, and he devoted the vast majority of his work to it. However, the total grouping of ten types of artistic and non-artistic argument may have been meant to reflect the ten categories of Aristotle, just as the three laws reflect those of the *Posterior Analytics*. The ‘artistic’ arguments comprise six ‘primary’ causes of causes, effects, subjects, adjuncts, opposites, and comparatives, and three ‘derivative’ causes of reasoning from name, from division and by definition. Further parallel with Aristotle is seen by the division of ‘causes’ in Ramism into the headings of final (the limit or end that a cause is expected to reach), formal, efficient (the driving or impelling force behind a cause) and material (the actual matter that makes up a cause).³⁵

The fundamental ideal at the heart of Ramus’ reforms centred on his belief that practical usage was the ultimate end of all arts and sciences. This idea was largely

³³ Hotson, 46; Howell, 162-163. See, for example, the earliest translation of the Ramist logic into English, by Roland McIlvannie (MacIlmaine), *The Logike of the Moste Excellent Philosopher P. Ramus Martyr* (London, 1574), which uses dichotomy and scriptural examples instead of poetic ones to illustrate points.

³⁴ Ong, *Ramus*, 252-54.

³⁵ Howell, 156.

dismissed by Ong but has been recently developed by modern commentators on Ramus' works, particularly James Skalnik. Each art had three aspects which determined its form and content, namely *natura*, *doctrina*, and *usus* or *exercitatione* ('nature, doctrine, and use'). Ramus believed every man was born with the innate ability to reason, and formal logic should build on this through observation of naturally-occurring, practical wisdom. All the examples given for understanding logic and philosophy in the *Dialecticae* were drawn not from dense philosophical texts, but from the inherent wisdom found in quotations of Virgil, Horace, Ovid and the other great classical Roman writers. This was not a process Ramus confined to his Latin version of the text, as the French *Dialectique* used the works of Ronsard, du Bellay and the other members of the Pléiade as examples. Ramus believed that students could unite the concepts of 'philosophy and eloquence' to understand both the technicalities of an author's style and the moral overtones of their work. Borrowing from discussions by Galen, Ramus called this two-step process 'analysis' – where a detailed understanding was gained of how a work was logically, grammatically and rhetorically composed – followed by that of 'genesis', whereby students would develop the wherewithal to create their own works on a similar basis. This emphasis on practical use was reflected in Ramus' own classroom practices, where he gave just two hours of lectures per day. The rest was devoted to study, memorisation of key concepts, and practical conversation and discourse.³⁶

While Ramus' ideas may seem unremarkable to us, the furore generated among scholastic Aristotelians and scholars of classical philology alike was massive. It was triggered by Ramus' direct attack on the authority of Aristotle and his attempt to replace teaching methods with such an abbreviated course of tuition. That controversy has been replicated in the scholarship surrounding Ramus and his works today. As Howard Hotson has recently shown, while Walter Ong's work underpinned the foundations of modern Ramus scholarship it also hampered objective assessments of the significance of Ramism.³⁷ Ong, a student under the media theorist Marshall McLuhan and the Harvard historian Perry Miller, was keen to portray Ramism as the 'passive indicator' of a shift in western culture from the written to the printed word, where the visual impact of the printed page replaced oral and aural tradition. As such, the only possibility that Ong was willing to countenance for the vast popularity of

³⁶ Skalnik, 47-52; Hotson, 47-48.

³⁷ Hotson, 9-16.

Ramus' works was their visual appeal on the printed page, with their tables of dichotomies and bracketed expositions. While laboriously categorising the history of printed works by Ramus and the ideological foundations that he drew on, Ong condemned Ramism as a hopelessly flawed and contradictory system that had no real impact on early modern culture. It was only in the 1980s, primarily in French academic circles following on from the reinvigoration of Ramist studies by Peter Sharratt in the 1970s, that scholars began to reassess the contribution of Ramus to invigorating the Parisian educational system and to championing French poetry and language.³⁸

This revisionist approach has had notable results for the recent historiography, primarily over the impact of Ramism in the classroom. Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, charting the development of humanism into the foundations of the modern systematised liberal arts education in their *From Humanism to the Humanities*,³⁹ shared Ong's viewpoint that Ramus was the 'most pragmatic and applied' of arts educationalists. They believed the success enjoyed by Ramism could only be explained by its being a cynical brand of packaged education. For example, the works of Ramus were used by schoolteachers like Claude Mignault, master at the Collège de Reims, the Collège de la Marche and the Collège de la Bourgogne in the 1570s, who created a course where Ramist logic was the 'universal skeleton key' that gave students destined to work as priests, civil servants and teachers the skills they needed for careers in public life. They showed the flamboyant Cambridge rhetorician Gabriel Harvey as an example of this kind of careerist, who adopted the 'somewhat voguish intellectual stance' of Ramism in the same way he adopted Italian styles of clothing to project an image to impress the right people for promotion in Elizabethan England.

While the Grafton-Jardine thesis was received with considerable scepticism,⁴⁰ the most recent research into the pedagogical success of Ramism in central Europe,

³⁸ Two of the best examples being N. Bruyere, *Méthode et Dialectique dans l'Oeuvre de la Ramée* (Paris, 1984); K. Meerhoff, *Rhétorique et Poétique au XVIe Siècle en France: Du Bellay, Ramus et les Autres* (Leiden, 1986).

³⁹ *From Humanism to the Humanities: Education and the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Europe* (London, 1986), especially 161-209.

⁴⁰ Not least as a case of 'life imitating art' in terms of the current crisis over the value of a liberal arts education. J. C. Adams, 'Gabriel Harvey's *Ciceronianus* and the place of Peter Ramus' *Dialecticæ libri duo* in the curriculum', *Renaissance Quarterly* 43 (1990), 550-569, especially at 552-553; K. W. Prewitt, 'Gabriel Harvey and the practice of method', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 39 (1999), 19-39.

particularly in Switzerland,⁴¹ has shown that where it was popular it was precisely because Ramism was such a pragmatic system. This process began with the detailed analysis of texts used for teaching at public schools in Germany between 1570 and 1630 compiled by Philip Freedman, who showed that teaching staff across the German-speaking lands mixed a bewildering array of texts for the purpose of *ad hoc* teaching. Teachers combined Ramist textbooks on the trivium and quadrivium with similar works by Melanchthon, to which were added the works of Aristotle, Zabarella, and Keckermann for teaching in philosophy, and excerpts from scripture for religious teaching. Howard Hotson's study of the context behind the unrivalled popularity of Ramist works in Germany,⁴² the most developed and full account of the influence of Ramism in a national framework, has confirmed the pragmatic and popular nature of the Ramist method. Ramus' works were not imported into Germany by the German universities, but by the hundreds of small schools in the Hanseatic cities and the *academia illustria* of the imperial counties where Ramist textbooks were a cheap and accessible way of providing a varied education. The schools were often too poor to attract top-flight philologists and philosophers who would actively defend a humanist programme of study that focussed exclusively on immersion in classical authors. The need for competent local ministers and civil servants in areas like Nassau-Dillenberg, afflicted on all sides by varying confessional identities, prompted territorial rulers including Johann VI to found academies like the 'paradigmatic example' of Herborn, a Ramist centre *par excellence* under the noted theologian Johannes Piscator. Despite a reaction against Ramism in England, France and the Netherlands in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, the Ramist tradition continued to evolve in German-speaking areas and gave rise to a wider 'methodical' pedagogical tradition that spawned advances in systematic theology and philosophy.

Despite these more positive interpretations of Ramus and his work, there is still no consensus that his intellectual reforms carried any real weight. As recent work

⁴¹ W. Rother, 'Ramus and Ramism in Switzerland', in *The Influence of Petrus Ramus*, 9-37; T. Verbeek, 'Notes on Ramism in the Netherlands', *ibid*, 38-53; Thomas Elsmann, 'The influence of Ramism on the academies of Bremen and Danzig: a comparison', *ibid*, 54-67. Ramus was popularly received across the Swiss cantons between 1568 and 1570, especially at Zurich. The most committed Swiss Ramists were Theodore Zwinger and Johannes Thomas Freigius, both of whom produced encyclopaedias based on Ramist principles. However, in the Netherlands Ramism was never a strongly discernible force beyond the teaching of the Mathematician Rudolphus Snellius at Leiden from 1575, and in the theology teaching of William Ames at Franeker from 1622.

⁴² Hotson, 51-98.

reassessing English Ramism has suggested,⁴³ we must also refrain from seeing Ramism as a coherent movement. Many academics in the last quarter of the sixteenth century have been categorised as ‘Ramist’ simply for owning his texts or attending his lectures, and this association has spread by logical extension to the universities they taught at. Ramism has also been unduly – and wrongly, in many cases – identified with religious extremism, particularly being portrayed as an intellectual ‘badge of honour’ worn by Continental Calvinists, Scottish Presbyterians, and English Puritans.⁴⁴ In both these areas the influence of Ramus on Melville needs to be reassessed. It is true that Ramus’ ideas and works were utilised by Melville in his educational reforms on his return to Scotland, particularly in the ‘pragmatic’ fashion outlined above in his teaching at Glasgow, and to a lesser extent at St Andrews. However, in the two years he spent in Paris his studies under Ramus were only a small part of the wider spectrum of ideas that he absorbed from the public lecturers at the college. Melville would have been equally drawn to Ramus for his fame as a commentator on Cicero and Virgil, the latter being Melville’s favourite author and often his poetic model, as he would likely have been to his educational methods. An obsession with Greco-Latin literature united the lecturers that Melville chose to listen to. The central focus of these scholars was the textual emendation and philological study of the hordes of recently-recovered ancient manuscripts then in common circulation in Parisian academic circles. While Melville undoubtedly listened to Ramus, the majority of his tutors were unsympathetic and disparaging towards the Ramist ‘method’.

These lecturers also represented the zenith of philological studies at the Collège de France. Melville’s time at Paris occurred within the brief cessation of hostilities between the first and second civil war, and by the time he left a number of these great minds had died or had moved on to other universities. Melville attended

⁴³ Feingold, ‘English Ramism: a reinterpretation’, in *The Influence of Petrus Ramus*, 127-75; *Idem*, ‘The Humanities’, 211-357, at 289-293, in N. Tyacke (ed.), *The History of the University of Oxford, volume IV: Seventeenth-Century Oxford* (Oxford, 1997). Feingold is particularly correct in noting that previous scholarship has focussed on the appearance of Ramism at the English universities over the massive continuity of Aristotle. More controversial is his portrayal of the Puritan attraction to Ramist logic as a tool that promoted ‘facile dextery’ in haranguing and disputation with minimal effort, an ideal suited to the puritan disdain for secular education.

⁴⁴ Elsmann, ‘The influence of Ramism on the academies of Bremen and Danzig: a comparison’, in *The Influence of Petrus Ramus*, 54-67; Hotson, 16-25: ‘Ramism and Calvinism: an overworked explanation’. Hotson shows that Ramus’ mixed reception in reformed academies between 1568 and 1570, most notably at Geneva, and the dissemination across so many confessional areas in Germany, indicates that the perceived link between Ramism and Calvinism is not sustainable. Durkan/Kirk, 262-346; Kirk, ‘“Melvillian” reform’, 276-300.

the last course of lectures delivered by Adrien Turnèbe, before his premature death in June 1565. Turnèbe had been royal reader in Greek between 1547 and 1561, and then reader in Greek and Latin philosophy in the final four years of his life. During his time there he produced over fifty works including editions of Plato, Aristotle, and Homer, translations of Oppian, Theophrastus and Plutarch, and extensive commentaries on Cicero and Quintillian. Turnèbe also directed the *Imprimerie Royale* from 1551 to 1556, and supplemented his own editions with texts and translations of many other classical authors, including Hermes Trismegistus and Aretaeus. His most famous work was the *Adversaria*, an encyclopaedia of classical readings and emendations, first published as a two-volume set in 1564-65. As a neo-Latin poet his style was held by Montaigne to rival that of Buchanan.⁴⁵ Buchanan enjoyed a life-long friendship with Turnèbe after meeting him in the 1540s, continuing to keep in touch with him even after his return to Scotland, and likely introduced him to Melville.⁴⁶ Connected to Buchanan and Turnèbe, Melville also likely heard Denis Lambin, professor of Latin between 1560 and 1572, and the poet and Pléiade member Jean Dorat, professor of Greek between 1556 and 1567. Lambin was a first-rate textual exegete, and Dorat composed the ‘Hymn to Bacchus’ with Ronsard in 1555. He was also instrumental in writing *La deffence et illustration de la langue Française*.⁴⁷

Melville also began to develop his learning in Old Testament languages while at Paris, under Jean Mercier (professor from 1547-1570) and Jean de Cinquarbres (professor from 1554-1587), conjunct professors in Hebrew and Chaldaic. Mercier produced one of the earliest separate treatises on Chaldaic, printed at Paris in 1560, and was highly regarded for his commentaries on the Old Testament. Cinquarbres produced a treatise on Hebrew grammar that was published in a number of editions in the sixteenth century.⁴⁸ The lectures Melville heard on mathematics by Pierre

⁴⁵ Lewis, *Adrien Turnèbe*, 15, 20-22, 334-337.

⁴⁶ Lewis, *Adrien Turnèbe*, 35-40; McFarlane, *Buchanan*, 97. The tradition, however, that Turnèbe and Buchanan taught together at the University of Toulouse between 1545 and 1547 has been largely discredited by both authors.

⁴⁷ McFarlane, *Buchanan*, 162, 170, 239-241; G. Castor, *Pléiade Poetics: a Study in Sixteenth-Century Thought and Terminology* (Cambridge, 1964). This may also be who M’Crie refers to as ‘Duretus’, rather than Louis Duret in Medicine, who was not appointed until 1567. See M’Crie, 1819 edition, I, 24; Durkan/Kirk, 267.

⁴⁸ M’Crie, 1819 edition, I, 22-23. *Tabulae in Grammaticen Linguae Chaldaeae, Quae et Syriaca Dicitur- Johanne Mercero Hebraicarum Literarum Professore Regi* (Paris, 1560); *De Re Grammatica Hebraeorum Opus, in Gratiam Studiosorum Linguae Sanctae, Methodo Facillima Conscriptum, Authore Johanne Quinquarboreo Aurilacensi, Linguarum Hebraicae et Caldaicae Regio Professore*.

Forcadel (1560-1573) would have undoubtedly centred on the works of Euclid, whom Forcadel had translated into French in the year of Melville's arrival in Paris.⁴⁹ While James Melville noted that his uncle had listened to lectures on mathematics under Duhamel's successor Jacques Charpentier, he must have done so briefly and not learnt a great deal. Charpentier took over from the Sicilian Dampestre Cosel, and was woefully unqualified for the post. Charpentier's seizure of the seat without due trial by his fellows prompted considerable legal wranglings, led by Ramus, which would have inhibited teaching.⁵⁰ Melville also apparently attended the lectures of François Baudoin in law, when he was giving unpaid public lectures at the Collège. It would appear from this range of lecturers that while Melville was attempting to develop expert fluency in Greek and Hebrew as his nephew suggested, he was also trying to gain a general sampling of the intellectual trends then in vogue at Paris.

It was at Paris that Melville had his first encounter with the Jesuits, whose relations with the faculty of the university were exceedingly fraught. The Jesuits were formally recognised by Paul III in the 1540 Bull *Regimini militantis Ecclesiae*. The aims of this bull, and of their founder Ignatius Loyola (himself educated at the Collège de Sainte-Barbe in Paris), were to propagate and bolster the Catholic faith by education of the young. By the mid-1550s the Jesuits had expanded the scope of their original mission as roving preachers to include the public teaching of theology, and the right to grant degrees from their colleges even to those not intending to enter their order. This circumvented the traditional Parisian practice of sending members of religious orders to the Faculty of Theology, and the Jesuits' free arts tuition threatened Paris' central role in providing secular education. Supported by the Cardinal de Lorraine and Guillaume Duprat, Bishop of Clermont, the Jesuits succeeded in obtaining legal recognition of their order in France on 13 February 1562. By February 1564 they had convinced the rector of the university, Julien de Saint-Germain, to provide them with the *lettres de scolarité* required to teach classes. By October the Jesuits' courses in the Collège de Clermont, which had the ostentatious title above the doorway of *Collegium Claromontanum Societatis Jesu*, proved to be draining so many from the fee-paying classes that their *lettres* were revoked by the new rector,

Editions were published at Paris in 1549, 1556 and 1582, though there appears to have been another edition before 1556. Dates for lecturers are taken from Skalnik, Appendix 1.

⁴⁹ M'Crie, 1819 edition, I, 24. *Les Six Premières Livres des Elements d'Euclide trad. Et commentez par Pierre Forcadel de Bezies* (Paris, 1564).

⁵⁰ Skalnik, 80-87.

Jean Prévost. A legal trial ensued between 29 March and 5 April 1565 where the Jesuits defended their rights against the jurist Etienne Pasquier. On 29 May 1565 Paul IV intervened on their behalf with Charles IX and the Jesuits were given further letters patent allowing them to open houses across France. They were also allowed to accept boarders at Clermont, which would grow in popularity to become the most famous of all Jesuit colleges. Turnèbe's best-known poetic work, the *Ad Sotericum gratis docentem*, was a blistering attack on the Jesuits written just before his death at the height of the unrest caused by the trial. Turnèbe's poem was one of a number of polemics produced at Paris in these years which show the distrust and suspicion in which the Jesuits were held.⁵¹ Melville's witnessing of this trial and exposure to the polemic associated with it must have greatly informed his desire to create an 'anti-seminary' to combat the Jesuits on his return home.

A letter from Melville to Peter Young, the future tutor of James VI, shows Buchanan played a formative role in Melville's education at Paris. Written while Melville was at Geneva in 1572, it also shows he placed a high value on Buchanan's poetry:

For when he [Buchanan] was in Paris, he courteously explained to me the more difficult passages in his Psalm [paraphrases] and epigrams: and having lovingly embraced me, as if I were his son, he willingly admitted me to his rich companionship and to his learned talk. I have never once forgotten so much kindness: reading privately and commenting publicly in the schools [on] this splendid, almost divine work. I would have devoted my time wholeheartedly to the exegesis of his work and illustrated the art of the poet and of the mind of the prophet by means of succinct glosses, if the second edition which he promised had reached me.⁵²

The fact that Buchanan 'willingly admitted' Melville to his companionship further suggests this was the first time that the two had met. This letter also informs us that Melville was well-versed by Buchanan himself in the technical construction and exegesis of Latin poetry. It seems highly likely that Melville's future skills as an epigrammatist and poet would have benefited immensely from this, and there is on

⁵¹ Lewis, *Adrien Turnèbe*, 77-104, especially at 79-90, 94-97. Other anonymous attacks on the Jesuits include the *Complainte de l'Université de Paris contre aucuns estrangers nouvellement venus* (1564) and *Complaintes des escolliers contre les nouveaux viollateurs des lois, surnommez Jésuites* (1565). A poem from the same period entitled *In Jesuitas Parrhisiis Gratis Docentes* has been attributed to Patrick Adamson (Bibliothèque Nationale Fonds Dupuy 951, f 87r., attributed to Adamson in Pasquier, *Catéchisme*, ed. C. Sutto, 256, n. 134). The full text is given in Lewis, 97, n. 48.

⁵² A. Melville to Peter Young, Bodleian, Smith MS. 77, 27 (Letter dated pridie Id. Aprilis 1572), translated and cited in McFarlane, *Buchanan*, 256-257.

occasion a traceable influence in Melville's work that can be attributed to Buchanan.⁵³ This time with Buchanan also informed Melville's skills as a teacher. James Melville states that Melville used the psalm paraphrases on his return to Scotland to educate his nephew in Latin grammar.⁵⁴ Finally, this letter sheds light on the origins of a friendship that would last between the two men until Buchanan's death and inform much of Melville's involvement in literary affairs in Scotland in the 1580s.

In 1566 Melville decided to follow the path of a number of contemporary Scots by travelling to the University of Poitiers to take up the study of law. Poitiers, founded in 1431, was ranked as second only to Paris in the sixteenth century as a centre of legal teaching, and by the time of Melville's arrival there the town possessed both a royal *sénéchausée* court and a local 'presidial' court, which acted as the definitive legal authority in the region.⁵⁵ Poitiers had a sizeable Reformed community by the late 1550s and on 10 March 1561 the second National Protestant Synod was held in the city. Following the taking up of arms by the Prince de Condé and the publication of the Edict of January in April 1562, Protestant forces seized control of the main gate into the city. A month later Lancelot du Bouchet, sieur de Sainte-Gemme arrived at the city as governor for Condé and placed it under Protestant control. The following years saw an uneasy peace in Poitiers and the Poitou region more generally. Catholics refused to honour the Peace of Amboise (March 1563) and Protestants fled from their homes during the second religious war (September 1567-March 1568). They were only allowed to return under strict supervision in the ensuing peace (March-September 1568).⁵⁶

There was a strong Scottish connection in the law faculty at the university. The Scot Robert Ireland settled in Poitiers at the end of the fifteenth century and taught law at the university until his death in 1561.⁵⁷ James Kirk has shown that

⁵³ There are several epigrams where Melville is either consciously imitating Buchanan or both are drawing from the same classical source: see Buchanan's 'Ite, Missa Est', and Melville's 'Ire, licet, missa est', and further below. Also, Melville wrote a series of psalm paraphrases during his time in the Tower of London (1607-1611) which no doubt were conceived in imitation of Buchanan. P. Mellon, *L'Académie de Sedan* (Paris, 1913), 202-207.

⁵⁴ *JMAD*, 46.

⁵⁵ H. J. Bernstein, *Between Crown and Community: Poitiers and Civic Culture in Sixteenth-Century Poitiers* (Ithaca and London, 2004), 1, 7, 10; J. Plattard, 'Scottish masters and students at Poitiers in the second half of the sixteenth century', *SHR* 21 (1924), 82-86; Prosper Boissonnade *et al*, *Histoire de l'Université de Poitiers, passé et présent (1432-1932)* (Poitiers, 1932), 148-154. Sebastian Munster in 1550 and the student Jacques de Hillerin in 1589 remarked on the pre-eminence of the university. The student population was steady at around 4,000 students in the first half of the sixteenth century.

⁵⁶ Bernstein, *Between Crown and Community*, 153-160.

⁵⁷ Plattard, 'Scottish masters and students at Poitiers', 83.

James Beaton, the exiled Archbishop of Glasgow, had considerable influence at the university and may have awarded Melville a bursary or some financial assistance. Kirk has also shown that a Ramist influence could be seen at the university in the person of the law regent and Scot, Duncan MacGruder, who had edited an edition of Ramus' *Tabulae in Rhetoricam* in 1559. MacGruder, or Aelius Donatus Macrodonus, was also a committed Calvinist, and took up arms when Coligny besieged Poitiers in 1569.⁵⁸

According to James Melville, his uncle spent three years there as a regent at the Collège Royal de Sainte-Marthe, although there is no mention of him as a member of staff in the history of the university by Prosper Boissonade.⁵⁹ There is also no student record of Melville as the surviving Register of Graduates for the period begins in 1576.⁶⁰ Despite his nephew's assertion that at Poitiers Melville 'haid the best lawyers, and studeit sa mikle thairof as might serve for his purpose, quhilk was Theologie', it seems unlikely that Melville would have had many dealings with the highly orthodox theological faculty at the university. However, the law faculty had a number of Calvinists in addition to MacGruder.⁶¹ James Kirk thus raises a valid point in stating that Melville appears to have had no desire to study theology prior to his arrival at Geneva, and that his choices of study at Paris and Poitiers indicate an eclectic liberal mind with no clear career intentions.⁶² Melville was forced to flee Poitiers in the summer of 1569 when a siege of the town by Protestant forces disrupted the university, and a stray cannonball killed the young son of a parliamentary councillor whom Melville had found alternative employment tutoring.⁶³ It was to Geneva that he fled, and there that he appears to have found the religious calling that would dominate his future career in Scotland.

Geneva

⁵⁸ Durkan/Kirk, 268-269; Plattard, 'Scottish masters and students at Poitiers', 84; Boissonade, *Histoire de l'Université de Poitiers*, 171, entry 56.

⁵⁹ Boissonade, *Histoire de l'Université de Poitiers*, 96, entry 4. Boissonade describes Melville as a 'précepteur du fils d'un conseiller au Parlement et étudiant.'

⁶⁰ Plattard, 'Scottish masters and students at Poitiers', 83.

⁶¹ *JMAD*, 40; Boissonade, *Histoire de l'Université de Poitiers*, 111. These included 'le Picard Ch.le Sage, ami de Calvin', and 'les professeurs Babimot et Vernou'.

⁶² Durkan/Kirk, 269-270.

⁶³ Durkan/Kirk, 269; *JMAD*, 40.

Melville's role as a teacher in humanity in Geneva, and his achievements there between 1569 and 1574, were more modest than either James Melville or Thomas M'Crie have made out. Melville arrived at Geneva at the height of the second war of religion with many other French refugees, when the city was overpopulated and suffering from yet another bout of plague. Melville was appointed on 18 November 1569 as the regent of the second class of the *schola privata*, along with the appointment of Hugues Roy to the first class. This came about most likely not because of any display of outstanding natural talent on Melville's part but because the plague had killed Bertrand de Salis and Antoine Salomon, the regents of the second and fifth classes, in the preceding July.⁶⁴ The plague, recurring often between 1567 and 1572, caused considerable disruption to the Academy and Beza, writing to a number of contacts in June 1570, pointed out that the *schola privata* was almost bereft of students as a result.⁶⁵ It would seem that the pastors in 1569 were keen to fill the vacant posts and Melville perhaps had the good fortune of being in the right place at the right time.

The Genevan Academy, officially inaugurated on 5 June 1559, was split into two distinct *schola* or schools. The *schola privata* provided entry-level arts and Latin grammar courses, and the *schola publica* provided higher-level courses and training in divinity and biblical languages. It was the *schola publica* that trained Protestant ministers and re-trained former Catholic priests for use in the missionary movement in France, while the teaching in the *schola privata* was largely given over to providing a solid education for Genevan youths. That the *schola privata* was of considerable importance to the Genevans is evidenced by the fact that the magistrates eventually reserved, in June 1562, the new buildings created in the re-foundation of the Academy for the sole use of the *schola privata* when overcrowding became a serious issue.⁶⁶ Melville's role as regent of the second class in the lower school would have seen him teaching youths near to the end of their studies, as the classes ascended from entry in the seventh class to completion of studies in the first. The first five classes focussed on mastering Latin, Greek, and French grammar, while the top two classes developed proficiency in dialectic, reading and textual commentary, with a brief introduction to the art of rhetoric. The statutes of the Genevan Academy outline in detail the

⁶⁴ RCP, III, 23.

⁶⁵ Letters to Peter Melius and Christopher Thretius, 18 June 1570, quoted in A.F. Scott Pearson, *Thomas Cartwright and Elizabethan Puritanism, 1535-1603* (Cambridge, 1925), 48.

⁶⁶ K. Maag, *Seminary or University?*, 10.

curriculum and teaching responsibilities Melville would have had, which included the teaching of history using Livy, Xenophon, Herodian, and Polybius, tuition in verse form using Homer as a model, and the use of the *Paradoxes* of Cicero in dialectic. Melville would also have read the Gospel of Saint Luke, in Greek, to the students on Saturday afternoons from three until four, and have supervised the attendance of the children at Catechism and at the numerous church services in the school week.⁶⁷ With such comprehensive teaching in religion and the liberal arts on offer, Melville would have had considerable standing with local citizens, grateful for providing their children with a sound education.

However, his involvement in the divinity faculty and its role in the Protestantisation of France and wider Europe would have been minimal. This is borne out by the paucity of references to Melville in the *Registres du Compagnie du Pasteurs*, save for an episode on 20 June 1572. Melville approached Beza to ask him if it would be possible to assist (*qu'il assistast*) with the teaching of theology, whereupon he was sharply rebuked by the Compagnie:

To which the Company has advised that he cannot do, in the interest of the class and of the others: also that he should not make the same request if it [the teaching post] is given to one of the regents, and that he should be encouraged to follow simply his vocation.⁶⁸

Melville was overextending his reach into a subject matter that the Genevans felt he was poorly qualified to teach, suggesting he had a sudden zeal for the subject but little practical experience. However, the following week, on 27 June, Melville and another regent, Antoine de la Faye, were admitted to 'hear' (*ouyr*) lessons in theology under Beza.⁶⁹ The fact that Melville was also allowed to return home with no protest from the Compagnie in 1574, when other members of the teaching and ministerial staff

⁶⁷ G. Lewis, 'The Genevan Academy', 41-42; S. Stelling-Michaud, 'L'ordre estably en l'escole de Geneve...veu et passé en Conseil le Lundy vingt neufz de May 1559', in *Idem* (ed.) *Le Livre du Recteur de l'Académie de Genève*, 6 vols (Geneva, 1959-1980), I, 67-77.

⁶⁸ RCP, III, 78: 'Ce que la Compagnie a advisé qui ne se pouvoit faire pour l'interest de la classe et des aultres aussi que ne faudroyent à faire la mesme requeste sy elle estoit accordee à un des regens et qu'il seroit accouragé à suivre simplement sa vocation.'

⁶⁹ RCP, III, 80. 'L'affaire aussi des deux premiers regens du College qui demandoient de pouvoir ouyr les leçons de Monsieur de Besze a esté remise sus. Et après qu'on a faict parler à eux particulièrement et le tout considéré, leur requeste leur a esté accordee.'

such as Jean Goulart and François Portus were refused leave for temporary periods, shows that Melville was deemed easily replaceable.⁷⁰

Melville was given initial permission to leave the academy on 5 April 1574, after Beza had agreed his replacement with the Conseil in the form of Emile Portus, the son of the Greek professor François, on 1 April.⁷¹ Melville was given final leave to remove himself to Scotland on 9 April 1574. He apparently did not leave immediately, as a 'testimonial' regarding his exemplary conduct was given to him by Beza and Pinault on 12 April. This letter was a standard document given to Academy students, in part as a substitute for the formal degree qualification offered by Papally-sanctioned universities elsewhere.⁷² It stated how well he had performed his duties in the college, how he had helped tend to plague victims and refugees, and how the loss was great to the Academy but the gain greater to Scotland. However, the letter was also concerned with 'touching base' with the Scottish church and reassuring them that their bond of amity, forged since the time of Goodman and Knox, was one they treasured.⁷³

Notwithstanding Melville's relative insignificance at the Academy, he did nevertheless move in the right intellectual circles, and it is clear that several of the staff had a profound impact on him. He held a deep and lasting affection for the city and for the ministers and teachers that he befriended there,⁷⁴ but perhaps the most influential initial contact he had at Geneva was a familial one, in the person of Henry Scrimgeour. Scrimgeour was originally a native of Dundee and the maternal uncle of James Melville. He was thus extended kin to Andrew. Scrimgeour had studied at St Salvator's and Paris, and in addition to publishing a translation of Plutarch's *Septem Sapientum Convivium* in 1551 and a highly respected edition of Justinian's *Novellae* in 1558, was also renowned as a book collector and buyer. The greatest part of the Greek, Latin, and Hebrew manuscripts of the Fugger collection were gathered by

⁷⁰ RCP, III, 61, 76, 82, 111-12. Simon Goulart was refused leave to go home in April and June 1572 to settle the affairs of his father because the number of ministers had been severely reduced by the plague. He was allowed eventually to go in August for a month. Corneille Bertram managed to extract permission to go to France in 1573 with great reluctance from the Compagnie owing to the potential dangers in France. See also Lewis, 'The Genevan Academy', 52-53, n. 21 for a list of other teaching staff called away to pastoral posts just prior to Melville's arrival between 1562 and 1567, and the company's 'ambivalent response' to their leaving.

⁷¹ C. Borgeaud, 'Cartwright and Melville at the University of Geneva, 1569-1574', *American Historical Review* 5.2 (1899), 284-290, at 288.

⁷² Lewis, 'The Genevan Academy', 47 and n. 13.

⁷³ Borgeaud, 'Cartwright and Melville', 288-89.

⁷⁴ See his encomiastic verses on the city and his teachers there in his 'Epitaphium Jacobi Lindesii, Qui Obiit Geneva, 17 Cal. Jul. 1580', *DPS*, II, 122-124.

Scrimgeour, who frequently travelled between Augsburg and Italy in the 1550s and early 1560s. These manuscripts now form the basis of the Vatican Palatine collection. Scrimgeour also acted as agent in buying books for Otto-Heinrich, the elector palatine.⁷⁵ It was Scrimgeour who, along with Domain Fabri, the procurator-general of the city, introduced the teaching of Law to Geneva in free public lectures in 1565. The following year Scrimgeour and Pierre Charpentier were appointed to the *schola publica* teaching staff as professors of law, with Scrimgeour continuing the lectures he had started on Justinian's *Institutes* in the previous year.⁷⁶ Scrimgeour was removed from his teaching post in October 1568, but remained in Geneva with his second wife Catherine de Viellet in an old property called the 'Villete' that James Melville states Andrew made frequent use of during his time in Geneva.⁷⁷ Melville would have benefited immensely from access to Scrimgeour's exceptional collection of books, which included Greek editions of Strabo, Demosthenes, Athenaeus and Eusebius and a range of Latin works. Many of these had been carefully emended by Scrimgeour following his examination of variant manuscripts during his travels.⁷⁸ Melville was profoundly saddened by the death of Scrimgeour in 1572, and wrote both a long epitaph on his life and a letter to Peter Young stating that due to grief he was almost unable to deal with Scrimgeour's personal effects.⁷⁹

In addition to theology, Melville's education at Geneva focussed on furthering his knowledge of biblical and oriental languages. Melville studied under the famed Hebraeist Corneille Bertram, who had been born at Thouars in France in 1531. Bertram, a nephew of Beza's by marriage, had studied at Poitiers, Paris, Toulouse and Cahors, before taking over the post of teacher of Hebrew at Geneva on 13 January 1567 from Antoine-Rudolph Chevalier.⁸⁰ Bertram is best known for his work on the civil and ecclesiastical government of the ancient Hebrews entitled the *De Politica Judaica*, and a work entitled *In Linguae Hebraicae & Aramicae Comparationem*

⁷⁵ J. Durkan, 'Henry Scrimgeour: Renaissance bookman', *EBST V* (1978), 1-31, at 1-3, 15.

⁷⁶ K. Maag, *Seminary or University?*, 25-27.

⁷⁷ *JMAD*, 42. I am grateful to Professor Bill Naphy for searching the Genevan Notarial Records for 1569-1574 for references to Melville while researching there, unfortunately to no avail, although he did find several references to Scrimgeour.

⁷⁸ Durkan, 'Henry Scrimgeour', 21-25.

⁷⁹ Bodleian, MS Cherry 5; MS Smith 77, f. 29r. Transcribed but not translated in Durkan, 'Henry Scrimgeour', appendix D, 28-31.

⁸⁰ J. Senebier, *Histoire Littéraire de Genève* (Geneva, 1786), 309; E. Haag, *La France Protestante*, 5 vols (Paris, 1877-1896), II, 229-231; C. Borgeaud, *Histoire de l'Université de Genève: L'Académie de Calvin* (Geneva, 1900), 102.

which was published at Geneva in 1574.⁸¹ The *Comparationem* was, as the title suggests, a comparison of the grammatical structures of Hebrew and Aramaic, which was highly advanced for the period. Melville wrote four short encomiastic verses for this work, three of which were aimed solely at praising Bertram and his work, describing him as the ‘father’ who had renewed the ‘mother and child’ languages of Chaldaic and Syriac. The fourth poem, entitled ‘On the pre-eminence of holy language’ (*In Linguae Sanctae Praestantiam*), shows the importance that Melville placed on the understanding of the scriptural languages:

Whereby the certain stands apart from the uncertain, the eternal from the fallen,
the divine from the human, the light from the darkness,
and heaven from the lands: so great a division of things!
This separates this pious tongue from other tongues:
Which alone revealed the way to the life of the father, and the blessed seats
and the brilliant kingdoms of heaven.⁸²

Melville also worked closely with François Portus, a Greek scholar. Portus was a native of the Greek island of Candia. Portus spent eight years between 1546 and 1554 at the court of Renée de France, the Duchess of Ferrara and daughter of Louis XII, where he was named a member of the Academy of the *Filareti*. He accepted the chair of Greek at Geneva in 1562. Portus is best known for his polemical exchanges with the ex-Genevan professor of Law and royal apologist Pierre Charpentier between 1572 and 1574, where he refuted the claims made by Charpentier that the royal government was justified in ordering the St Batholomew’s Day massacres.⁸³

Melville also befriended the linguist and internationally renowned classical philologist Joseph-Juste Scaliger when the latter arrived in Geneva after the massacres. Only five years older than Melville, Scaliger had studied intensively under his father, the great Latin philologist Julius Caesar Scaliger, and at the prestigious Collège de Guyenne, which he entered at the age of just twelve. By 1563 Scaliger, who had converted to Calvinism in the preceding year, had become part of the circle of textual emendators around Dorat and Turnèbe, offering emendations for the latter’s

⁸¹ C. Borgeaud, *Histoire*, 103; C. Bertram, *In Linguae Hebraicae and Aramaicae Comparationem* (Geneva, 1574).

⁸² Bertram, *Comparationem*, f. 1*r-2*v. ‘Quo distant certa incertis, aeterna caducis/ Divina humanis, denique lux tenebris/ Et Coelum terris: Quanto discrimine rerum!/ Hoc praestat linguis haec pia lingua aliis:/ Ad vitam quae sola viam, sedesque beatas,/ Et patris pandit lucida regna poli.’

⁸³ R. Kingdon, *Geneva and the Consolidation of the French Protestant Movement, 1564-72* (Geneva, 1967), 112-113.

Adversaria and for Jean Lambin's second edition of the works of Horace, before publishing his own *Coniectanea* on Varro's *De lingua Latina*. This was a hugely learned exegetical analysis that showed off not only his mastery of Latin, but his understanding of the Greek and near-Eastern etymology of many Latin words. Scaliger and Melville would have had a shared regard for Turnèbe, who had heavily influenced Scaliger's early work. Scaliger also had first-hand experience of Melville's homeland. He travelled around Scotland and England between 1565 and 1567, where he took delight in the lullabies sung by children's nurses and was appalled by the reputed behaviour of Mary Stuart towards her husband.⁸⁴ Scaliger took up a position in the *schola publica* on 31 October 1572, having just produced his own edition of the *Appendix Vergiliana*, and lectured on Cicero and Aristotle's *Organon*. During his two-year tenure at Geneva he also published an edition of the works of Varro and of Ausonius, and a collection of the works of his father with an edition of his own translation of Sophocles' *Ajax*.⁸⁵

Although he had a reputation as a poor lecturer,⁸⁶ Scaliger had a great impact on Melville's views on both textual exegesis and on world chronology and history, and Melville clearly had a great deal of respect for him and his father. He attached a series of encomiastic verses to the collection of Scaliger *pere's* poems that praised the elder Scaliger as one begotten by Aristotle, Caesar and Virgil, and the three gods Apollo, Pallas and Major.⁸⁷ In one of Scaliger's letters there is also a rare insight into Melville's ability as a textual emendator. Scaliger notes that Melville gave him an emendation for a commentary on Manilius' *Astronomicum*, advising him to read 'lapsumque diem' for 'nascentemque ipsumque diem' at line 588 of book IV.⁸⁸ It is worth noting incidentally that Scaliger, like a number of Melville's other tutors at Paris, had little time or respect for the teachings of Ramus. While at Leiden in 1594, Scaliger responded to Nicholas Nancel (Ramus' biographer) that although Ramus had

⁸⁴ Grafton, *Scaliger*, I, 102, 109-111, 118-120. It has been mistakenly asserted that Melville was taught Hebrew by a Scaliger at Paris, but this is impossible—neither Scaliger *pere* or *fils* studied Hebrew, and Julius Caesar Scaliger died in 1558. Durkan/Kirk, 267.

⁸⁵ Maag, *Seminary or University?*, 36-37; Grafton, *Scaliger*, I, 123-129.

⁸⁶ Grafton, *Scaliger*, I, 126. In a letter to Josias Simler just after Scaliger left Geneva, Simon Goulart wrote: 'Scaliger will not return to us. For he suffered from a perpetual illness here; and if he lectured now and then, the audience was scanty.' L. C. Jones, *Simon Goulart, 1543-1628* (Geneva and Paris, 1917), 326-7.

⁸⁷ *Iulii Caesaris Scaligeri Viri Clarissimi Poemata in Duas Partes Divisa*, (n.p. 1574), I., sig. [*3v].

⁸⁸ Grafton, *Scaliger*, I, 126, 289, n. 157. Scaliger, *Commentarius*, in *M Manilii Astronomicum libri quinque* (Paris, 1579), 235, where he states 'Andreas Melvinus Scotus, iuvenis eruditus admonuit me hic legendum esse.'

become a good orator during his life he did so against his own 'slow, rough and stupid' intellect (*repugnante ingenio tardo, rudi et stupido*). He also remarked to his students that the continued popularity of Ramus' works was disproportionate to their worth: 'these days only the Ramists are praised, but such praise is beyond measure.' This dislike of Ramist teachings continued throughout Scaliger's life, and shows another close intellectual contact of Melville's opposed to them.⁸⁹

Despite the misgivings of a number of his friends about Ramus, Melville heard him lecture during his short-lived tour of a number of European cities in 1570, even following him out of Geneva. Ramus took a sabbatical from his position at the Collège de France in 1568 to take a two-year tour around Switzerland and Germany as a royal commissioner of French culture. During this period he lectured in the Rhine valley, at Basle, Zurich, Berne, Strasbourg, Heidelberg, Nuremburg and Ausburg.⁹⁰ On 8 May 1570 a number of the senior ministers had asked the city council to give permission to Ramus to teach 'to help the university's reputation' (*pour donner bruit a luniversite ce quil a accorde*).⁹¹ Ramus was duly given a place and began lecturing on his 'method' for the teaching of dialectic, but was asked on the last day of May to 'change the way' he taught in public lectures, which he refused to do. This sudden revision of attitudes on the part of Geneva is unsurprising, as Beza had in no way been comfortable with the appointment of Ramus as a temporary lecturer. Beza had declared in letters to Ramus both before and after the latter's brief teaching appointment that he would never be given a permanent teaching post at the Academy because of his arbitrary revisions of the teachings of Aristotle and other classical authors in logic.⁹² A compromise was agreed whereby Ramus would lecture on Cicero's *In Catilinam*, but this conflict roused a number of students to post dedicatory verses supporting Ramus, protesting that he be allowed to continue his lectures as originally planned.⁹³ We can be reasonably sure that Melville and his fellow Scot Gilbert Moncrieff, future doctor to James VI, were among them, as they chose to

⁸⁹ Hotson, 58, n. 75, citing *Scaligerana* (Cologne, 1695), 333.

⁹⁰ See note above.

⁹¹ Kingdon, *Geneva and the Consolidation of the French Protestant Movement*, 101, n.5.

⁹² C. Waddington, *Ramus: Sa vie, ses ecrits, et ses opinions* (Paris, 1855), 213: Beza to Ramus, 30 September 1569: 'Je m'etonne, disoit-il, que vous me demandez ce qui a ete si bien dit et escrit par tant de savants qui, d'un common accord, vous ne l'ignorez pas, ont vu avec deplaisir vos Animadaversiones contre Aristote.' Kingdon, *Geneva and the Consolidation of the French Protestant Movement*, 120: Beza to Ramus, 1 December 1570: 'quod nobis certum ac consitutum sit & in ipsis tradendis Logicis, & in caeteris explicandis disciplinis ab Aristotelis sententia ne tantillum quidem deflectere.'

⁹³ RCP, III, 26; Lewis, 'The Genevan Academy', 60.

follow Ramus to Lausanne to hear him continue his series of lectures there in July of the same year. The records of the Council of Lausanne record that Melville and Moncrieff left Lausanne on 5 September 1570.⁹⁴

It is worth noting some important intellectual nuances in the dispute between Beza and Ramus over teaching methods, as it has significant bearing on the understanding of Melville's approach to teaching on his return to Scotland. Beza's dislike of Ramus' 'method' was in no way due to his being rigidly 'scholastic' or 'Aristotelian' in a pejorative sense of opposing the intellectual progress of the Renaissance and contemporary developments in logic and rhetoric. Rather, it is because, despite the considerable advances in Renaissance logic and rhetoric made by Valla, Vives and other scholars of the sixteenth century, Aristotelian logic still continued at Geneva and elsewhere as the foundation for enabling students to reason and to discuss scripture. More importantly, it acted as a shared set of tools in debates between Reformed theologians and their Catholic counterparts. As Richard Muller has argued, this 'scholastic' or 'orthodox' approach was not backward-looking, but concerned with providing a 'right' and 'academic' (in the original sense of the Latin word *scholasticus*) method for efficiently obtaining biblical knowledge. With slight revisions from Renaissance manuals on logic and rhetoric this fundamentally 'Aristotelian' system underpinned the foundations of the great expansion of Protestant systematic theology in the seventeenth-century.⁹⁵ As the evidence of many of the *theses theologicae* surviving from Beza's period as rector of the Academy shows, syllogistic reasoning remained a central component of the disputations given by students.⁹⁶ In this sense, Aristotelian logic was the foundation for the teaching of logic and other related subjects in the Calvinist educational programme, and Beza could not allow Ramus to undermine that. By extension, we have to bear in mind when discussing Melville's educational approach that as a Calvinist theologian, trained in Geneva, he would never completely throw out the tools of Aristotelian logic in favour of an exclusive devotion to Ramus. At most Melville would likely take a syncretic

⁹⁴ Borgeaud, 'Cartwright and Melville', 288.

⁹⁵ R. A. Muller, *After Calvin: Studies in the Development of a Theological Tradition* (Oxford 2003), *passim*.

⁹⁶ I. Backus, 'L'enseignement de la logique à l'Académie de Genève entre 1559 et 1565', *Revue de Théologie et Philosophie*, 111 (1979), 153-163; P. Fraenkel, 'De l'écriture à la dispute: Le cas de l'Académie de Genève sous Théodore de Bèze', *Cahiers de la Revue de Théologie et Philosophie* (Lausanne, 1977); H. Heyer, *Catalogue des Theses de Théologie Soutenues à l'Académie de Genève Pendant les XVI^e, XVII^e et XVIII^e Siècles* (Geneva, 1898).

approach and blend the two, and it is a continued adherence to ‘scholastic’ logic with some Ramist additions that characterises the form and content of disputations in the Scottish universities after Melville’s return.⁹⁷

The last three years of Melville’s time at Geneva indicate the growing shift in his intellectual priorities towards matters of divinity, strengthened by his introduction to the leading exponents of English Presbyterianism. It was shortly after the Ramus incident that Thomas Cartwright arrived in Geneva. Cartwright was one of the leaders of the English Puritan movement, and had just been dismissed from his professorial post in Cambridge for his ecclesiastical views. The first mention of Cartwright in Geneva occurred in June 1571, where he agreed to deliver theology lectures on Thursdays and Fridays in the *schola publica*. The recurring plague that afflicted Geneva in this period increased in virulence in the following month, killing the philosophy professor Job Veryat and heavily debilitating François Portus. Cartwright proved invaluable to Beza in keeping tuition afloat at the *schola*.⁹⁸ Walter Travers, Cartwright’s fellow Puritan leader, also arrived in Geneva at some point in 1571. While Cartwright left Geneva in January of the following year, Travers appears to have stayed in Geneva until 1576.⁹⁹ Both these men had some further catalysing effect on Melville in his theological instruction, but to what extent is impossible to say. In 1574 Travers published at La Rochelle his treatise on Presbyterian church polity, the *Ecclesiasticae Disciplinae...Explicatio*.¹⁰⁰ Melville valued this work highly enough to present it as a gift to Alexander Arbuthnott, the principal of King’s College, on his return to Scotland.¹⁰¹ Melville also offered both men teaching posts at St Mary’s College just prior to his accession to the principal’s chair in 1579, showing again his high regard for their work.¹⁰² It certainly seems more than a coincidence that it was only after meeting these men that Melville began in earnest to seek direct higher training in divinity, as the Compagnie records show.

⁹⁷ See below, chapter 5.

⁹⁸ Borgeaud, ‘Cartwright and Melville’, 284-290; Pearson, *Thomas Cartwright*, 46-52; P. Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (London, 1982 edn.), 110-113, 124.

⁹⁹ Pearson, 50-52; S. J. Knox, *Walter Travers: Paragon of Elizabethan Puritanism* (London, 1962), 27, 42.

¹⁰⁰ Knox, *Walter Travers*, 29.

¹⁰¹ Durkan/Kirk, 270.

¹⁰² Andrew Melville and others to Thomas Cartwright and Walter Travers (Edinburgh, n.d., 1579), printed in Thomas Fuller, *The Church History of Britain*, ed. J. Nichols, 3 vols (1837) book 9, section 7 (51-52).

However, perhaps the most profound influence on Melville that convinced him to pursue a career in divinity came not from the teaching staff or colleagues around him, but from the outrage he felt at the massacres in France in August 1572. The wholesale slaughter of Protestants spurred him to devote a considerable portion of his first published work to discussing the events of St Bartholomew's Day. This volume, entitled the *Carmen Mosis* and dedicated to the young King James VI, was published in Basle at some point in 1574.¹⁰³ It consisted of a highly ornate poetic paraphrase of the *Song of Moses*, a paraphrase of Job 3, and a series of eight epigrams and short poems on the massacres which capture the horror and revulsion that Melville felt towards the Catholic mob in France, and his outrage at the Valois dynasty that allowed the atrocities to take place. In terms of content and style a number of these epigrams show some influence of Buchanan, but they seem to be far more in touch with the tracts being issued by Melville's Calvinist counterparts in France and Geneva in the same period. Melville also anonymously contributed one of these poems under the initials A.M.S. (Andreas Melvinus Scotus) to the *Epicedia Illustri Heroi Caspary Colinio*, a collection of Latin poetry dedicated to the memory of Coligny edited by his friend and colleague François Portus.¹⁰⁴ One curious omission from the material composed by Melville is the lack of an elegiac verse to Ramus, who was gruesomely murdered in the massacres. Melville's silence on the death of the man he had followed around Europe, and whose ideas contributed substantially to his educational reform plans, is curious. It can perhaps be seen as a further indicator of Melville dutifully following the party line of the Genevan movement that he had come to embrace so wholeheartedly during his time at the Academy, to the exclusion of other intellectual loyalties.

In writing these poems, and addressing them to the young James VI, it may be that Melville was also attempting to advance the Genevan propaganda machine on the

¹⁰³ *Carmen Mosis, Ex Deuteron. Cap. xxxii, Quod Ipse Moriens Israeli Tradidit Ediscendum et Cantandum Perpetuo, Latina Paraphrasi Illustratum. Cui Addita Sunt Nonnulla Epigrammata, et Iobi Cap. iii. Latino Carmine Redditum. Andrea Melvino Scoto Auctore* (Basle, 1574). The exact dating and the securing of an original copy of this text have as yet proved impossible. M'Crie had a copy, and believed that the poem 'Ad Carolum, Tyrannum Galliarum', with references to Charles IX's death on 30 May 1574 from tuberculosis, must have been written and sent back to Basle after Melville left Geneva. However, given the speed at which we know Melville could work, there may have just been time to complete the book; see M'Crie 26, 40-42, 447-8. M'Crie and Mellon both give a comprehensive account of the book's contents and the editions of the texts referred to here are contained in *DPS*, II, 108-112, and P. Mellon, *L'Academie de Sedan*, 156-168.

¹⁰⁴ S. J. Reid, 'Early polemic by Andrew Melville', 63-82; Paul Chaix *et al*, *Les Livres Imprimés à Geneve de 1550 à 1600* (Geneva, 1966), 78; Emile Legrand, *Bibliographie Hellénique des XV^e et XVI^e Siècles* (Paris, 1962), p. xvi.

international scene, while making a name for himself at the Scottish court. English translations of a range of the French and Genevan tracts were published in London during the 1570s.¹⁰⁵ As the *Memorials* of Richard Bannantyne record, pamphlets and news regarding the massacres did make their way to Scotland and were translated for the local audience.¹⁰⁶ The printer Thomas Bassandyne imported several dozen copies of Melville's book to Edinburgh,¹⁰⁷ which suggests that it would have been available to the Scottish intelligentsia. In a small way Melville would thus have been helping to communicate the plight of the French Calvinist movement to a sympathetic audience in Scotland.

Conclusion

Conclusions on Melville's early education and intellectual development must remain at best cautious. Limited evidence, despite numerous searches for further material, inhibits any further analysis. Nevertheless, one thing is clear: Melville had an insatiable and eclectic appetite for numerous intellectual viewpoints on a range of arts subjects from the outset of his academic career. His precocious attempt to learn Greek was the first achievement in a fifteen-year period that would see him develop a knowledge of biblical languages unrivalled in Scotland. As Melville progressed from Paris to Geneva, his ideas on educational reform crystallised around those of Ramus, but not without some aid from George Buchanan, whose comments on poetry no doubt influenced Melville's own written style. Melville's modest role at Geneva allowed him contact with the best of the reformed intelligentsia, and it seems that some combination of events and people conspired to drive him towards a religious calling that his earlier years as a restless young intellectual could not have predicted. Whether this was due to the influence of Cartwright and Travers, to the outrages of the Bartholomew's Day massacres, or to the cumulative influence of an extended stay in Geneva, is impossible to say with certainty. Regardless, in his time abroad Melville added ardent support of the Presbyterian polity to a commitment to both European

¹⁰⁵ R. Kingdon, *Myths about the St Bartholomew's Day Massacres, 1572-1576* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998). Numerous English editions of French tracts from the 1570s exist. See, among others: *Discours Marveilleux*, STC10550-551.5; *Furoribus Gallicis*, STC13847; *Gasparis Colinii Castelloni*, STC22248; *Reveille-matin*, STC1464-1464.5.

¹⁰⁶ Richard Bannantyne, *Memorials 1569-1573*, ed. Robert Pitcairn (Bannantyne Club, 1829), 268-280.

¹⁰⁷ M'Crie, 40. Bassandyne stated in his *Testament Testamentar*: 'Item xlvii Carmen Moyses, ye dosane xviii^d.' Bassandyne died 18 October 1577.

humanism in the broadest sense and to Ramist educational reform. He would use these different influences to create a programme with which he would attempt to transform the Scottish university system in the following decade.

Chapter 2: The Scottish universities, 1560-1579

Introduction

For the Scottish universities, the two decades following the onset of the Scottish Reformation in 1560 were precarious and unsettling ones. Cut off at a stroke from the Catholic authority that had created them, they not only had to re-orient their teaching and curriculum towards the new Protestant status quo, but had to find a new identity for themselves. They had limited success in achieving this. Aberdeen remained largely Catholic and Glasgow almost ceased to exist. St Andrews managed some measure of reform, and what was achieved was down largely to the work of university staff, with occasional help (and sometimes interference) from the civil government and minimal involvement from the General Assembly. While the Scottish university reform movement only gained real momentum with the arrival of Andrew Melville in Glasgow in 1574, there was nevertheless limited progress and development at St Andrews, despite a range of competing social, political and religious tensions within the university.

Big ideas: The First Book of Discipline and university reform

By 1560 there were three Scottish universities. Glasgow had been founded in 1451 as a university teaching the arts and canon and civil law,¹ and in 1495 papal approval had been given to erect a *studium generale* providing theology, law, medicine and arts in the ‘physical remoteness’ of Aberdeen.² St Andrews, the oldest university in Scotland, had started life as a pedagogical foundation in 1410.³ By 1560 it had, unlike Glasgow and Aberdeen, developed from a single pedagogy into a federation of three distinct colleges administered as a single university. The first of these, St Salvator’s, was founded in 1450 to teach theology and arts.⁴ St Leonard’s was founded as a ‘college for poor clerks’ in 1512, with the objective of better educating novices of the

¹ Durkan/Kirk, 12-15, 127-8.

² L. J. Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland 1431-1514: The Struggle for Order* (Aberdeen, 1985), 305.

³ Cant, 1.

⁴ Cant, 24.

local Augustinian order.⁵ The final college established at St Andrews before 1560 was St Mary's, founded between 1525 and 1538 as a *studium generale* by Archbishop James Beaton on the remains of the original university pedagogy. St Mary's was re-founded by Archbishop Patrick Hamilton in February 1555 as a centre for training parish ministers in theology and biblical exposition, who could then be used to reform the Scottish Catholic church.⁶

Just prior to the Reformation in 1560, all three universities had fallen into a state of decay and disrepair. At Glasgow, the matriculation records show that after 1539 entrant numbers dropped to a lower level than at any time in its history. Only four students were incorporated in 1550 and 1551, one in 1552, nine in 1553, one in 1554, 13 in 1555, three in 1556, 17 in 1557 and none in 1558.⁷ The situation at the university was so dire in December 1551 that two of the students taking their bachelor degree chose to go to St Andrews to finish their course.⁸ The university buildings were in a very poor state as well, and from 1475 on the minutes of the *munimenta* are full of small sums for repairs to the college fabric.⁹ At St Andrews there were only 13 graduations recorded between 1545 and 1553, with no graduations at all in 1545 and 1546. The reduction in numbers was caused by plague, civil disturbance by Protestant reformers, and turmoil caused by English military invasion. Between 1553 and 1559 graduation numbers barely rose to double figures.¹⁰ The matriculation roll for St Andrews shows blanks for 1546, 1547 and 1549, with only a handful of names registered in 1548.¹¹ However, numbers of entrants picked up between 1552 and 1558. During this more settled period, when Scotland was under the regency of Mary of Guise, new entrants remained consistently above 30 per year. There was also a record total of 64 new entrants in 1555, likely due to the re-foundation of St Mary's.¹² At Aberdeen a visitation in 1549 ordered by the Provincial Council recorded material decay of the university on a broad scale.¹³ Only seven masters had entered between 1546 and 1548, with a further three students in law and nine in theology.¹⁴

⁵ Cameron, 'A trilingual college for Scotland', 32; Cant, 29.

⁶ Cameron, 'St Mary's College 1547-1574', 43-57.

⁷ Durkan/Kirk, 240.

⁸ Durkan/Kirk, 214.

⁹ J. D. Mackie, *The University of Glasgow, 1451-1951* (Glasgow, 1954), 46.

¹⁰ *Early Records*, 148-57.

¹¹ *Early Records*, 250-3.

¹² See appendix.

¹³ B. McLennan, 'The Reformation in the Burgh of Aberdeen', *Northern Scotland* 2 (1974-77), 121.

¹⁴ G. Donaldson, 'Aberdeen University and the Reformation', *Northern Scotland* 1 (1972-3), 135.

It was in this rather bleak situation that a university reform scheme was produced by a commission of ministers, who had been appointed by the Lords of Council to write a broader programme 'touching the reformation of Religion' in Scotland.¹⁵ The commission began work on this programme, now known as the *First Book of Discipline*, in April 1560, and on 17 January 1561 it was accepted in an 'Act of Secret Counsell'.¹⁶ While the *First Book* contained proposals for reforming all aspects of religious life in Scotland, by far the most detailed were those for university reform. The members of the commission charged with writing the section on the universities were likely John Douglas, principal of St Mary's College and rector of the university between 1547 and 1572, and John Winram, superintendent of Fife, who was closely connected with St Andrews from his student days in 1513 until his death in 1582.¹⁷

Entitled 'of the Ereccion of the Universities', the scheme proposed a complete reorganisation of the three existing universities.¹⁸ At St Andrews the three colleges were to be kept but allocated to different areas of study. One college was to provide a three-year arts course covering mathematics, logic, and natural philosophy, and a five-year course in medicine. The second college would offer a one-year moral philosophy course which taught 'Ethicks, Oeconomics and Politicks', and a four-year course in Roman and statute law. The third college was to provide a one-year course in Greek and Hebrew, and a divinity course teaching the theological exposition of the Old and New Testament over five years. Outside St Andrews, the reformers advocated expansion. Aberdeen and Glasgow were each to be divided into two colleges. The first college at both would teach the same arts course as the 'first college' at St Andrews, without the course in medicine. The second college was to combine the functions of the second and third colleges at St Andrews, and offer courses in Hebrew, divinity, moral philosophy, and Roman and statute law.

The constitution, administrative processes and personnel outlined for each university borrowed heavily from the extant constitutions of St Mary's and St Leonard's. Each college was to be overseen by a principal, who would manage the college funds and exercise discipline over the youths in his charge. As in the pre-Reformation period, each university was to be regulated by a rector, chosen annually

¹⁵ *FBD*, 3-4.

¹⁶ *FBD*, 210-11.

¹⁷ *FBD*, 57; *Acta*, pp. ccxlvii-ccxlviii. Douglas was rector from 28 February 1551 to 17 March 1574.

¹⁸ *FBD*, 26-7, 137-155.

by the principal and regents of each college, who was also to carry out monthly inspections of each college and be responsible for elections to vacant principalships. Another change was the abolition of the traditional system of a regent taking a class through all stages of a course from their entrance to examination and graduation. They were to be replaced with 'specialist' readers who would each be responsible for teaching the subjects in only one year of study.

In another section, entitled 'For the Schooles', the reformers advocated the setting up of arts colleges in 'every notable town' that would teach a basic arts course and the biblical languages 'for the virtuous education and godly upbringing of the youth of this realme.'¹⁹ If the reformers' plans had been carried out in full, the 'first college' at St Andrews, Glasgow and Aberdeen would have fulfilled these functions for the towns. Instruction in the higher faculties to qualify lawyers and ministers would have been concentrated in the remaining two colleges at St Andrews and the remaining college at Aberdeen and Glasgow, in what could be termed 'post-graduate' colleges.²⁰ The prime hope of the reformers was that education would disseminate Protestant belief in Scotland, ensuring that all children would be 'brought up in virtue in presence of their friends', and would 'within few years' act as catechists to their elders and provide new ministers to undertake Protestant missions across Scotland.²¹ All these motives were imperative for the furthering of the reformed cause in Scotland, as it was only with English military aid in March 1560 that a band of Scottish Protestant nobles had removed the pro-Catholic regent Mary of Guise from power. In August they held a parliament without royal consent, where they adopted a Protestant confession of faith and outlawed the Catholic religion.²² By adopting a broad programme of education, the reformers aimed to embed the newly established religion in Scottish culture as quickly as possible, especially amongst the young.

'Arts colleges' similar to those proposed in the *First Book* were established at Bordeaux in 1534, Strasbourg in 1538, Nimes in 1542 and Lausanne in 1547, and colleges teaching the biblical languages were founded in Louvain in 1517, Alcalá in 1528, and in Paris in 1530.²³ It was from these examples that the Scottish reformers

¹⁹ *FBD*, 129-136.

²⁰ Mackie, *The University of Glasgow*, 57-8.

²¹ *FBD*, 135.

²² M. Graham, *The Uses of Reform: 'Godly Discipline' and Popular Behaviour in Scotland and Beyond, 1560-1610* (Leiden, 1996), 38.

²³ Durkan/Kirk, 280-282; W. Frijhoff, 'Patterns', in Ridder-Symoens (ed.), *A History of the University in Europe II*, 57.

had taken the idea for the abolition of regenting and the emphasis on biblical languages in the curriculum, as well as the requirement that each student undertake a three year arts course. However, it was the Academy of Geneva, founded by Jean Calvin in 1558, that played the largest role in influencing the reformers. The Genevan book of Common Order was to be used for teaching children the Catechism and the statutes of the Academy were the chief source used to plan the 'third college' at St Andrews.²⁴ Research by Karin Maag into the Academy for the period 1559-64 has shown that it trained new ministers with remarkable speed to meet the needs of the rapidly expanding Calvinist movement in France, as well as 're-training' ex-Catholic ministers.²⁵ When the reformers laid out their plans for reform in 1560-1, they must have had high hopes that the Genevan experience would be replicated in Scotland.

The scheme of university reform in the *First Book* ends with an appeal to the Lords to 'set forward letters in the sort prescribed', and ultimately lays responsibility upon the civil power to carry out the ambitious reform plan they proposed.²⁶ In truth, the General Assembly in the decade after 1560 took little interest in pursuing this scheme. The only reference made to the universities in the 1560s and early 1570s in the assembly minutes was the token proclamation repeated in June 1563, 1565, and 1567 that all teachers and lecturers must 'profess Chrysts true religioun', and an exemption in June 1563 for university benefices from the remission of thirds for ministerial stipends.²⁷ Events at the three Scottish universities between 1560 and 1574 took very different turns, but it was the civil government that initiated the process of reform at each of them.

At King's College, Aberdeen, the university and its staff remained sympathetic to the Catholic cause until at least 1568. Attempts by a reforming mob to attack the university in 1559 had been successfully repelled, and the college remained throughout the 1560s in the protection of the pro-Catholic earls of Huntly. In January 1561, the principal of the college, Alexander Anderson, and his fellow teaching staff were cited to appear at the Tolbooth in Edinburgh for an examination of their doctrine.²⁸ The four men appear to have spent some time in ward before being allowed to return to Aberdeen, and then only on the condition that they should not

²⁴ *FBD*, 58, 137.

²⁵ Maag, *Seminary or University?*, 16-21.

²⁶ *FBD*, 155.

²⁷ *BUK*, I, 34-35, 60, 113.

²⁸ Stevenson, *King's College*, 9.

preach.²⁹ In August 1562 Queen Mary visited Old Aberdeen, where an English diplomatic agent in her entourage remarked that the university had been reduced to the status of a small college, with only fifteen or sixteen students. Mary appears to have tacitly supported the Catholic teaching staff. On 2 November she issued a letter of protection to the university for the safeguarding of its revenues, with the threat of ‘all hiest pane charge and offence’ to anyone who broke this protection.³⁰

The university continued to survive, apparently unmolested, until 1569, when the Regent Moray put down an armed rebellion by the fifth Earl of Huntly, who was attempting to restore Mary to the throne. After receiving Huntly’s submission Moray stopped on his return south to deal with the university, with the assistance of John Erskine of Dun, superintendent of Angus and the Mearns and commissioner for the shires of Aberdeen and Banff.³¹ On 29 June, Principal Anderson, Sub-Principal Andrew Galloway and two regents in Arts were summoned to sign the reformed Confession of Faith. They appeared the following day and bluntly refused. All four were summarily deprived of their posts in the college by Moray as ‘persons dangerous and unmeet to have care of the instruction of the youth’, and the college and its property was handed over to the provost of Aberdeen for safe-keeping. Arbuthnott and James Lawson, ex-teaching staff from St Andrews, were appointed as principal and sub-principal on 3 July, followed shortly after by the appointment of two protestant regents in arts, George Paterson and Hercules Rollock.³²

George Hay, chaplain to the Regent Moray and to the Privy Council, delivered an oration on 2 July to the students of King’s College between the expulsion of the old staff and the appointment of the new. Hay emphasised the fact that it was the civil authority, and not the ecclesiastical, which had taken action to reform the university.³³ While Moray was changing a foundation ‘firmly based on great antiquity’, and change was ‘rightly detested by all men of wisdom’ for the upheaval it caused, Hay believed there was great wisdom in the state transformation of the university. Hay’s greatest hope was to:

²⁹ D. Shaw, *The General Assemblies of the Church of Scotland, 1560-1600: Their Origins and Development* (Edinburgh, 1964), 189.

³⁰ *Fasti Aberdonenses*, 126-127.

³¹ Stevenson, *King’s College*, 15-19.

³² Watt and Durkan, ‘George Hay’s *Oration*’, 97.

³³ Watt and Durkan, 91-95.

...achieve one purpose, that of winning approval for my eagerness to obey and for my conscientiousness from those whom, on account of their merit, I would gladly oblige and whom, in view of the position which they occupy in the state, I neither can nor should oppose.

Hay portrayed the Regent Moray as the powerful catalyst behind the reform at King's College. The regent had seen the reformed religion accepted at St Andrews and Glasgow, and had tried a policy of 'complaisance and gentleness' with the college in Aberdeen in the hopes that it would do the same. However, Moray saw that, through 'the cunning and fraudulent pretences of crafty men' and the 'carelessness of good men', reform in the university had been delayed to a point where he had decided that Aberdeen 'might be curbed by the severity of the law.' It was thus through the regent, and by extension the civil government, that the university was to be reformed.

The very few records that survive for Glasgow in the fifteen years following the Reformation show it was near total collapse. The majority of the university staff followed the lead of the chancellor, the Archbishop James Beaton, and deserted it. The principal of the university, John Davidson, had been won over to reform in 1559 and appears to have maintained teaching, aided by Robert Hamilton, on record as regent between 1562 and 1565.³⁴ A visitation in July 1563 by Queen Mary concluded that the university 'apperit rather to be the decay of ane Universitie nor ony wyse to reknit ane establisst fundatioun', and Mary handed over a gift of the manse and kirkroom of the Blackfriars in Glasgow along with thirteen acres of land and some money and meal worth a little less than £100 Scots.³⁵ On 16 March 1567 Mary made a further grant of all the properties of every chantry, altarage and prebend in Glasgow, along with all the former possessions of the black and grey friars in the city.³⁶ Mary had made this grant with the intended purpose of supporting ministers and providing hospital care within the city, but on 26 January 1573 the town provost and baillies, with the consent of Parliament, used the endowment to re-found the college and provide it with a new constitution.³⁷

This new 'town' constitution was highly conservative and extremely modest. In addition to a rector, chancellor, and dean of arts, the teaching staff were to comprise a principal who would also be a professor of theology and provide daily

³⁴ Shaw, *General Assemblies*, 187.

³⁵ Durkan/Kirk, 243; Mackie, *University of Glasgow*, 59.

³⁶ *Munimenta*, 71-74.

³⁷ *Munimenta*, 82-91; Durkan/Kirk, 250-254.

lessons in scripture, and two regents in philosophy who would also read the prayers in the church adjacent to the college. Twelve foundationers were to be provided for, who had to complete their degree within three and a half years. The college was to offer only courses in philosophy and theology, with no mention of law, mathematics or languages. Students were also expected to have a competent knowledge of Latin grammar prior to entry, and every foundationer was publicly to accept the Scottish Confession of Faith when swearing to obey the College statutes. The town's foundation charter failed to take root, as the only member of staff found at the university on Andrew Melville's arrival in late 1574 was the regent Peter Blackburn. Blackburn had been appointed at some point in the preceding year and had taken it upon himself to teach 'conform to the ordour of the course of St Androis', where he had come from.³⁸ However, it shows that the only decisive action to be taken at the university prior to the return of Andrew Melville was engendered by the civil power.

Moderation and schism: the University of St Andrews, 1560-1574

St Andrews was one of the earliest towns in Scotland to profess allegiance to Protestantism, and had wholly adopted a reformed church settlement by 25 July 1559, when the St Andrews Kirk Session records begin.³⁹ Around this same date there is a period of disruption clearly visible in all the main administrative records of the university. Regular entries in the *Acta* cease abruptly after the entry of 7 December 1558.⁴⁰ Only two statutes are recorded for 1559 and 1560, the first on 25 November 1559 continuing John Rutherford in his post as dean of arts along with the examiners then currently elected, and the second on 15 May 1560, stating that:

The university determined that all who ought to have graduated in this year should be held as licentiates, as due to the whole disruption of the country and the reformation of religion the old customs [of graduation] were unable to be carried out.⁴¹

³⁸ Durkan/Kirk, *University of Glasgow*, 254.

³⁹ *RStAKS*, 1.

⁴⁰ *Acta*, 414.

⁴¹ *Acta*, 415: 'Statuit Academia omnes laureandos huius anni pro laureatis haberi, quod universa reipublicae perturbatione et religionis reformatione veteres ritus serviri impedirentur.'

In 1561 the situation had barely improved. The only statutes in that year comprised one on 8 January stating that John Rutherford should continue in his office as dean without further election ‘until further reformation’, and an act of 7 November re-electing Rutherford in this capacity and Archibald Hamilton as quaestor, who promised ‘all labour and aid in reforming the Faculty and in discharging lawful administration.’⁴²

Student numbers were low in the same period. The matriculation records for the year 1559 show only three names for St Mary’s, with no entries for the other two colleges, explained by a terse note that ‘in this year, on account of the religious conflict... very few scholars came to this university.’⁴³ The *Bursar’s Book* records only eight graduates in the period between 23 November 1560 and 6 November 1562, and in the following year only four graduates from St Leonard’s are recorded, though it is likely poor record-keeping accounts for the absence of any St Mary’s and St Salvator’s graduates.⁴⁴ An annual account of the finances of the arts faculty does not resume until 1565, and the single entry between 1560 and 1562 states that the net income to the arts faculty stood at just £6 14s.⁴⁵

Nonetheless, the university quickly adapted to the Protestant regime. Statutes began to assume more normality and regularity in 1562, and in November of that year full staff elections began to take place again. The numbers of matriculating and graduating students also began to stabilise and rise after 1562. The total number of entrants recorded for 1561-1563, although over 30 percent lower than the totals for the years prior to the Reformation, still numbered over 20 students per year.⁴⁶ Eight graduates are recorded in 1563 and ten graduates in 1564 from all three colleges, and after this point separate entries for each college are once again maintained. Matriculation and graduation entries steadily increased between 1562 and 1574, with overall student numbers increasing above those of pre-Reformation levels. This growth was reflected in the faculty accounts, with the annual net income at the end of 1573 standing at £48 3d.⁴⁷

⁴² *Acta*, 416.

⁴³ *Early Records*, 266-67: ‘Hoc anno propter tumultus religionis... paucissimi scholastici ad hanc universitatem venerunt.’

⁴⁴ *Acta*, p. lxxvii, *Early Records*, 157-159.

⁴⁵ *Bursar’s Book*, ff. 46r, 47v.

⁴⁶ *Early Records*, 267-70. The student numbers totalled 23, 27 and 20 respectively, though this does not include a potentially missing entry for St Salvator’s in 1560.

⁴⁷ *Bursar’s Book*, f. 53r.

The ease with which the Reformation was accepted at St Andrews in the early 1560s is in part due to the relative stability of teaching staff that remained there over this transitional period. Some members of staff did resist the Protestant regime and left in protest, including John Black and Richard Marshall, both masters of St Mary's, and the principal of St Salvator's, William Cranston, and his colleague Simon Simson.⁴⁸ However, out of 21 men certified as fit to minister in St Andrews by the General Assembly, 11 of these were members of the teaching staff, suggesting that many at the university were at least sympathetic to the reformed cause prior to the Reformation.⁴⁹ While this cannot be fully proved, the teaching staff clearly took an active role in the reformed Kirk, both at the national level of the General Assembly and at the local level of the St Andrews Kirk Session. In addition to his suspected contribution to the *First Book of Discipline*, John Douglas was involved in numerous committees established to discuss doctrine and church polity between 1565 and 1574, along with Robert Hamilton, James Wilkie, John Rutherford and the St Leonard's regent James Carmichael.⁵⁰ The staff of St Andrews were equally involved in the deliberations of the kirk session. The principals of each college were elected to the eldership of the session in every recorded election between 1561 and 1574,⁵¹ and numerous entries in the Kirk Session Register show Douglas, Rutherford, Wilkie and others as members of the panels on cases in the 1560s taking their duties seriously.⁵² In addition to acting as elders, Robert Hamilton and David Guild, another regent within St Mary's, acted as judges,⁵³ and William Skene, teacher of law at St Mary's between 1556 and the late 1570s, acted as commissary to the town and can be found in the records as procurator for a number of cases.⁵⁴

The revision of the statutes of the faculties of arts and theology in the early 1560s suggests that the same teaching staff who maintained the university in the

⁴⁸ Shaw, *General Assemblies*, 184.

⁴⁹ *BUK*, I, 4. The names of those certified with known connections to the university were John Rutherford, William Ramsay, James Wilkie, Robert Hamilton, Patrick Constance (Adamson), William Skene, Archibald Hamilton, Alexander Arbuthnott, David Collace, Thomas Buchanan, and David Guild.

⁵⁰ *BUK*, I, 61-62, 77, 97, 191, 238-239, 244-245, 260, 293.

⁵¹ *BUK*, I, 1-5, 323, 342, 350, 368, 382, 399-400.

⁵² The earliest recorded case is that of 21 March 1560 when Douglas, William Skene and John Rutherford assisted in the divorce case of William Rantoun and Elizabeth Gedde, *RStAKS*, 25-26, 38-39. See other cases, eg 101-103 (an act legitimising Sir John Borthwick, 1561), 155-6 (Gyb-Hyllok divorce trial, 1563), 169 (Boyd-Masterson marriage reconciliation, 1562), 220-221 (Thomson-Moffat marriage case, 1564), 249-50 (Dispute over contested marriage banns in Kinghorn, 1565).

⁵³ *RStAKS*, 33-5 (McKie-Adie blasphemy case, 1560), 101-103.

⁵⁴ *RStAKS*, 25-26, 38-39, 158

transitional period also actively discouraged any radical alteration, despite the recommendations of the *First Book*. Statutes for the faculty of arts hastily revised in 1561-2 and then again in 1570 have survived in defective copy, as have a copy of the statutes of the faculty of theology, which were revised immediately after the reformation in 1560.⁵⁵ The theology statutes show that staff wished to retain the same constitutional apparatus of the pre-Reformation period, with only minor revisions. A revised theological curriculum focussed exclusively on the books of the Bible, divided into five thematic categories, with the complete removal of the teachings of Peter Lombard that had been used 'sub Papismo'. The degree rubric used for the licentiate in theology was modified from the pre-Reformation one which had invoked the authority of God, the Apostles Peter and Paul, and the Apostolic See, and instead invoked God, his holy Catholic church and the reigning monarch. These statutes also maintained the minimum age of 30 for a qualified licentiate in theology, whereas the *First Book* advocated that the age for a qualified minister be reduced to 24.

The revisions made to the arts statutes also suggest moderation on the part of university staff. An act of 7 January 1562 set out laws for the faculty of arts which were to be read three times before an assembly of all staff and students, and were to be 'held up, approved and confirmed...until a more perfect form is prescribed.'⁵⁶ The statutes, supervised by the dean John Rutherford and the rector John Douglas, were extremely careful to discuss nothing relating to matters of religion and to set out a practical operating framework for the faculty in as expedient a manner as possible. Thus the statutes focussed upon the duty of students to be obedient and the fees they ought to pay, the role of principals and teaching staff in overseeing their education and discipline, re-establishing the procedures for examinations and the dates for terms and holidays, and forbidding the migration of students from one college to another.

The statutes relating to curriculum were also extremely conservative. Students of dialectic were to listen to a weekly interpretation by a regent of Aristotle's *Organon* and books from the *Ethics*, while the principal of each college was to choose text books for philosophy classes containing only 'pure philosophy' by acceptable authors such as Aristotle, Plato, Xenophon, or Cicero. No mention is made of tuition of languages, or of the system of specialised regenting discussed in the *First Book*, or of dividing subject areas among the colleges.

⁵⁵ Hannay, *The Statutes of the Faculty of Arts and the Faculty of Theology*, 112-135.

⁵⁶ *Acta*, 416-421.

Further attempts to consolidate the constitution and statutes of the university were spearheaded first by William Skene and then John Rutherford in successive terms of office as dean of arts. On 15 and 25 January 1567, while Skene held the position, there was a specially convoked meeting of the faculty which appointed a committee of the ‘most prudent’ men of each of the three colleges to make a digest of the old laws.⁵⁷ Between 3 November and 22 December 1570, under the supervision of Rutherford, the laws of the Faculty were subjected to detailed excision and were copied down. Six assessors were appointed to examine the old laws, in order to adopt those that were ‘in agreement with religion and honesty’. Seven days later the old laws were read in the presence of the rector and staff, where those that were ‘superstitious and worthless’ were excised and the rest transcribed and sent to each college, which were publicly read on 22 December. Like those revised in the early 1560s, these statutes were highly conservative and continued the apparatus of the faculty as it stood before the Reformation. They were adopted in March 1571 without issue, except for a minor dispute over the acceptance of thrice-yearly visitations to each college.⁵⁸

The account of James Melville of his time at St Andrews between 1571 and 1574 confirms the view that no curricular innovations had occurred at the university in the 1560s.⁵⁹ Melville entered the college in 1571, and his first-year tuition comprised his regent’s own primer on philosophical definitions, the *Rhetoric* of Cassander, and Aristotle’s *Organon*. His final three years focussed on other works of Aristotle, parts of Sacrobosco’s *De Sphaera* and passages from Samuel and Kings, with tuition under William Skene in Cicero’s *De Legibus* and Justinian’s *Institutes*, and the viewing of Skene at work in the local courts. Most telling of all, no language tuition in Hebrew or Greek was given to Melville, emphasising the moribund nature of the curriculum.

In 1563 Queen Mary visited St Andrews, where a petition was presented to her and the Lords of the Articles that the ‘properties’ of the colleges of St Andrews were in dreadful condition. To this end Parliament granted a commission to enquire after their revenues, and to offer their opinion and advice with respect to possible reforms

⁵⁷ *Acta*, 425-26.

⁵⁸ *Acta*, 434-436.

⁵⁹ *JMAD*, 24-30.

St Andrews should undertake.⁶⁰ They were ordered to prepare a report for the next session of Parliament, but the only report that we have record of is the ‘Opinion’ of George Buchanan, a member of the committee.⁶¹ Buchanan advocated that the three colleges be retained and form the basis of the teaching system, but that each should offer tuition in a different subject. The first college was to be a college of humanity staffed by a principal and six regents, where students would receive a thorough grounding in Latin and Greek before embarking on their proper university course. The second college was to be a college of philosophy with a principal and four regents but also having a reader in medicine. The two teaching staff of the third college, a principal who would teach Hebrew and divinity and a lawyer, were to provide the sum total of higher faculty tuition at the university. It has been argued that Buchanan’s programme was a serious contender for university reform and the reason nothing was done with it was due to general turmoil in the period, but it is clear that St Andrews was well on the way to recovery by 1563. No record of the work is found in the university statute books, and the work itself seems too radical to have been taken seriously, especially against the evidence of moderate reform taking place at the university. It seems more likely that Buchanan’s ‘Opinion’ was quietly dismissed by the staff, owing to its attempts to radically alter the fabric of the university, and to their natural vested interest in keeping their own jobs within the multi-disciplinary collegiate system.

At the macro level, the trend of consolidation and repair following the Reformation proceeded apace in the later 1560s and 1570s. The business of staff elections and yearly faculty accounts continued regularly, the purse of the Arts faculty grew steadily, and matriculation and graduation numbers, though fluctuating, did grow on the whole, with a record number of 29 entrants at St Mary’s in 1566.⁶² However, a string of squabbles and disputes marred the peace at the university, and while some were minor, others appear to have been more serious, and in the case of St Mary’s related to charges of sedition and Catholic recusancy.

While the dean of arts and provost of St Salvator’s, John Rutherford, was clearly one of the central figures maintaining order at the university after 1560, a

⁶⁰ Cant, 46; *Bannatyne Miscellany*, II, 83; *APS*, II, 544. The committee included the Earl of Murray, the President of the College of Justice, the Secretary of State, the Clerk Register, the Justice Clerk, the Queen’s Advocate, George Buchanan, John Winram and John Erskine of Dun.

⁶¹ *Bannatyne Miscellany*, II, 87-100.

⁶² See appendix.

previously unseen visitation to his college early in the same decade shows that he was having considerable difficulties managing it. Rutherford had taken over the administration of the college in 1560 when his predecessor, the Catholic William Cranston, had absconded into exile with a large portion of the college goods and moveables.⁶³ On 15 September 1563 a committee comprising the rector John Douglas and his council of assessors visited the college, along with John Winram and James Lamond from St Leonard's, and Robert Hamilton and William Skene from St Mary's.⁶⁴ The visitation produced twenty-two separate points of order condemning the running of the college and the less than cordial relations between the masters and regents. The first three statutes criticised the other two masters, William Ramsay and David Guild, and the regent Thomas Buchanan for not following the commands of Rutherford, and issued three separate statutes warning the other regents to cease being overly familiar with the students, to stop mingling indiscriminately with them at meals, and to support the three principal masters in disciplinary matters. Rutherford and the other two masters had aroused anger among the students for failing to teach any theology and were ordered to include it within the timetable, and they were also to appoint an *oeconomus*, or steward, for the college within fifteen days of the visitation to deal with the rents of Kilmany, the main parish annexed to the college. Student behaviour and moral standards were also lax. In addition to the janitor being warned to stop the students wandering outside the college without permission, a statute ordered that the 'multitude of women' (*pluralitate foeminarum*) who were apparently constantly visiting the college were to be restricted to just Rutherford's wife and a servant woman.

The majority of complaints were directed at Rutherford, who was condemned in a number of separate statutes for failing to oversee the correct care of college finances and goods, for installing a number of bursars and carrying out financial transactions without the consent of the other masters, and for failing to provide adequate victual for the poor students of the college. There was also very obvious

⁶³ *FES*, 501; *Acta*, p. cclxiv. The story that Cranston had absconded with many of the college moveables, often believed to be apocryphal, is actually shown to be true in the tenth statute made by the visitation commission that legal action be pursued against his family for his theft: 'ITEM rector et deputati intelligentes iocalia argentea loci, aulea, capeles, et alia vestimentia ad ecclesiam pertinentia, et utensilia domus magna ex parte fuisse distracta per Gulielmum Cranstoun, monent praepositum ut executores magistri Guilielmi Cranstoun vocat in ius et cum iis pro rebus ab eo intronmissis iure contendat ut recuperentur.'

⁶⁴ Balcarres Papers, VII, ff. 98r-99v; see also transcription in UYUY172/2, 90-105.

tension between the masters and Rutherford, whose aggressive temperament was well known. A statute exhorting the masters to treat each other with ‘mutual love’ (*mutuo amore*) also tells Rutherford to ‘do all things with humility’ and to ‘learn rather to be loved than feared’ (*monentque praepositum ut omnia agat cum humilitate, et discat potius amari quam timeri*), while another warns the ‘exceedingly headstrong and impatient’ Rutherford, ‘in accordance with the doctrine of Paul not to let the sun set upon his wrath, and [to] strive to hold his tounge so that he conducts himself more humanely and sweetly in all things.’⁶⁵ Rutherford was forced to hear and sign this humiliating list, and was given until the following January to deal with the main issues arising from it.⁶⁶ However, as no further record is found it appears that the findings of the visitation were allowed to quietly pass, with the point being made very publicly to Rutherford to take tighter control.

In the early 1570s, John Knox, Richard Bannantyne and James Melville all noted a number of factions at the university, primarily arising from a split between St Leonard’s, whose staff and students were zealous for the ‘guid cause’, and the apostate and ‘evill myndit’ masters of St Mary’s. These allegations may well have some truth to them, as St Mary’s was still the preserve of the pro-Catholic Hamilton family who had re-founded the college in the 1550s. The Hamiltons had quickly rallied to the support of Queen Mary in June 1567 after her capture at Carberry, and remained loyal to her, fearing the loss of their place in the succession following the birth of James VI into the Lennox line. The Hamiltons also believed that the right to the regency belonged to their kinsman the Duke of Châtelherault, not to the decision of a council of nobility. The entire kin network supported the Marian faction, with 46 Hamilton lairds and 26 Hamiltons of lesser rank traceable among the lists of Marian supporters. Hamilton unrest reached fever pitch on 23 January 1570 when James Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, with the connivance of the Archbishop of St Andrews, murdered the Regent Moray at Linlithgow. This action resulted in the capture of the Archbishop by the Earl of Lennox on 2 April 1571, and his execution four days later. Unrest caused by the Hamiltons and their allies the Gordons continued through the

⁶⁵ Statute 8: ITEM rector et deputati intelligentes praefectum ex multorum delationibus in omnibus negotiis obeundis esse nimis praecipitem et impatientem, monent praepositum iuxta doctrinam Pauli ne sol occidat super iracundiam suam, et studeat refrenare linguam ut humanius et melius in omnibus et per omnia se gerat.

⁶⁶ A vernacular note with the text states Douglas caused this ‘charter of regress retrospect be read in presence of Mr John Rutherford provost of the said college and deliverit to him the double thereof in deu form signit and subscrivit.’

short regencies of Lennox and Mar until the regency of James Douglas, fourth Earl of Morton.⁶⁷

These political events had their impact on the relations between the colleges in St Andrews. The Hamiltons exercised great influence in St Mary's, accounting for just under 15 percent of the total number of students within the college in the fourteen years after the Reformation, and supplying the majority of teaching masters in the early 1570s. On 16 April 1570, the St Andrews Kirk Session Register recorded a complaint by James Carmichael 'and his complices' against Robert Hamilton, the second regent of St Mary's and the minister of St Andrews parish, relating to the soundness of his doctrine.⁶⁸ The source of this offence is obscured in the official kirk session records, but a full narrative of the events behind this issue is elaborated by Richard Bannatyne, Knox's secretary in St Andrews.⁶⁹ He affirms that immediately after the murder of the Queen's husband, Lord Darnley, Hamilton 'began to grow cauld in his sermondis, and neuer spake a word of these materis.' This in turn led the students of St Leonard's to desire him to pray for the Regent Moray and his safe return from a diplomatic mission to England. Hamilton refused, which resulted in a complaint to the General Assembly that he and his colleagues said 'sundrie thingis...tending to the derogatioune of the Kingis authoritie.' The students also alleged that William Ramsay, second master of St Salvator's, had been 'seducit be the Hammiltounes factioune' with the promise of marriage to a daughter of the Hamilton's 'whome he earnestly desyred'. Ramsay was also called up to the General Assembly to stand trial for seditious comments, and on 21 and 22 June 1570 both men asked the kirk session for testimonials as to the veracity of their doctrine and standing in the community. In July of that year William Ramsay died,⁷⁰ and the dispute between Hamilton and Carmichael was indeed escalated to the General Assembly.⁷¹

The seriousness of the charge brought against Hamilton is reflected by the fact that James McGill, the Clerk Register, Lord John Ballantyne, Justice Clerk, and Archibald Douglas of the College of Justice asked the assembly to withhold adjudication of Hamilton's case until it could be discussed before a convention of the

⁶⁷ G. Donaldson, *All the Queen's Men* (London, 1983), 83-116.

⁶⁸ *RStAKS*, 334-335.

⁶⁹ R. Bannatyne, *Memorials of transactions in Scotland, A.D.MDLXIX-A.D. MDLXXIII*, ed. R. Pitcairn (Bannatyne Club, 1836), 255-263.

⁷⁰ UYSS150/2, f. 154v.

⁷¹ *BUK*, I, 179.

nobility.⁷² No record of the case passing to civil government or Parliament is recorded, and the issue appears to have blown over without incident.

However, further problems arose with Robert Hamilton's ministry over the next two years. In 1571 John Knox, out of favour in Edinburgh, took up a preaching post in St Andrews. In November of that year Hamilton, once a good friend and travelling-companion of Knox, was alleged to have said to the St Mary's regents James Hamilton and John Carnegie that Knox was 'als greit a murtherer as ony Hammiltoun in Scotland, gif all thingis wer well tried', and that he had been one of the conspirators involved in the murder of Darnley. Knox wrote to Hamilton on November 15 demanding to know whether he had been making such slanderous comments, which prompted Hamilton to visit Knox but did little to resolve the issue.⁷³

Discipline within St Mary's also showed signs of breakdown. On 4 January 1570 a number of the students of the college alleged exemption from the ordinary disputations that formed part of the examination process. This prompted a statute stating that in future no immunity would be given and that traditional order would be upheld. The following day the St Mary's students Thomas McGie, Walter Lindsay, and James Ogilvie, who were scheduled to take their masters examination, organised a meeting of students in protest at the exemptions, stating that they would refuse examination 'quhill every ane of ther masterrois be resavit with thame in thair ordor.' This meeting was broken up and the three ringleaders were ordered to undergo public discipline in St Mary's.⁷⁴

More serious were the assaults involving regents of the college. On 7 February 1570 John Hamilton, a regent in St Mary's, had attacked a student, James Lindsay, with a knife in the middle of supper. Hamilton was allowed to apologise and keep his teaching position.⁷⁵ On 2 February 1570 a more serious assault had been attempted by John Arthur, another regent in the college. With the aid of three other conspirators Arthur had attempted to sneak into the chamber of James Hamilton, and had been caught by the masters 'with swordis andrawin' in an attempt to seriously injure him. Arthur had also provoked Hamilton in the communal dining room by throwing an egg in his face and calling him a knave. Arthur's co-conspirators were allowed to remain at the university, but Arthur himself was removed immediately from his regenting

⁷² *BUK*, I, 181-2.

⁷³ Bannantyne, *Memorials*, 255-263.

⁷⁴ *Early Records*, 273; *Acta*, 430-431.

⁷⁵ *Acta Rectorum*, 75-76.

post and expelled from the college. While student violence was not at all uncommon in early university history it is interesting that both cases featured Hamilton involvement.⁷⁶

It has been alleged that the John Hamilton involved in the assault against James Lindsay was the Catholic controversialist and writer of *Ane Catholik and Facile Traictise ... to Confirme the Real and Corporell Praesence of Chrystis Pretious Bodie and Blude*. Principal Lee identified this John Hamilton as entering St Mary's with Archibald Hamilton in 1552 and as being the regent who attacked James Lindsay in 1569.⁷⁷ James Melville also identified the regent during his time at St Andrews as the same man as the apostate Hamilton. Lee alleged that this John Hamilton served in the college until April 1575, but his certainty in this fact and his belief that the John Hamilton who wrote the *Facile Treatise* did not actually go to Paris in 1573, as has been asserted by other researchers, is unclear.

However, the third regent of St Mary's in the early 1570s, Archibald Hamilton, definitely did become a Catholic controversialist. From late 1571 until at least July 1572 he had refused to attend John Knox's sermons, resulting in his having to explain his absence at a meeting in Knox's house before John Douglas, John Winram, James Wilkie, John Rutherford, and the Bishop of Caithness. Hamilton stated that Knox 'affirmed, in his teiching, that Hammiltounes were murthereris', to which Knox answered in protest that the university staff were attempting to censor his sermons. Hamilton responded that Knox refused to submit his sermons to ministerial 'ordore and godly discipline', in particular that they be examined in disputation.

Knox left St Andrews shortly after on 17 August 1572 with the issue unresolved,⁷⁸ but there were further allegations made regarding Hamilton's religious convictions by the minister and polemicist Thomas Smeaton, and Hamilton was alleged to have acknowledged the writing of a satire on Papal primacy. Hamilton left for Paris soon after November 1576, and his Latin treatise *On the Confusion of the Calvinist Sect in Scotland* appeared the following summer. In 1581 Hamilton also published another Catholic tract, entitled *Against the Scurrilous Response of the Ministers of Scotland*. By 1584 he had become a priest and doctor of the Sorbonne, and following the outbreak of civil war again in France in that year withdrew to

⁷⁶ Acta Rectorum, 77-79.

⁷⁷ J. Lee, *Lectures*, 301-306, 343-346.

⁷⁸ Bannantyne, *Memorials*, 260-263.

Rome, where he took employment as a librarian in the Vatican. He died in 1593 in the apartments assigned to him by Gregory XIII.⁷⁹

A very public dispute involving the Regent Morton and the Privy Council took place at the March 1574 General Assembly. The dispute was between John Rutherford and John Davidson over the latter's *Ane Dialog or Mutuall Talking Betuix a Clerk and ane Courteour*, published anonymously at St Andrews without Davidson's consent. Davidson had matriculated at St Leonards in 1567 and was a regent at the college when he wrote this poem, a satirical attack on Morton's reorganization of stipends by grouping several adjacent parishes together under the oversight of one minister.⁸⁰ Maintaining an enmity of St Leonard's to the other two colleges, the poem also contained unfavourable references to Rutherford (whom he called a 'crusit [irritable] goose') and to the universtiy:

'Thair is sum Colleges we ken
Weill foundit to uphold leirnit men...
Lat anis the Counsell send and se
Gif thir places well gydit be,
And not abusit with waist rudis
That dois nothing bot spendis yai gudis...'⁸¹

Morton summoned Davidson to a justice-ayre at Haddington, and Davidson was prosecuted by the Privy Council in June, forcing him into hiding. In March 1574 Davidson beseeched the assembly to examine the work and see if it contained any unsound doctrine. At the same assembly the moderator was informed that Rutherford had wrtten a response to this work called 'Ineptias', which he was ordered to present. Rutherford refused to do so, stating that the only manuscript was with the regent. Rutherford was so keen not to show his work that he left the assembly under a cloud wishing to seek the further advice of the rector on the matter.⁸²

Perhaps aware of the Catholic recusancy at St Mary's and angered by the episode with Davidson, Morton went to St Andrews with a commission on 16 April 1574 to examine the rents and the discipline of the university and to provide interim

⁷⁹ A. Roberts, 'Hamilton, Archibald (d. 1593)', *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12049>, accessed 12 April 2006].

⁸⁰ C. Rogers, *Three Scottish Reformers* (London, 1874), 31-33.

⁸¹ Rogers, *Three Scottish Reformers*, 63.

⁸² *BUK*, I, 289-91, 297.

statutes until ‘sum better and mair perfite ordour’ was made.⁸³ Notably, the prime act urged by the commission was that:

...[in] all dispensations, propositions, lessonis, writingis, tickettis or otherwyiss, thair be na fals doctrine, frivolous questiones, slanderous libellis...that may move onie, in doctrine or religioun, seditioun aganis the prince, or scisme, hatreiiit, or invy amangis the memberis of the universitie...

Every principal was to read weekly public lectures in theology in Latin from the first Monday of May. St Mary’s was to provide four lessons per week in the subjects of Hebrew, mathematics and law, while St Salvator’s was to provide four in Greek and a daily lesson in rhetoric. Where these lecturers in the biblical languages were to come from is unclear, as there is limited evidence for Greek tuition and none for Hebrew or Syriac in St Andrews before the arrival of Melville. Each of these lectures was to be made with no fee to any who wished to listen, perhaps reflecting a similar recommendation that had been made in the *First Book*. Owing to the scarcity of ministers, anyone who had studied theology for any length of time and had not been able to take exams to confirm themselves as bachelors or doctors were given the option of presenting themselves before 31 October 1575 for trial and examination, where they would then be awarded with the relevant degrees.

Attempts were also made to equalise the balance between the colleges. The arts degree in every college was to be standardised at three and a half years, and regents were to serve in their posts for two courses, so that ‘inequalitie of tyme and late tarrying mak not ane college to prejugue ane uther, in libertie, or in honour.’ Prices and fees were to be fixed for all colleges in a yearly convocation on 1 October, and the duties of the rector, chancellor, and deans of faculty were to be researched by the office holders and sent to the regent by 1 September. The thrice-yearly visitation of each college was to be upheld, and by 1 October the principals of each college were to notify who was to be presented by the king, and when the same presentations were vacated, so that accounts for those presentations could be paid at either Martinmas or Whitsunday.

Morton fully intended to see these statutes enforced. On 29 April he ordered James Balfour of Pittendreich and John Winram to visit St Andrews and ensure the adoption of the statutes on Monday 1 May, and to report back on any member of the

⁸³ *Evidence*, 188-189.

university who did not comply and on anything necessary to ensure the execution of the statutes.⁸⁴ While ultimately these statutes would not have the profound effect that Morton hoped for, they did pave the way for the parliamentary visitation and reform of the university in 1579, and thus began a trend of state visitation that formed an integral part of the reformation of education at St Andrews in the ‘Melvillian’ period.

Melville and Glasgow University, 1574-1580

Melville returned to Scotland in late July 1574, and at the General Assembly in Edinburgh on 7 August, armed with his recommendation from Theodore Beza and Jean Pinault, was rapidly assimilated into the business of the Kirk.⁸⁵ Perhaps due to Melville’s influence, this assembly had a particular focus on education,⁸⁶ and with John Douglas having died earlier in the year, the commissioners from the Fife Synod attempted to secure Melville for St Mary’s. Melville refused this offer and instead followed the ‘earnest dealing’ of James Boyd, Archbishop of Glasgow, and Andrew Hay, dean of faculty at Glasgow and commissioner for the west, to serve as principal of Glasgow.⁸⁷ After a short visit to the university, Melville accepted the post and took up residence there in November.⁸⁸

Before his arrival at Glasgow another significant episode in Melville’s life took place. The assembly had completed its business by 11 August, and around 20 August Melville arrived at his family home at Baldovy, where he had his first meeting with his nephew James, son of Andrew’s elder brother Richard. James, as his *Autobiography and Diary* attests, was immediately spellbound by the intellectual prowess and personality of his uncle. He had recently completed his MA at St Andrews, and after a few days of discussion between Andrew and his father they

⁸⁴ Acta Rectorum, 85-86.

⁸⁵ Borgeaud, ‘Cartwright and Melville’, 288.

⁸⁶ *BUK*, II, 305-06, 312. A considerable number of the acts and commissions in the assembly related to education. Commission was given to Robert Graham and John Robertson to plant kirks in Caithness and Sutherland, and particular attention was paid to the need to reform local schools and cathedral and collegiate kirks. In a list of articles presented to the regent on 10 August, the offices of doctor and minister were recognised as the only two legitimate teaching roles in the Kirk,. The regent was also entreated to provide stipends for those currently teaching at universities so that ‘uther learned men may have occasion to seik places in colledge.’ Melville’s first assignment for the assembly was part of this educational drive, sitting on a commission with George Buchanan, Peter Young and James Lawson that reviewed a Latin verse paraphrase of Job by Patrick Adamson. M’Crie, 26, 40-42, 446-7.

⁸⁷ M’Crie, 29; Calderwood, III, 329-30.

⁸⁸ M’Crie, 30; *JMAD*, 47-48.

agreed that James would be ‘resigned ower’ to Andrew as ‘sone and servant’.⁸⁹ Andrew also benefitted from this arrangement in having a kinsman to take a post alongside him at Glasgow. To that end, for three months Andrew took James through an intellectual regime that reflected in miniature the course that would eventually be offered at Glasgow. Andrew vastly improved James’ Latin using the psalms that Buchanan had taught him with in the early 1560s, supported by excerpts from Virgil, Horace, Terence, Caesar, and Cicero. He also introduced James to the emerging concepts of critical historical analysis using Bodin’s *Method of History*, the rudiments of Greek using passages from Matthew and Romans, and gave him a very basic introduction to Hebrew.⁹⁰

Having given James a crash course in ‘godly’ humanism, the Melvilles set out from Baldovoy in October. Following a two-day visit to Buchanan and a brief audience with James VI at Stirling, they arrived at Glasgow.⁹¹ Melville found a destitute foundation on his arrival, held together by the lone figure of Peter Blackburn, a St Andrews graduate and conservative Aristotelian who had been appointed as a regent between the end of 1573 and April 1574.⁹² Relegating Blackburn to the status of college *oeconomus*, and taking on himself most of the burden of teaching, Melville began to develop a unique reformed curriculum for Glasgow.

The work of John Durkan and James Kirk in reconstructing the early history of Glasgow under Melville strongly suggests that humanism and Ramism were the central components of his teaching platform.⁹³ Greek and Latin were to be taught to the first years through a variety of Greek and Roman authors, including Homer, Hesiod, Pythagoras, Isocrates, Pindar, Virgil, and Horace. The *Dialecticae* of Ramus and the *Rhetorica* of Talon were the textbooks to be used for developing good argumentative skills. However, the works of Aristotle were still to be used for the tuition of philosophy, and by 1576 these were being taught solely from the original Greek. Moral philosophy comprised the *Ethics* and *On Virtue*, supplemented by Cicero’s *De Officiis* and a selection of Plato’s dialogues. Plato was also used to complement Aristotle’s *Physics*, *On the World*, and *On Heaven* in natural philosophy.

⁸⁹ *JMAD*, 36-38.

⁹⁰ *JMAD*, 46-47; Durkan/Kirk, 275.

⁹¹ M’Crie, 30; *JMAD*, 48.

⁹² Blackburn is on record at St Andrews as a university procurator in 1573. *Acta Rectorum*, 80; Durkan/Kirk, 254, and footnote 271.

⁹³ Durkan/Kirk, 275-285; *JMAD*, 48-50; *Munimenta*, II, 42-54; Durkan/Kirk, the *Nova Erectio* (appendix K, 430-448).

Among other ‘new’ humanist subjects introduced at Glasgow, mathematical tuition was given using Euclid and the *Geometriae*, another work by Ramus. Melville also taught history in the form of sacred chronology, supplementing Bodin with works on chronology by Johannes Sleidan and Philip Melanchthon. Central to this whole enterprise was the teaching of biblical languages, and Hebrew, Syriac and Chaldaic were introduced to students ‘with the practice thair of’ using the Psalms and songs of Solomon and David, Ezra and the Epistle to the Galatians.⁹⁴

The re-foundation of the college on 13 July 1577, known as the *Nova Erectio*, enshrined the ‘Melvillian’ reforms in law.⁹⁵ A streamlined foundation consisting of a principal, three regents, an *oeconomus*, four poor students and servants was to be supported by the annexation of the parish of Govan to the foundation, adding 24 chalders of victual to the college patrimony.⁹⁶ The description of the role of the principal, who was to ‘open up the mysteries of faith’ using biblical languages and theological instruction, is clearly intended to fit the experience of Melville and the concept of ‘doctor’ of the church that would be laid down in the *Second Book of Discipline*.⁹⁷ The regenting programme that developed in the first three years of Melville’s principalship was formally ratified, with the first regent teaching rhetoric and Greek, and the second arithmetic, geometry and moral philosophy. The third and senior regent would act as deputy principal and was to teach physics, astronomy, and sacred chronology.⁹⁸ By 1576, these staff were all in place. Blaise Laurie, who had come from St Mary’s, taught the first years, while James was promoted to second regent, and Peter Blackburn taught the third year course. Melville took up exclusively the provision of theology and biblical languages, either as part of this course, or perhaps as a postgraduate course.⁹⁹

The college that emerged from the *Nova Erectio* was one that, on paper at least, mirrored the latest trends in European scholarly development. The minimal evidence that we have for the events at Glasgow in the 1570s suggests that Melville’s experiment in educational reform was an unqualified success, and that he did indeed use the works of Ramus alongside other teaching texts. However, our understanding of the curriculum is based solely on the testimony of James Melville written thirty

⁹⁴ *JMAD*, 49.

⁹⁵ Durkan/Kirk, 283-288.

⁹⁶ Mackie, *University of Glasgow*, 67.

⁹⁷ *SBD*, 187-190.

⁹⁸ Durkan/Kirk, 444.

⁹⁹ Mackie, *University of Glasgow*, 69.

years after the event, the statutes for teaching laid out in the *Nova Erectio*, and the statutes that were promulgated for the university shortly after Melville left the college in 1581 or 1582. There are no teaching records or contemporary eyewitnesses beyond James Melville to back this up, so caution must be exercised in this interpretation. While it is true that Melville effectively had a free rein at Glasgow and so could implement his educational programme with impunity, we still have no way of knowing for sure how successful it was in practice or how radically different it was from the education being offered at the ‘unreformed’ Scottish universities.

The idea that Glasgow was the beginning of a ‘radical reform’ of the Scottish universities under Melville that was anti-Episcopal also needs to be tempered, if surviving evidence relating to the securing of college patrimony in the 1570s and 1580s is anything to go by. The role of James Boyd, Archbishop of Glasgow,¹⁰⁰ seems to have been underplayed in the account of the college’s reformation, and it seems a plausible hypothesis that the process of intellectual reform between 1574 and 1581 at Glasgow was supported by financial and practical assistance afforded to Melville by Boyd, the Privy Council and other royal supporters, including Patrick Adamson, Melville’s future nemesis in St Andrews.

Boyd was appointed first Protestant archbishop of Glasgow in November 1573,¹⁰¹ and had studied at a Scottish university in the 1550s and in France in the 1560s. At some point during this period, according to Boyd’s son, Boyd and Melville become acquainted with one another.¹⁰² Prior to his elevation to the archbishopric, Boyd held no ministry and lived what appears to have been a life of stoic retirement as a noble gentleman on his Ayrshire estate.¹⁰³ Although he appears to have been elevated to the archbishopric simply so his extended kin could drain episcopal revenue, it is clear that he devoted time and effort to improving the fortunes and material stability of the university. From his accession until his death in 1581, Boyd had considerable influence with the Privy Council. His uncle and patron, Robert, fifth Lord Boyd, had a distinguished career as a Protestant reforming noble in the 1550s and 1560s, and his support of the Earl of Morton saw him rewarded with the lands and barony of Grogar and various other escheats. It is also likely through him that his

¹⁰⁰ Durkan/Kirk, 443.

¹⁰¹ *FES*, 195; *RSS*, VI, 2142, 2175.

¹⁰² R. Wodrow, *Selections from Wodrow's Biographical Collections: Divines of the North-East of Scotland*, ed. R. Lippe (New Spalding Club, 1890), 205-206, 208, 210.

¹⁰³ Wodrow, *Biographical Collections*, 206.

nephew was made archbishop.¹⁰⁴ Archbishop Boyd was himself present at both the critical parliament of Stirling on 15 July 1573 when Morton took control of the king, and at the Privy Council meetings of March 1579 which began a collective attack against the Hamilton family.¹⁰⁵

The patrimony of Glasgow University had never been firmly established owing to the premature death of its founder, William Turnbull.¹⁰⁶ Small grants of prebendaries, chantries and chaplainries added in the century following the college's inception did little to change this situation. The earliest college rental, dating to 1575, shows an income based largely on annual rents and the vicarage of Colmonell (annexed in 1558) that came to a paltry £100 12s. 4d., while the *Nova Erectio* states that the revenue of the college from the old rentals amounted to no more than £300.¹⁰⁷ There is evidence that Melville and Boyd worked together on several fronts to remedy this situation. On 3 June 1575, following protests by Melville and Peter Blackburn to the Privy Council, the 1573 grant of all annual-rents and chaplainries within the bounds of Glasgow were ratified to the college after disputes with a number of the burgesses over them.¹⁰⁸ This was reinforced by an act of inhibition from the council on 12 December preventing chaplains and possessors of the properties from setting them in any kind of tack.¹⁰⁹ The council were further prevailed upon on 3 February 1576 by Melville and Blackburn to compel David Wemyss to pay them an annual of £4 on a house in Rottenrow as heritors to the rights of the vicars choral of Glasgow.¹¹⁰ Finally, following the *Nova Erectio*, numerous letters of ratification protecting the rights of the masters in their lands were granted in favour of the college, including a letter confirming the exemption of the university from taxation and taking it under the king's protection.¹¹¹ These numerous requests for finance from the Privy Council must have been supported and shepherded through with the assistance of Boyd.

Boyd also provided some direct financial remedy for the college. On 26 July 1576, he gave consent to a grant to establish a bursary in philosophy drawn from an

¹⁰⁴ G. R. Hewitt, *Scotland Under Morton, 1572-1580* (Edinburgh, 1982) 35-6, n. 13. The first reference is 15 December (*RPC*, II, 313).

¹⁰⁵ Hewitt, *Scotland Under Morton*, 60, 64-5.

¹⁰⁶ Durkan/Kirk, 21-22; *Munimenta*, II, p. 21.

¹⁰⁷ Durkan/Kirk, 443.

¹⁰⁸ *Munimenta*, I, 94-95.

¹⁰⁹ *Munimenta*, I, 96-98. A list of the holders is given.

¹¹⁰ *Munimenta*, I, 98-100.

¹¹¹ For example, 1 November 1577, 7 June and 16 December 1578, and 10 March 1579. *Munimenta*, I, 114-119, 126-130. A letter to the council asking for help with funding issues is recorded in *RPC*, IV, 274.

annual gift of a chalder of oatmeal from the mill of Partick.¹¹² On 28 May 1581 he further increased the revenue of the college by granting it the whole of the customs of the Tron, estimated at a value of £20. Although it seems that the college initially had legal difficulty in obtaining these customs, they were valuable enough to be included in the 1587 parliamentary charter of confirmation of the college's property.¹¹³

The most important financial boon to the college, however, that of the 24 chalders of victual of Govan which was to provide the financial underpinning of the new foundation, came through the dealings of Patrick Adamson. The parsonage had been offered to Melville in 1575 by Morton when it had fallen vacant, supposedly to incline Melville towards his ecclesiastical policy. Melville's refusal to accept the benefice led to it lying vacant until 1577, a situation of which even Melville's colleagues at Glasgow were critical.¹¹⁴ At this stage Adamson, who had been in St Andrews and Paris at the same time as Melville, was minister of Paisley. James Melville tells us that Andrew 'delt earnestlie with the Regent him selff, and be all moyen, namlie, of [i.e., through] the said Mr Patrick', and it was through Adamson that the brokering of a deal to annex Govan to the college was completed.¹¹⁵ This suggests that Adamson, future proponent of Episcopacy and bitter antagonist of Melville, was at this stage an ally that Melville worked with to develop the foundation of the college.¹¹⁶

Some support for Melville's work at Glasgow came from the General Assembly. On 6 August 1575 it acknowledged that funding had to be found not only for schools within Scotland but also for ministers to attend universities and Protestant seminaries abroad. Glasgow was a particular focus, however, as it was 'but newlie erected, and hath not suche provision as other universities.'¹¹⁷ However, the assembly could not provide finance, but merely attempt to exhort and persuade the royal government to do so. That support for the college was provided by the Royal

¹¹² *Munimenta*, I, 100-103.

¹¹³ *Munimenta*, I, 132-136, 141-43, 150; Mackie, *University of Glasgow*, 85-86. The grant was confirmed by the Lords of Council in June and December of the same year. A suspension had to be issued in 1585 and a decree of confirmation obtained in 1586 against Gavin Hamilton of Hill, Allan Herbertson and Matthew Boyd, burgesses of Glasgow, for their interest in the customs. The later rental of c.1600 shows the customs as being leased for 20s, though the college may have received some additional unmarked payment in compensation for this.

¹¹⁴ Hewitt, *Scotland Under Morton*, 107.

¹¹⁵ *JMAD*, 53-54.

¹¹⁶ I am grateful to Dr. Alan MacDonald for this reference, and for suggesting this interpretation of the annexation of Govan to the foundation.

¹¹⁷ Calderwood, III, 352.

Council, who were persuaded to give it by Boyd and Adamson. The distinct gap between March 1582 and January 1586 in the council records of any further funding for Glasgow suggests that this support ended with the Morton regime and the death of Boyd.¹¹⁸

Reform before the 'New Foundation': St Andrews, 1574-1579

While Melville undertook reform at Glasgow, the five-year period between his return to Scotland and the 'New Foundation' of St Andrews in 1579 saw controversy and further attempts at reform there, which he likely influenced. Previous accounts of the university's history have concluded that the visitation led by Morton in April 1574 was a singular exercise with no lasting impact on the university, which passed unheeded by the staff.¹¹⁹ However, unpublished evidence suggests the visitation was not meant to be one-off, but rather the beginning of an ongoing process of improvement at the university, with considerable intervention by government in its affairs and staffing.¹²⁰ At the same time, the General Assembly took a greater role in the process than is apparent for the reform of Glasgow.

One of the central reasons that St Andrews caused considerable concern for the government after 1574 was the lack of trustworthy staff there. With the death of John Douglas on 31 July 1574,¹²¹ the university lost its rector and chancellor. As principal of St Mary's for over 20 years, Douglas was also the last surviving link to the Continental reforming humanism that had flourished in St Andrews in the late 1550s and early 1560s. It would be another two years before the university had a new chancellor in the form of Patrick Adamson, and the staff who were left to manage in the interim were a less than inspired group. Robert Hamilton, whose ministry and family allegiances had been so controversial in the early 1570s, had been elected rector just prior to the death of Douglas, on 17 March 1574.¹²² Following Douglas' death, it would have been expected that Hamilton as second master of St Mary's

¹¹⁸ *Munimenta*, I, 135-6, 141-2. The last act in 1582 is a confirmation of the small customs of the Tron, the next in 1586 a royal grant ratifying the Tron customs to the college.

¹¹⁹ *Cant*, 57-58.

¹²⁰ NAS, PA10/1. This bundle was discovered by James Kirk, judging from letters enclosed with copies of transcripts of the texts belonging to Professor James Cameron. I am grateful to both Professor Cameron and Dr. Robert Smart for making these available to me.

¹²¹ *M' Crie*, 29.

¹²² *Acta*, pp. ccxlviii.

would ascend automatically to the role of principal. However, there were clearly doubts over his suitability, as he appears to have only been elected to the role on 10 January of the following year.¹²³ That Hamilton was not the first choice of the masters is also clear from the attempts to persuade Melville at the August General Assembly to enter the post above Hamilton's head.¹²⁴

Grievances and a struggle for power between Hamilton and John Rutherford triggered the next visitation of the university in 1576, co-ordinated between the General Assembly and the Privy Council. On 24 April, the assembly gave commission to James Lawson, Robert Pont, Alexander Arbuthnott, William Christeson, John Row and John Erskine, the Laird of Dun, to visit St Andrews and to report their findings at the next assembly.¹²⁵ Nothing was reported in the October meeting of the assembly, and the business of the 1577 assemblies was largely taken up with the formulation of the *Second Book of Discipline*, a revised Presbyterian polity for the Kirk which Melville contributed to.¹²⁶ However, a visitation was indeed carried out at St Andrews on 8 May 1576 by Lord Glamis, although the records only survive in the National Archives of Scotland. Glamis was accompanied by all the commissioners named by the General Assembly except for Erskine of Dun, along with Sir James Balfour of Pittendreich, William Lundie, James Haliburton (the Provost of Dundee), David Carnegie and Patrick Adamson.

The main reason for the visitation was a dispute between Hamilton and Rutherford over tampering with the rectoral election in the month prior to the General Assembly's commission. On 12 April 1576, the bare bones of a dispute were recorded in the *Acta Rectorum*.¹²⁷ In the presence of a group of royal counsellors (*in coenobio regii consiliariis*) including Robert Pitcairn, James Balfour of Pittendreich and James Meldrum (a member of the College of Justice), the electors chosen from the four nations had elected John Rutherford rector, a decision which Robert Hamilton refused to ratify following the election on 1 March (*quem Robertus Hamilton pronunciare distulerat primo martii ultimi*). The presence of royal councillors and administrators at what should have been a routine election suggests that all was not right, and that Hamilton had real grievance with his removal from the office of rector.

¹²³ UYSM110/15/10, presentation of Archibald Hamilton to the 2nd master or licentiate's position, 17 January 1575. Robert Hamilton is recorded as being elected to the principal's place on 10 January.

¹²⁴ *BUK*, I, 305.

¹²⁵ Calderwood, III, 362; *BUK*, I, 360.

¹²⁶ *BUK*, I, 383-398; J. Kirk, *The Second Book of Discipline*, introduction.

¹²⁷ *Acta Rectorum*, 90-91.

It seems likely that the problem was a bias of the electors towards Rutherford. Two of the four electors were regents from St Salvator's, one of whom was Rutherford's son. It appears that the other two, John Caldcleuch of St Mary's and Patrick Auchinleck of St Leonard's, were in some way bribed by Rutherford to acquiesce in his promotion. This is confirmed by a series of statutes passed shortly after that the whole university were ordered to hear, relating to the voting rights of those involved in elections. Entitled *contra ambitum* by a later hand ('against corruption'), they stated that anyone attempting to canvass votes or pledges for the office of rector would be removed from consideration, and that only men suitably deserving of the post should apply for it. Ministers or ecclesiastical persons who were used to having a vote in previous times were no longer allowed to take part in elections unless they were full members of the university, and similarly no one was to be allowed a vote in future unless they had received their bachelor's degree and were active in the university community.

The statutes are obscure and raise a number of questions, particularly in their dating. They are dated to 8 March, but the introductory text accompanying them apparently dates to 28 April and specifically mentions the archbishop of St Andrews, as the chancellor of the university, being present when the statutes were read out. This is not possible, as Adamson is recorded in the visitation statutes of 8 May as simply being the regent's chaplain, and if he had been promoted before this he would have been given his full title and precedence in the visitation.¹²⁸ This issue aside, the statutes suggest that Rutherford, who often bent rules to suit his own purposes, had attempted to consolidate a hold over the university. It seems conceivable that the members of the university who also served on the kirk session and General Assembly would have reported this to their fellow ministers, triggering the intervention in university business by the commission.

While this may be a possible motivation for the visitation in 1576, many of the statutes and memoranda laid down by the commission were more concerned with building on those laid down by Morton in 1574, and making a number of them more

¹²⁸ J. Kirk, 'Adamson, Patrick (1537–1592)', *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/145>, accessed 28 May 2008]. When Adamson came to power is unclear. On 10 March 1575 a royal licence to elect to St Andrews had been granted, with no candidate named. However, Adamson was not officially consecrated until 21 December 1576, and was not given the temporalities until 31 December.

binding.¹²⁹ The statutes of 1574 standardising the length of the arts degree, the decree that all regents in philosophy were to teach two full courses upon completing their degree, and the order to remove wives and children from the college were reiterated. Moreover, the 1574 statute ordering all staff and students to be diligent in attending their duties was given teeth in the 1576 visitation, with the principal masters of every college being ordered to pay 40s. for missing one lecture, £4 for two, and £6 per lecture after that. If they missed more than six lectures they would be deprived of their stipend for the year and eventually face removal from office.

More striking in the 1576 visitation was the involvement of the General Assembly in setting statutes. Considerable controversy had arisen in the reformed church over whether it was proper to offer a doctorate in theology, due to the association of normal higher degrees with the Catholic church, and in the 1574 visitation the order of proceeding for the theology degree was held over. In the 1576 visitation this issue was given over to the jurisdiction of the General Assembly, while the degrees ‘to be usit be thame yat ar techeris within ye universitie’ was to be discussed with Morton and the council. The 1574 statute of thrice yearly visitation to the colleges by the rector and his assessors and the dean of faculty was seen to be overambitious, and in its place a cooperative group of ‘ye visitoris appointit be ye Generall Assemblie to visie ye kirkis adjacent to ye citie of St Andreuis’, together with men appointed by the royal government and the rector would make an annual visitation each October. More importantly, until the archbishopric was filled, the role of chancellor was to be supplied by the commissioners from the General Assembly and the regent, though how this would work in practice is unclear.

Although there is no specific mention of any of the developments at Glasgow under Melville in the 1576 visitation, statutes on curricular reform bear his influence. The 1574 visitation had ordered every principal to read a ‘publict Latin lesson of Theologie’ in their own college every week, and the masters of St Salvator’s and St Leonard’s were to offer weekly lectures in Greek, Hebrew, rhetoric and mathematics. An account of St Leonard’s handed in to the 1576 visitation by James Wilkie shows that he at least had taken this statute seriously. He was teaching Hebrews from a Latin text each Friday, and in church on Saturday and Sunday was reading ‘ye prayeris and techis ye prophet Ezechiel in Ingliche’, though no reference was made to Greek or

¹²⁹ The text of the 1574 visitation is recorded in *Evidence*, 187-189. The 1576 visitation statutes are recorded in NAS PA10/1, nos. 2, 4, 6.

Hebrew. Alongside these public lectures,¹³⁰ the masters were now to choose ‘ane certane compendium conteining ye summe of dialectik quhilk salbe observit in all ye collegis and nane oyir techit.’ Alongside this they were to teach Aristotle and Cicero’s *De Officiis* and a selection of his speeches for ‘practising and exercising ye youtheid in ye concepts’ of logic and rhetoric. They were also to teach the *Ethics*, *Economics* and *Politics* in moral philosophy, but whether in the original Greek or Latin is unclear. Natural philosophy was to be taught using a ‘compendium of ye physik’ drawn from selections of Aristotle, and Sacrobosco’s *De Sphaera* for teaching ‘Arithmetik and Cosmographie.’ If the masters could not agree compendia of these texts among themselves, the regent would have them drawn up and sent to them. Considering the texts statuted by the 1576 visitation were among those used by Melville at Glasgow, it seems likely the commissioners had his work at Glasgow in mind and would perhaps have called on him to produce such compendia. Moreover, the fact that they the commission was advocating ‘compendiums’ suggests in itself an awariness of the simplified teaching approach favoured by Ramism.

While the statutes set down by the visitors built on the Morton visitation and encouraged the role of the General Assembly, the Balcarres Papers show that they also provided the staff of St Mary’s with an outlet for grievances against their principal, Robert Hamilton. It is clear that by the end of the 1570s St Mary’s in particular was in need of reform. A letter of James Lawson to Morton shows that James Bruce, a regent in the college, was apparently bereft of his stipend, and had been for over two and a half years. Moreover, Hamilton was refusing to give him an adequate chamber in which to live, although one of the chambers that should be used for regents was lying empty.¹³¹ Another document, a collection of general grievances against Hamilton, is remarkably scathing of his handling of the college.¹³²

The majority of these complaints were financial in nature, rather than relating to standards of education. Hamilton had taken it upon himself to enter students

¹³⁰ That the lectures were to continue rather than be substituted by teaching from the compendiums is clear from the Privy Council records of 12 July 1576, where Morton was still attempting to install William Welwood expressly as one of the staff who would carry out some of the ‘public lecturis in liberrall sciences’ enacted by the 1574 visitation. *RPC*, II, 542-3.

¹³¹ NAS PA10/1/5.

¹³² Balcarres Papers, ff. 203 r-v. The document, entitled ‘Thir ar the heidis quhairne we complaine and quhilkis we desyr to be amendit and ordor put to in our college’, makes repeated reference to ‘Bischoep Dowglass of guid memorie’ and a reference in the ninth complaint to a ‘M. Archbald’ holding the benefits of an altarage seems to refer to Archibald Hamilton, who held the bursary of St John the Evangelist and the chaplainry of St. Anthony in the parish church of the Holy Trinity. Hamilton had left by November 1576, suggesting that this document dates prior to then.

without consulting the other masters, and the electing of bursars to the foundation by all the masters had ceased. Thus there was no indication of who was supported by the foundation and who was to pay their own board, affecting the college accounts. Hamilton did not share control of the compt books with the other principal masters and thus they had no idea of the state of the college finances. Miscellaneous funds from various altarages and feuing of college lands were to be accounted for by Hamilton, and added to the college wealth. The masters were to be paid their proper fees from the college patrimony, and the fees raised from ‘propynes and gainis’ (small fees given up by the students) recorded in Douglas’ time were to be restored. Hamilton had also placed someone in the ‘west lugin in ye east burn venid (wynd)’ that lay adjacent to the college, but the masters were unaware of who he was, had seen no rental paid to the college for it, and asked that it be leased out properly.

Other criticisms show that the college property had become dilapidated under Hamilton, despite student numbers being at an all-time high.¹³³ The common books of the college library were scattered with no register or place kept for them, nor was there a secure chest for the college documents. The college itself had not been repaired since before Douglas’ death, prompting them to entreat the repair of the windows and other structures from the college expenses.

Another complaint against Hamilton was his choice of candidate for provision to the post of third master of the college. On 26 December 1575 William Welwood, whose father was parliamentary commissioner for St Andrews and thus likely favourable to the Morton regime, was presented to the third master’s place in St Mary’s.¹³⁴ However, a list of the ‘founded persons’ put forward as part of the 1576 visitation and written not earlier than 1575 states that the place of third master was vacant,¹³⁵ while a presentation to the place of third master from 2 April 1575 states Alexander Hamilton had been presented to the post by Robert Hamilton.¹³⁶ The Privy Council began the process of putting Hamilton and the other principal masters to the

¹³³ See matriculations, 1560-1578, appendix. Student numbers were at record and stable levels in the later 1570s, with recorded numbers of entrants averaging at around 55 in each year. Assuming that even just one third of students were staying on and completing the full three and a half year MA course, there would be around 100 students at the university in any year.

¹³⁴ The office had lain vacant in 1575 (NAS PA10/1/3). There is a possibility that Morton had intended to have Welwood take up this position from April 1574, as the 1574 visitation had decreed that the third master should teach mathematics four times a week, suggesting that Morton had been aware of Welwood before his entrance to the post and that he knew of his mathematical skills.

¹³⁵ NAS PA10/1/3.

¹³⁶ Cairns, ‘Academic feud’, 175; UYSM110/15/12. Alexander was raised from the place of Orator.

horn in favour of Welwood on 12 July 1576, after both parties had given their evidences into Lord Glamis at the commission meetings.¹³⁷ Hamilton and William Skene returned to protest before the Privy Council in October of the same year stating that only the express members nominated on the foundation had right of presentation to the post, and thus the entrance was null and void. The Privy Council refused to accept this explanation, having examined the suitability of Welwood as a candidate. They ordered that he be immediately accepted into office, although this would not prejudice the rights of Hamilton and the other masters to elect according to the foundation in future.¹³⁸

Despite this ruling, Hamilton still refused to accept that Welwood be offered a position in the college. On 15 August 1578 Andrew Wilson, advocate and son-in-law of Patrick Adamson, put forward a complaint against Welwood, citing his continual absence from the college as grounds for his removal. Welwood appealed to the new university rector, James Wilkie, who upheld the complaint in Welwood's favour.¹³⁹ However, when Wilkie attempted to enter the college to designate a room to Welwood, Hamilton barred the gates. Wilkie referred the matter to a committee led by the chancellor, Patrick Adamson, along with the new provost of St Salvator's, James Martine, and Patrick Auchinleck. This group again found in favour of Welwood, and marched to the college gates and demanded entrance. Hamilton finally obeyed, and the rector and the committee entered, and had the lock on the college gate removed to prevent Hamilton from barring it again.¹⁴⁰

Although Hamilton remained in place until the enactment of the 'New Foundation' in 1579, it is clear that the 1576 visitation was part of a process that had attempted to deal with him and with the standard of education within the university. It is strange that the visitation records are not mentioned in the published account of the reform of the university, and the proceedings of the government in 1579 appear to ignore them completely. However, they do show that the government and General Assembly were trying, prior to Melville's arrival, to reform St Andrews along 'godly' lines, and the curricular reform put forward does bear his influence.

¹³⁷ *RPC*, II, 542-3. 'At ane certane day bipast befor Johnne lord Glammis Chancellare, quhom unto my lord Regentis grace gaif commissioun, to heir the ressounis and allegationis of bayth the saidis partiis.'

¹³⁸ *RPC*, II, 561-3.

¹³⁹ Balcarres Papers, ff. 148v.

¹⁴⁰ L. J. Dunbar, *Reforming the Scottish church: John Winram (c. 1492-1582) and the Example of Fife* (Aldershot, 2002), 161-162.

The visitation records of 1576 provide a welcome snapshot of the fortunes of the university in a period when its administrative records are, on the whole, quite poor. They particularly add to the picture of disagreement and self-interest that surrounds Robert Hamilton, and show how little he lived up to the standards set by his predecessor. It comes as no surprise then that on 8 November 1579, as part of the ‘New Foundation and Erection of the three colleges in the University of St Andrews’ passed in the parliament at Edinburgh, Hamilton and the other masters of the college were ordered to remove themselves from office ‘without dilay’, so that St Mary’s might be shut until new qualified masters chosen by the government could enter.¹⁴¹ While the parliament set down in detail how it expected the university to operate following this reformation, it is far less clear how the reform programme was implemented at a university-wide level, or to what extent the reforms were master-minded by Andrew Melville.

The path to reform is clear enough from the legislative records. In July 1578 a commission made up of Patrick Adamson, James Boyd Archbishop of Glasgow, David Cunningham Bishop of Aberdeen, Robert Earl of Lennox, Robert Earl of Buchan, Andrew Melville and Peter Young was appointed to visit and consider the universities of Scotland, and given far-reaching power to reform any irregularities or lingering Catholicism that they might find. They were to:

...visie and consider the saidis foundationis and erectionis, reforme sic thingis as soundis to superstitoun, ydloitrie, and papistrie, displace sic as ar unqualifiit and unmeit...redress the forme of studyis and teicheing...to joyne or devide the Faculteis, [and] to annex everie Facultie to sic collegis as salbe fund maist propir...¹⁴²

Specific powers were given to the commissioners for Aberdeen, who were to meet there in November and submit a report to the Privy Council by 1 January 1579.¹⁴³ However, this commission failed to hand in any reform plans to the Privy Council and the General Assembly, apparently frustrated with this lack of progress, made a double supplication to the king in July 1579 that young students be banned from attending ‘Parise, or other universiteis or touns professing Papistrie’ and that St Andrews be reformed. On 8 August the Privy Council took this matter under consideration, and ordered the original 1578 commission be reinstated and augmented specifically for

¹⁴¹ *Evidence*, 184.

¹⁴² *RPC*, III, 199-200; *APS*, III, 98.

¹⁴³ *APS*, III, 98; Donaldson, ‘Aberdeen University and the Reformation’, 142.

reforming St Andrews with the addition of Robert, commendator of Dunfermline, George Buchanan, James Haliburton provost of Dundee and Thomas Smeaton, minister of Paisley.¹⁴⁴

The reform plan they drew up was certainly scathing in its criticism of the current situation at St Andrews, and aimed to be far-reaching in its reform.¹⁴⁵ Not only were the old foundations and the standard of teaching offered by them incompatible with those required by a 'godly' realm, and parents sending their children to university were 'frustrat of thair expectatioun' that a sound education would be provided. St Mary's was to be the centrepiece of the reform programme, as a school devoted wholly to theology. Five masters were to offer a four-year course in the Old and New Testament and the commonplaces, with a solid training in the biblical languages. The first master would offer a six month course in basic Hebrew learned through the reading of David, Solomon and Job, followed by a further six months tuition in Syriac and Chaldaic through the use of Daniel, Ezra, the Psalm Paraphrases and the New Testament. Second year and half of third year was to offer a course in Mosaic Law interpreted from the Hebrew and tuition in the chronology and history of the Old Testament. The final year and a half of the course would offer interpretation of the writings of the various prophets 'greit and small'. Overarching all this, the fourth and fifth lecturer would teach the Greek New Testament and the common places throughout the course. In addition to a total of three lessons per day, a battery of examination would enable the students to become 'perfite theologians', including daily repetition of the class material with weekly public disputations and monthly declamations to ensure memorisation and logical exposition of the texts. At the end of each of the three stages of the course, exams would be set to take place on 10 September each year by the lecturers. Eight bursars in theology were to be attached to the foundation, and were to be rigorously assessed before entrance.

If St Mary's was to become an advanced postgraduate theological school, St Leonard's and St Salvator's were to be the arts colleges that would feed into it. A principal and four masters or regents were to be attached to each college, with their own specialisation rather than teaching a general course. The course prescribed was also the same for each college. The regent of the first year would teach the basics of

¹⁴⁴ *RPC*, III, 199-200. Only between four and six of these men were required to meet to form the commission.

¹⁴⁵ *Evidence*, 183-186.

Greek grammar and offer practice first in Latin prose composition, and then after six months in Greek. The basics of ‘Inventioun, dispositioun, and elocutioun’ would be taught to second years in the ‘schortest, easiest, and most accurate’ way, and though this phrase sounds distinctly Ramist no explicit mention is made of his works. The third regent would teach the *Organon*, *Ethics and Politics* in Greek and Cicero’s *De Officiis*, and the fourth natural philosophy from a selection of Aristotle’s *Physics* and Sacrobosco’s *De Sphaera*. Practical examination was also a central tenet of the arts reforms, with an hour of prose composition prescribed daily for each arts class, and monthly public declamations by each student in Greek and Latin, with the students being competitively ranked so that ‘emulation may be sterit up amangis the saidis scollaris.’ This was topped off with a weekly lesson for each class on Sundays in Greek, with Luke being read to first years, Acts to the second, and Romans and Hebrews respectively to the older groups.

The choice of curriculum directly follows on from that outlined in the 1576 visitation and was markedly similar to Melville’s programme at Glasgow, while the emphasis on practical exercise is clearly Ramist in its outlook. However, much of the structural reform seems to favour the governmental viewpoint. If Melville was the central reforming influence behind the ‘New Foundation’, one has to wonder how he reacted to the number of bishops involved in the reform commission, not least Adamson and Boyd, who by 1579 he was regularly chastising in the General Assembly. The role of the bishop as chancellor in the affairs of the university was considerably revitalised by the ‘New Foundation’. He was to have a central role in the election of staff to both the arts and theological faculties, in conjunction with the rector, the respective deans of faculty and the other masters. The ‘wounted obedience’ due to the chancellor and the other key officers was to be ‘restorit’ and the privileges and rights of each office were to be sought out from the university records before March 1580. Moreover, the vacancy of bursaries was to be far more closely monitored by the government and presentation to them was to come under the discretion of the king. Full inventories of the colleges’ goods and rentals were to be presented to the Privy Council, and the king was also to enact a full visitation of the university in October 1583, giving the staff four years to embed the reformed curriculum. While this was clearly a radical new era intellectually for the university, it was to be done under a very watchful royal eye.

One also has to wonder how extensive the royal involvement in this process was, and whether or not Morton or even the young James VI had some direct control over it. It seems conceivable that the precocious boy-scholar would take considerable interest, and perhaps an active role, in the reform of the universities, particularly with the twin figures of Morton and Buchanan presiding over him. This would perhaps be an ideal project for the young king to cut his teeth on. If this is the case, it would explain the direct and personal tone of the 'Instructions of James VI' on 14 January 1580, signed by the king, that attempted to provide practical orders for the implementation of the November reform plans.¹⁴⁶ This apparently followed an unrecorded document of 13 December that had reiterated the order to remove Hamilton and his cohorts from St Mary's. There had evidently been protests that the reform programme be put off until the new academic year beginning in October 1580, but the royal response was that 'na fruit' could be had from deferring. An example of the regal tone used throughout this document can be seen in this excerpt, which states that any dissenter would be seen as:

...a direct hinderance of the said reformatioun, and a resisting and denying of the auctoritie of Us and our Parliament; out of quhilk errorr they mon be put, gif they be our subjectis: We can not in honour contract with thame on their conditionall submissioun.

Further evidence suggesting James was directly involved in this process was the blatantly nepotistic statute that the Earl of Lennox's request to become commendator of the ecclesiastical properties of the priory of St Andrews would be discussed at their next meeting, where 'he sal have caus to be weill satisfeit'.

How this reform plan was to work in practice was obviously not thought out in full. The senior staffing of the arts colleges was poorly thought out. The principal of St Salvador's was to become a professor of Medicine, while the principal of St Leonard's was to offer lectures in Plato, each reading four times a week. What texts they were to follow is not specified. Most controversially, the posts in law and Mathematics held by William Welwood and Homer Blair following the death of William Skene were to be transferred to the foundation of St Salvador's and paid for from the college income. Welwood and Blair were to act as public lecturers, offering four weekly lectures at a time and with an audience appointed by the rector and the

¹⁴⁶ *Evidence*, 189-191.

other masters of the university. The relegation of the principals of St Leonard's and St Salvator's to strict arts tuition and the removal of the law and mathematics professor to the latter college clearly indicates some attempt to accommodate existing staff in the face of the priority of creating a top-level theological college. The regents who would be displaced from these colleges as surplus to the new requirements were to be offered bursaries in theology 'gif they will accept the same'. The existing theology bursars were to use the stipends of the two vacant master posts at St Mary's to fund their studies under the new staff, though when this would begin with the college shut was again left unsaid.

A common table was to be kept for each college, and in order to facilitate collegiate living among staff and students a uniform set of graded bursar fees was to be implemented across all the colleges. James Wilkie, Principal of St Leonard's, was to be allowed to continue teaching the theology lessons he mentioned in the 1576 visitation, and provision was made to annex the wealthy priory of Portmoak to the college. At St Mary's, the second master John Robertson had apparently been named in the document of 13 December as suitably qualified to stay and teach. Only he and the porter were to be allowed to remain in the college, while Robert Hamilton, who 'hes obeyit na thing, bot spendit sa lang tyme in neidles delayis', was to remove himself immediately. St Salvator's was also to obey the reformation without question. However, it is clear that the process would hamstring the university for most of the year. No new bursars in philosophy were to be received until the Michaelmas term of 1580, and while St Mary's was shut the regents desirous of becoming bursars in theology were to be examined and checked for suitability. It would be almost another year before the college would reopen and the Melvilles would begin teaching, with considerable opposition, in St Andrews.

Conclusion

In theory the reform of the universities was a central priority for the Scottish Protestant reformers. In practice the process in the first two decades following 1560 was far more contingent, and depended heavily on the individual staff and circumstances at each university. At Aberdeen sweeping reform was still required to remove the Catholic inheritance at the university at the end of this period, and it was not until the early decades of the seventeenth century that true progress in this respect

was achieved under the modernising Bishop Patrick Forbes of Corse.¹⁴⁷ Glasgow University was resuscitated and restored to some level of distinction by Andrew Melville during his six years there, and in many ways his own boast later in his life that he had brought ‘the matters of Rome, Jerusalem, Greece and Athens into the Glaswegian desert’ (*qui Romam et Solymam et Graias in Glascua Athenas/Tesqua...tuli*) was well founded.¹⁴⁸ However, it does seem that he had more help from the civil and episcopal authorities in doing this than has been previously recognised. Equally, the civil government had a clear involvement at St Andrews following the Reformation, although the staff there must take most of the credit in re-orienting the university towards a Protestant settlement. Although there were still apparent traces of Catholicism in the early 1570s, St Andrews had clearly broken by then with its traditional past and had done so with minimal disruption. That spirit of slow and moderate reform was entrenched among the masters of the university, and would lead to explosive results in the decade after they were confronted with the much more ambitious and far-reaching reform plan of 1579.

¹⁴⁷ Stevenson, ‘A second founder? Bishop Patrick Forbes’, in *King’s College, Aberdeen*, 61-93.

¹⁴⁸ Melville, ‘Prosopopeia Apologetica’ (c.1608), in Edinburgh University Library DC6.45, 22-23.

Chapter 3: Reform and reaction at St Andrews, 1579-1588

This chapter charts the response of the principal masters and regents of St Andrews to the 'New Foundation' and to the arrival of Andrew Melville amongst them. By early 1588, it was clear to a visitation of the university that the 'Melvillian' reform programme had largely failed to make an impact. As an anonymous writer made clear in a 'memorial' given to the commission:

It is mast difficill in this confused tyme (quhen all folkis ar loukand to the weltering of the world), to effectuat ony gude commoun werk, although men wer nevir sa weill willit; and speciallie quhair ye ar not certainly instructit, and hes na greit hope of thanks for your travell...do sumquhat, for God's sake, that others be your exemple may imitate your trade, for schamis cause, although schame workis not mekle this fatall yeir 1588.¹

The reasons for the failure at St Andrews of the intellectual programme that had been adopted apparently wholeheartedly at Glasgow are many. Conservatism, familial interest and a lack of clarity over the roles of each college following the 'New Foundation' played their part at St Salvator's. Melville's radical Presbyterianism and continual altercations with the royal government impeded any real progress at St Mary's. However, by 1588 a measure of progress and stability had been achieved in some areas of curriculum and teaching, particularly at St Leonard's, where we unfortunately know far too little about the adoption of the 'New Foundation'.

St Salvator's, James Martine, and the 'New Foundation'

At 11AM on 29 August 1577, John Rutherford, 'extenuat in his bodie and decayit in the strenthe yairoff', stepped down from the office of provost of St Salvator's. By means of an oath and the placing of a ring upon his finger, Rutherford elected in his place James Martine, second master and parson of Kemback.² Martine would hold the provostry of the college for an astounding 43 years,³ but his first decade as provost was riven by infighting among the masters and accusations of corruption and nepotism that culminated in massive uproar at the 1588 visitation.

¹ *Evidence*, 193.

² UYSS110/G10.3, AH2.

³ UYSL156, ff.254-257; W. Macfarlane, *Genealogical Collections Concerning Families in Scotland*, ed. J. T. Clark, 2 vols (SHS, 1900), II, 190.

Martine was born between 1540 and 1543, and entered St Salvator's between 1557 and 1561.⁴ Rutherford apparently took great personal interest in Martine, and upon his graduation gave him a post as a regent specialising in mathematics.⁵ Rutherford, who had studied under the great scholastic Nicolas de Grouchy and had been tutor to Montaigne, also held minor distinction as a logician in his own right. His *Commentariorum de Arte Disserendi Libri Quatuor*, published in 1557 and again in 1577 at Edinburgh, was a commentary on Aristotle's logic, written in what Alexander Broadie has described as 'Ciceronian Latin with a liberal sprinkling of Greek'.⁶ Rutherford dispensed with the late-scholastic discussions of terms and exponible that his predecessor John Mair and his students had spent much of their time on, but was vehemently supportive of Aristotle and the traditional authors in the formulation and division of logic and rhetoric. Rutherford's known library, and comments in his work, suggest that he gave Ramus and his works short shrift.⁷ He likely passed this viewpoint on to Martine, who had no education outside the college to give him cause to question this. He went to study in France at some point in the later 1560s,⁸ but Rutherford called him back before he had a chance to spend any real time there and on 29 July 1570 he was elected as third master and parson of Dunino.⁹ Events conspired to push Martine further up the professorial ladder while he was still young and inexperienced. Following the death of David Guild in September 1574 he was promoted to second master,¹⁰ and within three years was elevated to provost.

⁴ *Early Records*, 268; UYSL156, ff. 254-57. The university records tell us that Martine entered St Salvator's College in 1561, but Robert Barron, Martine's biographer, states that he entered the college in 1557. Considering the fragmentary nature of the graduation and matriculation records for the early 1560s, it may be that there has been some confusion in recording intrants and graduates. Certainly, a 1557 entrance date would make sense, putting Martine in his early teens.

⁵ UYSL156, ff. 255: 'Unde statim post adeptam Lauream Magistratem, ab eo in professorem numerum cooptatus est.'

⁶ A. Broadie, 'Philosophy in Renaissance Scotland: loss and gain', in J. MacQueen, *Humanism in Renaissance Scotland*, 75-96, at 84-85; *Idem*, *The Circle of John Mair* (Oxford, 1985), 1-6, 264-266; J. Durkan, 'John Rutherford and Montaigne: an early influence?', in *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 41 (1979), 115-122.

⁷ Rutherford's library included numerous editions of Aristotle and works by Ramus' opponent Jakob Schegk, and in his *De Arte Disserendi* he described Ramus and his followers as 'professors of lying', guilty of 'shameless philosophy and empty loquacity.' Durkan, 'John Rutherford and Montaigne', 119-120.

⁸ Barron records that Martine 'in Galliam proficisci decrevit, ad uberiolem ingenii cultum capessendum, moresque elegantius formandos.' Barron gives a name for where Martine is studying, but it is illegible.

⁹ UYSS110/H1-2, AE16. He was confirmed in the post by James VI on 29 November 1570.

¹⁰ UYSS150/2, f. 150r; UYSS110/G4. Thomas Brown was promoted to the position of third master, and both men were witnesses to a tack set on the teinds of Cults on 21 January 1575.

The masters at the college in the 1570s were a group of highly nepotistic and self-interested individuals. Prior to Martine's appointment in 1570, the college staff had been made up of John Rutherford, William Ramsay, and David Guild. Guild was highly conservative and had been part of the pre-Reformation college,¹¹ and Ramsay had been involved just prior to his death with the controversy surrounding the second master of St Mary's and minister of the town, Robert Hamilton.¹² Homer Blair was Ramsay's maternal nephew, who became professor of mathematics in the college in the 1580s but was at this stage a regent following his graduation in 1566.¹³ Ramsay had evidently been using a theological bursary set up by John Mair and William Manderston in the 1530s to supplement his income as rector of Kemback, and this was given over to his nephew for his usage.¹⁴ Rutherford's patrimony as provost included the teinds of the nearby parish of Cults. Perhaps with knowledge of his increasing ill-health, and despite the letting down of university property being expressly forbidden, he took the opportunity in January 1575 to grant a tack, split between his son John Rutherford Junior and John Sibbald, of the teind scheves¹⁵ of the parsonage for 19 years with an annual return to himself of £120.¹⁶

Further attempts to consolidate and control the patrimony of the college were carried out by Rutherford with the collusion of Martine and the new third master Thomas Brown. On 13 and 14 February 1575-6, following the death of David Guild, they were granted letters of horning to compel the town commissary William Skene to allow them to confirm the testaments of their colleagues when they died, without outside reference.¹⁷ Martine used this privilege when he became provost to confirm William Ramsay's testament of 1570.¹⁸ While this may have simply been an attempt to ensure that masters had executors in place to settle their affairs, it does seem macabre that this privilege would be so contested.

Judging from the surviving college records, one would almost think that no 'New Foundation' had been ordered for St Salvator's in November 1579, or that the

¹¹ Guild and William Cranston had both opposed the entrance of John Rutherford as dean of arts on 4 November 1557 due to his being unordained. *Acta*, pp. lxiii-lxvii, ccxxxiii.

¹² See chapter 2.

¹³ *Early Records*, 160, 271. Blair entered the college in 1564.

¹⁴ UYSS150/2, f. 154v; UYSS110/AE4.

¹⁵ Every 'tenth sheaf' of the produce of a parish, supposed to be used to pay the parish minister's stipend, but more often given to the landowner who then allocated a portion to the minister. M. Robinson (ed.), *The Concise Scots Dictionary* (Aberdeen, 1985), 706-707.

¹⁶ UYSS110/G3-4.

¹⁷ UYSS110AD2-3; UYSS150/2, f. 154v-155r.

¹⁸ UYSS150/2, f. 154v.

masters had been ordered to alter radically their teaching and curriculum. There is no evidence of changes of title or profession, or anything that suggests reform was embraced by the college. What is clear is that financial management was the continuing priority of Martine and the other masters, and that there were considerable tensions within the college, particularly between Martine and the professor of law, William Welwood. These tensions would fester throughout the 1580s and further hamper the progress of reform.

John Rutherford died at some point between 26 September and 13 December 1577,¹⁹ leaving Martine in complete control. However, Rutherford's involvement in the financial dealings of the college continued right up until his death, for the tack of the parsonage of Cults was further alienated when his son's half of the teinds were let out to John Sibbald on 26 September 1577 for 18 years in exchange for an annual of 20 merks.²⁰ John Rutherford Junior took up the position of third master and parson of Dunino at some point near the time of the death of his father,²¹ and Thomas Brown ascended to the place of second master.

The chaplainries and prebends that had been annexed to the college patrimony were in a state of chaos following the Reformation, with a number of them being held in liferent or simply ceasing to be paid to the college or the holder.²² Martine took a number of steps to restore some of the key prebendaries to the college in the first decade of his provostry. The church of Forteviot in Perthshire had been attached to the college in 1495 as a prebend that provided a vicar-pensioner for the church and a chorister for the college choir.²³ In the later 1570s an opportunity was had to gain the whole income of the teind scheves for the college, when a gift of the crop of 1578 was given to Martine from James Douglas, prior of Pluscarden. Douglas had the gift of the prebend as part of the estate of James Thornton, who prior to his death had been

¹⁹ According to references within UYSS110/G3, AP1.

²⁰ UYSS110/G3.

²¹ Despite previous sources stating that his son only entered the college as a master on 3 September 1579, UYSS110/AP1 gives an inventory of the writs held by Rutherford Senior at his death recorded on 18 December 1577, and Rutherford Junior is given as one of the principal masters along with Brown and Martine. In the action to secure Forteviot in late 1578 and early 1579 Brown and Martine are recorded as arbitrating the deal with David Hume, acting for themselves and on behalf of the 'infirm' John Rutherford, third master. UYSS110/E4.10.

²² Cant, *The College of St Salvador*, 170. Attempts were made by the visitation commission of 1597 to obtain an inventory of the range of prebends and chaplainries, which revealed numerous chaplainries were vacant, had ceased to exist, or had devalued so much that they were practically worthless. Balcarres Papers, VII, ff. 97-100.

²³ For example, the parish church of Keith Marischal in East Lothian in 1469, the rectory of Kinnettles in Angus in 1514, and parts of the teinds of Lasswade in Midlothian and Tynningham in East Lothian in the 1470s and 1480s. Cant, *The College of St Salvador*, 28-30.

chantor of Inverey and parson of the church.²⁴ On 2 January 1578 the masters elected Robert Rollock, then regent and future principal of Edinburgh University, as ‘Canon, Prebend, Rector and Vicar’ in Thornton’s place.²⁵ By December they had initiated legal action against a number of claimants to Forteviot, when their case appeared before the Lords of Council. Claimants to the parsonage included John Row, Patrick Murray of Tibbermuir, David Hume and the parishioners of Forteviot, but the lords confirmed that the parishioners were to pay Robert Rollock the dues for the crop of 1578 and annually thereafter.²⁶ The only serious claimant to the parsonage appears to have been David Hume, minister of ‘Aldhamstorkis’ (Oldhamstocks), and in December 1578 and January of the following year Martine brokered a deal with him. Hume renounced his rights in exchange for the payment of 400 merks and for Martine receiving two of his sons into the college ‘howsome thay be of habilitie in tua burseris placeis.’²⁷ This protracted legal wrangling brought a considerable windfall of 300 merks annually to the college.

However, there were also attempts made by Martine to consolidate control of college finances and the provision of prebendaries to himself. In 1582, the principal masters and regents authorised the intromission of all the ‘commonrentis’ of the college to James Martine, providing that he ‘furneis the kitchene and hall’ and ‘sustene honorabilly and sufficientlie the haill fundatt personis within ye said college in meale and drink’ each year from Michaelmas until the vacation on 1 September.²⁸ In July of the same year another document was drawn up, allocating the control and presentation of six of the college bursaries to the principal masters. On the pretext that previously the masters had been ‘extraordinarlie requeistit and sollistit to committ and ressave ma bursaris yan is prescribed in yis foundatioun’ and that presentation to bursaries had caused great ‘stryfe and contentioun’ between the principal masters, the right of presentation was to be divided among them from Michaelmas 1583 or whenever the bursaries became vacant. Three were to be given to James Martin, two to John Rutherford Junior, and one to David Monypenny, the new third master who had replaced Thomas Brown upon his death.²⁹ However, further to this by 1585

²⁴ UYSS110/E4. 6. Thornton appears to have been escheated from his estate for some reason.

²⁵ UYSS110/E2.

²⁶ UYSS110/E4.9.

²⁷ UYSS110/E4.10.

²⁸ UYSS110/AH4. The document may be a forgery, as the masters complain to the 1588 commission that it is was made without their consent.

²⁹ UYSS400/1.

Martine had also managed to place his brothers David and William in another two prebends within the college.³⁰ Thus, whether this process of consolidation was a genuine attempt by Martine to streamline the college patrimony or to gain a better control of the college finance is open to debate.

There were a number of tensions between St Salvator's and its counterparts in the late 1570s and early 1580s. In July 1579 Rutherford Junior and David Baillie, one of the regents of St Mary's, were brought before a court led by the rector James Wilkie. On 3 July, Baillie had attacked Rutherford in the street following a meeting of the rector and his assessors in the superintendent's court, holding a knife in one hand and punching him in the face with a 'grytt key' held in his other. Baillie reported to the court that Rutherford had waited with a group of friends outside the gates of St Mary's with their swords drawn calling for Baillie to come out, resulting in the town bell being rung to quell the disorder. Apparently fourteen witnesses came forward to say that Rutherford had done no such thing, and the court seemed to accept this, with Baillie being ordered to make public penance and apology to Rutherford.³¹ While Rutherford appeared blameless, he must have done something to provoke this outburst. Nor was this an isolated event, as in the later 1570s a number of statutes were passed by the faculty of arts regulating the order of precedence in inter-college debates due to rows over which college should go first.³²

Things were difficult within the college as well. On 14 July 1579, Thomas Brown had died, and on 3 September 1579 Rutherford Junior was admitted to the second master's place.³³ In the intervening months there had been controversy over who should fill the third master's place. The most senior regent in the college was David Monypenny, who had graduated as a bachelor in 1573 and as master in 1575. Martine opposed his entrance, Monypenny approached the privy council, and on 12 August 1579 an order signed by Esmé Stewart and James VI compelled Martine to

³⁰ UYSS110/O1-3; Macfarlane, *Genealogical Collections*, 191; Balcarres Papers, VII, f. 133v. An assignment of an annual rent of 20 merks to the prebends of the college by Robert Bruce of Pitlethie and his spouse in July and August 1585 records the Martines as two of eight prebendaries, while Macfarlane records William Martine receiving his prebendary from Thomas, Master of Cassillis in December 1579 upon the demission of James Winchester. A complaint of the masters on 16 April 1588 was that David Martine had been a bursar for 'xii yeiris'.

³¹ UYSS110/AH3.

³² *Acta*, 447-448.

³³ UYSS150/2, f. 155v; UYSS110/H3.

accept him immediately.³⁴ Monypenny came from a local family that lived in Pitmillie, so there may have been some form of local tension between the two men. The appointment of Monypenny at the behest of the civil authority would introduce a master critical of James Martine unafraid to speak his mind, and who would be a staunch ally of Melville.

Complicating this situation, Martine had strong ties to the local kingroup that supported Episcopalianism and the authority of the king in ecclesiastical matters. Martine's eulogist, Robert Barron, stated that one of Martine's greatest qualities was his loyalty to the royal government and to moderation in religious polity:

Anyone who began to be the least familiar with him knew...he set a singular example in being favourable to his king and in requiring obedience from everybody. He always followed moderate advice, [and] he was the most zealous for ecclesiastical peace. As a consequence, he was especially dear to his prince.³⁵

Martine's family were closely aligned through marriage with the Arthur family, which was in turn connected to the family of Archbishop Patrick Adamson. One of the only pieces of General Assembly business that Martine was part of was a commission chosen to go with Adamson and the Earl Marischal to northern Scotland to hunt out suspected Catholics.³⁶ When Adamson was ordered to take up twice-weekly lectures in theology following the flight of Melville and his colleagues in 1586, he was ordered to do so not in St Mary's but in St Salvator's.³⁷

Martine also had a good relationship with the king, or at least the royal government, in the early 1580s. An undated document of early 1580 shows one of the few references to the 'New Foundation' in the St Salvator's muniments, where James confirmed the right of Martine as provost to the rents and duties of Cults which he had 'in tymes bypast befoir the new order takin'.³⁸ Martine secured the gift of the prebendary of Balhousie to his illegitimate nephew William Martin from the Earl of

³⁴ UYSS110/C4.4. A reference to the 'removing of Mr Johne Ker' from one of the master's positions suggests that Martine had filled the position with this man, and there is a reference to a John Kerr graduating from the college in 1568. There is no mention of Kerr in the muniment records before or after this decree beyond this, but there is a cryptic reference in the 1588 visitation records in the Balcarres Papers made by William Cranston that Kerr had been briefly admitted to the position at some point in the preceding decade.

³⁵ UYSL156, f. 256: *Sciunt enim, quicumque cum eo paulo familiaris coeperunt...in rege suo solendo et obsequium et apud omnes conciliando singulare exemplum fuit. Moderata consilia semper secutus est, et pacis ecclesiasticae studiosissimus erat. Unde principi suo in primis charus extitit.*'

³⁶ Calderwood, III, 559.

³⁷ M'Crie, 428-429.

³⁸ UYSS110/C4.5.

Cassillis on 11 December 1579, and the Privy Council supported his attempts to recover payment of the prebendary in July 1583 when payment was not forthcoming from its tenant, Colin Eviot.³⁹ The king also offered financial support and patronage to Martine, for on 13 July 1583 James, understanding that Martine was ‘burdenit not only with the bringing up of the yowth within the said college...bot also of the preaching of the evangel at the kirk of the Cultis ouklie distant frome our said citie sewin mylis’, ordered an annual grant of £200 to be given to him from the exchequer. This was an extraordinary amount that was almost double his annual income from Cults,⁴⁰ although it seems unlikely that Martine ever received this grant as further grants for the same amount were made to him in the 1590s. It does show, however, that unlike the radical Presbyterian Melville in St Mary’s, the royal government and the archbishop appeared to have a friend and colleague in St Salvator’s who was amenable to them, and who was rewarded as a result.

Shortly after the visitation of April 1588, Martine was sent two documents by the commission. The first was a copy of a missive to the Lords of Council and James VI listing a series of damning complaints against him, ranging from his refusal to allow the ‘tenour of the said reformatioun’ of the college to helping himself to a large portion of the college patrimony.⁴¹ The second, a decree from the royal chancellor John Maitland of Thirlestane, described Martine as being ‘negligent in his office in the rewlling and governance of ye said college’ and ordered his immediate removal.⁴² The range of events that had led to this deprivation included Martine’s behaviour towards his colleagues, but also his involvement in family politics in the burgh. Moreover, accounts of Martine and his fellow staff given in as part of the deprivation hearing show just how far from upholding the ideals of the ‘New Foundation’ they were.

The hostility of the other masters of the college towards Martine became increasingly worse throughout the 1580s. In 1585, David Monypenny was appointed to the position of second master following the resignation of John Rutherford Junior. The regent William Cranston, nephew of the Catholic recusant who had held the post of provost prior to Rutherford senior, was appointed as third master.⁴³ These men,

³⁹ UYSS110/J21-24.

⁴⁰ UYSS110/C4.6-7.

⁴¹ Balcarres Papers, VII, f. 148r/v.

⁴² Balcarres Papers, VII, f. 132v.

⁴³ UYSS110/C4.8, AE18.

elevated to new roles of authority, did not agree with the level of control that Martine had achieved over the college. On 18 and 19 March 1587 Monypenny, Cranston, Welwood and Blair, with the other regents of the college, complained to the rector James Wilkie that Martine had assumed control of the college rents and did not make them privy to their administration. After consultation with the masters Wilkie ordered that Alexander Clepan be made *oeconomus* of the college. David Monypenny was made comptroller of the rents, and was to consult with Clepan over the status of the accounts and provide regular reports to the other masters.⁴⁴ Martine refused point blank to accept the ordinance as lawful. The dispute came before Adamson who appears to have agreed with Wilkie, as Martine then went to the Privy Council and secured the approval of James VI for his intromission with the rents. The king declared that Martine had ‘sustenit honourable the haill foundat personis’ during his period of intromission and that any process upheld against him by the university staff should cease immediately. There was thus an increasing division between the provost and masters of the college that had nothing to do with educational standards and everything to do with money.

The next issue was again monetary, this time relating to the addition of extraordinary professors to the college patrimony. The ‘New Foundation’ had proposed that the professors of mathematics and law, who from April 1574 had held the positions of third and fourth master in St Mary’s, were to be moved to St Salvator’s. They were both to act as public lecturers, and were each to receive £100 and a chalder of oats from St Salvator’s to pay their board and expenses.⁴⁵ This drain on finance angered the masters from the outset, and a supplication for more finance was presented to the Privy Council in 1583, with the additional comment that Welwood was failing to carry out his duties as mathematician. In March 1587 Welwood transferred to the lawyer’s post following the demission of John Arthur, Martine’s cousin, and Homer Blair took up Welwood’s post as mathematician.⁴⁶ Martine would thus have been doubly aggrieved at having to support Welwood, who was depriving a member of his family and holding a position unwanted by the rest of the college.

⁴⁴ Balcarres Papers, VII, f. 100r.

⁴⁵ *Evidence*, 184-186.

⁴⁶ UYSS200/1-2; UYSS110/AH6. Arthur had taken the stipend from the post following the death of William Skene on 2 September 1582 but appears not to have taught.

These issues were exacerbated by the fact that Welwood was a member of a burgh family resolutely opposed to Martine's. The feud between the kingroup made up of the Smith, Welwood, and Geddie families on the one hand, and the Martines and Arthurs on the other, has been extensively documented by John Cairns.⁴⁷ The Welwoods were merchants and burgesses, and supporters of Melville and the Presbyterian faction in St Andrews. Welwood wrote a number of verses in his printed works in praise of Melville, and Melville repaid the compliment in the preface to Welwood's 1582 work outlining a process for extracting water from coal shafts.⁴⁸ Welwood had also been warded in St Andrews Castle in December 1584, following the flight of Melville and the Presbyterian ministers to England.⁴⁹

The dissension between the masters and Martine came to an explosive head before the 1588 visitation. The Balcarres Papers contain over 20 unpublished folios of detailed accusations and counter-accusations between the factions that show, even when allowance is made for exaggeration, that educational standards and behaviour were far from what the 'New Foundation' envisaged. When the visitation commenced on 16 April 1588, William Cranston was first to present a list of 'heidis' criticising Martine. Again, finance was the central issue. Martine had sold off much of the college victual gathered in 1576 and 1577 to various parties with no account made to the college. He had received over 300 merks from various sources for the college upkeep but had kept it for himself. The masters were also furious that Martine had set the valuable lands of Forteviot in tack to Alexander Bonar, after the lengthy legal battle that had been undertaken to regain them. He had received a bursar called James Boyd into the college without consent in 1585 and had sold two other bursaries, one to George Gledstanes and another to Andrew Guthrie for his son. Martine had then divided the profit between himself and his brother Allan, whom he had arranged with Alexander Bonar would also receive a pension of 20 merks out of the lands of Forteviot. He had presented his brother David in 1577, when the latter was 'ane litill boy', to two bursaries of theology worth a total of 60 merks each and he had bought James Winchester's liferent of the prebendary of St Michael and given it to his other brother William. Indeed, Martine was charged with having attempted literally to sell the roof off the college: before he would allow Cranston to ascend to a master's

⁴⁷ Cairns, 'Academic feud', *passim*.

⁴⁸ See Melville's prefatory verse to W. Welwood, *Guilielmi Velvod de Aqua in Altum per Fistulas Plumbeas Facile Exprimenda Apologia Demonstrativa* (Edinburgh, 1582)

⁴⁹ Cairns, 'Academic feud', 258-260.

position he wanted written agreement to set a croft owned by the college near St Andrews Castle in feu to his brother Allan, which had traditionally been set to the Jack family in exchange for pointing and mending the slates.⁵⁰

The masters followed Cranston with a condemnation of Martine's behaviour. Martin was delated for allowing his cousin to take the stipend of the lawyer and not teach. Martine did not teach at all, and the masters could not get students to attend lectures as he did not discipline the students on a Saturday as he was supposed to. This resulted in the students wandering outside the college, attacking the porter when he tried to stop them, and only speaking 'most filthie and ungodlie Scottis'. Worse still, David Martin had slandered William Cranston, attacked him with a knife and attempted to remove him from the common hall with his friends. In addition to the financial misdemeanours specified by Cranston, Martine had also intromitted the crop of 1585 and from May until September of the following year had left the college devoid of enough money to pay for adequate victual.⁵¹ Finally, the college itself was in a poor state of repair and the library and evidences entirely scattered, an accusation to some extent borne out by a paltry list of books belonging to the college that was put forward as the library inventory.⁵²

Martine was given a night to read over the articles and respond to each charge before the commission. His responses were hardly inspiring. With regard to the allegation of non-teaching, he complained that the profession of medicine that he had been allocated in the 'New Foundation' had never been 'professit in yis universitie at ony tyme befor' and that he had been promised that when the reforms came into effect he would not be 'burdenit' with teaching it. Despite this, he had taught 'sum warkes of Galene, Serveill and Hippocrates' and the time lost before the commission was the longest he had been away from teaching. Martine stated that John Arthur had been lawfully provided to the position of lawyer and that he had been compelled regularly to make residence and teach. He further claimed that Cranston had started the fight with his brother and that he had referred them both to the rector for further adjudication.

In terms of finance, Martine conceded that the masters should hear a weekly compt of the college accounts, and that they should have adequate storage for the

⁵⁰ Balcarres Papers, VII, ff. 133r/v.

⁵¹ Balcarres Papers, VII, ff. 135r-136v.

⁵² Balcarres Papers, VII, f. 101r. Durkan, 'The Early Library of St Salvator's', *The Bibliothek* 3 (1962), 97-100.

college books and evidence. However, he strenuously denied any wrong-doing in the administration of the rents, and alleged that David Monypenny and the other masters had approved a compt he made to them on 2 January 1588. He refused to take responsibility for the setting of Forteviot in tack to Alexander Bonar, for he was only 'head of the chapter' that agreed the tack at the time. However, Martine admitted that his brother Allan had been given a 20 merk pension from the parsonage. On the subject of his brother David, all he would say was that 'according to the law of natur he using all lawfull meanis is bound to prefer him to uthers not preiudging ye rental of ye colledge', and had provided him as a student who 'travells as worthelie and diligentlie as ony uther professour'.⁵³

Martine then launched into a slew of counter-charges, stating that the 'desolat estait' of the college was down to his colleagues. Where the masters were supposed to engage students in teaching and declamation for six or seven hours a day, the masters taught for half an hour or less. Martine's account, though obviously exaggerated, seems too specific to be completely false.⁵⁴ Martine was hypocritically furious that the masters had circumvented the usual process of appeal before the rector and chancellor and now 'troublit' the king and his council, presumably because he did not wish attention to be drawn too closely to the workings of the college. Eight of the twelve attacks made by Martine turned on the reputation of Cranston and the fact that his uncle had made off with large amounts of the college property. However, it was in Martine's suggestions for remedying the situation that the real problems he had with the current state of the college came to light:

forsamekill as all the forsaid enormities misorderis decay of doctrin and discipline within the said college hes preceadit of the breaking of the maist ancient and luvabill foundatioune therof (for sen the lait act of reformatioun we haiv nather kepit the said act nor the said auld fundatioune bot everie man hes takin so mekill of the ane and so mekill of the uther as schewit best to his awin forme) heirfor I maist humelie beseiche your L[ordis] that the first maist ancient fundatioune, sa far as it may stand with Godis word, be rescrivit and

⁵³ Balcarres Papers, VII, ff. 139r-142v.

⁵⁴ The text reads: 'Thay uss na maner of disciplin in correcting and punisching. Thay waige in the toune resorting to commoune tavernis and keitchpillis. Thay mak thair disciplis companyeonis and familiaris with thame. Thay attend not to conduct upoune the play dayis their disciplis to the feildis and agane to the college nather will thay their disciplis chalmeris at morning and evening. Thay do not resort to the commoune prayeris of the colledge nather upone preaching dayis in the oulk will thay convey into the yett of the colledge to go to the kirk togidder with thair disciplis.'

reestablischt to the auld integritie with all the hail liberties and privilegis thair of.⁵⁵

Martine felt that his rights as ‘ordinary magistrate’ of the college were completely compromised by the ‘New Foundation’, and desired all the privileges and rights of the old foundation be restored to him. Martine wanted to return to teaching theology, which he felt was his traditional right as provost of the college, and not to be burdened with the unheard-of novelty of medicine. Moreover, Martine completely condemned the ‘Melvillian’ process of regenting as ‘sen this new ordour was embracit thair nevir passit from this universitie sa guid philosophis as of befor ffor sa lang as the auld forme was kept and observit our scollaris excellit all uther nationnis in philosophie’. Martine blamed the demise of regenting for this decay, and the students’ lack of grounding in the basics of logic stopped them from becoming ‘guid and perfect physicianis’. Martine clearly had some vested interest in removing the public professors of law and mathematics because of their drain on college revenues. However, he believed that Welwood did not have enough students to justify his existence and that Blair’s teaching of ‘the spheir’ and other basic arithmetic could be carried out by ‘everie regent.’ The failure of the two to live *collegialiter* galled Martine particularly. That Martine was not entirely cynical and self-interested is clear from his desire that women visitors be entirely banned from the college, and his desire that, ‘becauss the college is burdenit with expenssis in buying herbs and kail in the toun’, three vacant yards within the college be reclaimed as communal gardens.⁵⁶

The other masters provided a final rebuttal against Martine,⁵⁷ and William Welwood denied the legitimacy of the complaints against him since he was not technically part of the foundation,⁵⁸ but the commission had had enough. Drawing a line under what they saw as an unprofitable and circular squabble, they summarised the complaints and responses given to them regarding the state of funding and teaching at the college, and made a note to ‘avise with the council’ regarding the ‘lang articles in writ’ they had received.⁵⁹

Despite the massive split between the staff, and their failure to adopt the 1579 reforms, it appears that some of the tenets of the ‘New Foundation’ did make it

⁵⁵ Balcarres Papers, VII, ff. 143r-144r.

⁵⁶ Balcarres Papers, VII, ff. 144r-145v.

⁵⁷ Balcarres Papers, VII, ff. 146r/v.

⁵⁸ Balcarres Papers, VII, ff. 150r-152r.

⁵⁹ *Evidence*, 194.

through to practice, most notably in terms of Greek tuition. The masters as a whole had completely refused to adopt the practice of regenting, and William Cranston was reduced to teaching grammar to a small group made up of the college patron John, fifth Earl of Cassillis and others, wanting a class 'be ressoun of the pest'. Despite this, Homer Blair taught 'the Arithmetique of Ramus' for an hour on Mondays, Tuesdays and Fridays, and David Monypenny taught the *Physics* from the original Greek at his appointed hours. Despite the criticisms made against David Martine, he apparently taught the first years the basic precepts of Greek and Latin using excerpts of Isocrates, Aristotle and Homer, and the basics of logic using Porphyry. No mention is made of Ramus' *Dialecticae*, although another regent, Robert Wemyss, taught the second class using Talon's *Rhetorica* and some orations of Cicero, again showing that some of the texts used by Melville at Glasgow had filtered through to the colleges at St Andrews.⁶⁰

The process rumbled on against Martine, for further testimony was submitted by Homer Blair to the Lords, though whether this was solicited by the commission is unclear. However, excluding the two documents that called for Martine's deprivation, no other evidence survives to indicate he was removed for any length of time. It seems that the initial flare-up was resolved without resorting to drastic action. What, then, are we to make of this confused and extensive episode? Was Martine really a corrupt embezzler, or victim of an overambitious academic *coup*? The evidence is contradictory, but it does seem to suggest that Martine was a man out of time in some senses. Trained by a school of men who were raised in the conservative, scholastic atmosphere of pre-Reformation St Andrews and who were perfectly happy to exploit college revenues for familial gain, Martine saw nothing wrong with his nepotistic attitude to prebendaries. To be fair, neither did Melville or Wilkie, who as principals of the other colleges provided careers to a number of their kinsman, with Melville's nephew James being perhaps the most famous example. It is this aspect of college life that, the other masters of St Salvator's seem most resentful about – Martine had better control and access to the college revenue than they did, and it does seem that Martine was on occasion genuinely trying to consolidate the college's finances. Perhaps his biggest disadvantage was the lack of a broader European education that would have made him happier to engage with the 'Melvillian' reforms, as it is clear that part of

⁶⁰ *Evidence*, 194.

the dissension was caused by the greater willingness of the other masters to move with the reform movement. However, Martine resented the confusion reform had brought to the educational programme he had trained under and what it had done to the standard of discipline in the college.

The Melvilles and the impact of religious dissent on St Mary's

In some ways, however, St Salvator's was far more successful as a practical provider of education than St Mary's in the 1580s. Melville and his nephew James moved to the college in December 1580 at the behest of the royal government, which had been closed since the 'New Foundation' was enacted in the preceding year. The next eight years would see the college closed more often than it was open, and its finances and organisation badly managed. That Melville's handling of St Mary's was so poor compared to his time at Glasgow is down to his continual conflict with Patrick Adamson and James VI. This conflict saw Melville warded or banished for much of the 1580s, leaving the burden of responsibility for the college solely on the inexperienced James Melville.

On their arrival in St Andrews, the two Melvilles quickly assimilated into the local life of the church, with James preaching to the local parish on Sunday afternoons and Andrew, surprisingly, working with Patrick Adamson to preach the morning service. It seems clear from James' account that the Melvilles and Adamson had a good working relationship when they first arrived in St Andrews:

Ther was nan that welcomed us mair than Mr Patrik Adamsone, called Bischope, wha resorted to our lessones, and keiped verie familiar frindschipe with Mr Andro, promising what could ly in him for the weill of that wark.⁶¹

The Melvilles were also part of the administration of university business, for both were recorded as assessors for the nation of Angus in 1580.⁶² However, their first year was one of turmoil and upheaval, which began as soon as they arrived. It also saw the development of tensions between Andrew and Adamson that had huge impact on St Mary's in the following years.

⁶¹ *JMAD*, 84-85. I am grateful to Dr Alan Macdonald for pointing out the significance of this reference.

⁶² *Acta Rectorum*, 100-101.

One immediate issue for Melville was his relations with other staff, foremost among these being the restitution demanded by Robert Hamilton as ex-principal of the college. Despite Hamilton being commanded to confine himself to the ministry of St Andrews, and to remove himself immediately in the visitation of January 1580, he still pursued Melville for financial compensation he felt was owed him at his removal.⁶³ Hamilton died on April 16 1581, but Thomas Buchanan, minister of Ceres, married Hamilton's widow and morbidly pursued the claim for himself. The process was eventually settled by allocating a glebe of the college to Hamilton's widow for her lifetime, some time before 1591.⁶⁴ Another staffing issue was what should be done with Robert Caldcleuch, a regent in the college under Hamilton. Despite James Melville's anecdotal evidence that Caldcleuch had threatened to 'hough', or throw out, the new principal on his takeover of the college, he was content to take a diminished place as a bursar on the new foundation.

Melville also had considerable difficulties with the town council, then ruled by the oligarchic Learmonth family. Following Hamilton's death, the parish ministry remained vacant.⁶⁵ The Melvilles were desirous that Thomas Smeaton of Glasgow University or Alexander Arbuthnott of King's College be moved to the post, not only for their ministerial skills but also for their value in helping with the 'wark of Theologie'.⁶⁶ Melville suggested in the pulpit that the position was being kept vacant by the collusion of James Learmonth of Dairsie, the town provost, and the commendator of St Andrews priory, Robert Stewart, both of whom he claimed were pocketing the ministerial stipend. Melville directed his sermon at the 'rewlars' of the town in general, which may explain the hugely unpopular response that it received, as recorded by James Melville:

This was takine sa hiche, that a grait space ther was na thing bot affixing of placarts upon the Collage yet, bosting with batoning, burning and chassing out of the town; wherwith, to speak the treuthe, I was mikle fearit, seing Town, University and all malcontents against us...⁶⁷

⁶³ *Evidence*, 190; *JMAD*, 122-3.

⁶⁴ M'Crie, 77-78. No reference exists in the muniments to state which glebe this was, however.

⁶⁵ *StAKSR*, 481, 488. The statute was put forward that the first business of the session on Wednesdays would be to organise who would 'mak the sermonis in this parroche kirk the nixt Fryday Sunday and Weddinsday thaireftir.' M'Crie, 86; *StAKSR*, p. lxxvii.

⁶⁶ Stevenson, *King's College*, 32.

⁶⁷ *JMAD*, 125.

Learmonth was chastised by the presbytery for walking out of Melville's sermon, and Melville used another sermon to attack his kinsman James Learmonth of Balcomie for putting up a placard insulting him. The Learmonths and Stewart were called before the General Assembly, where they were condemned and ordered to public repentance.⁶⁸ Despite these incidents, a permanent minister was not found for the parish until John Rutherford Junior accepted the post in July 1584.⁶⁹ The Melvilles had in the meantime alienated themselves from the burgh oligarchy, and drawn a clear boundary between the standard of behaviour in the town and their own zealous expectations.

Nothing in the university muniments reveals the extent of Melville's teaching in his early years at St Mary's or how successful it was, and James Melville provides only the most tantalising of glimpses. Apart from the initial confrontations with staff and town members, Melville apparently settled down to teach between 1582 and 1584 with a pared-down staff consisting of his nephew and the old professor John Robertson. James Melville took on the role of first master and taught the precepts of Hebrew grammar, and Robertson taught students the precepts of the New Testament, supervised by Andrew who must have supplied the additional tuition required in Greek, Chaldaic and Syriac. Andrew also supplied the teaching of the theological common places that spanned the entire length of the divinity course.⁷⁰ No mention is made of the teaching of the history of the Old Testament, the exposition of Mosaic Law, or the exegesis of the prophets that was supposed to comprise the last two years of tuition. However, Melville's well-known interest in sacred chronology and Old Testament history suggests he would have provided at least a basic grounding in these subjects. Despite having his nephew on hand, it must have felt for Melville in this initial period as if he had returned to the difficult situation of teaching that presented itself in his first four years at Glasgow.

Melville's involvement in church business in his early years at St Mary's clearly took time out of his teaching, as is demonstrated in a letter by one of his students, Stephen Powle. Powle (c.1553-1630) was the youngest son of the English chancery clerk Thomas Powle, and took his BA and MA at Oxford between 1564 and 1572. He briefly entered into a career in law between 1574 and 1579, before engaging

⁶⁸ *JMAD*, 126-127.

⁶⁹ *StAKSR*, p. lxvii.

⁷⁰ *JMAD*, 84.

on a three year tour of the Continent including time in Geneva, Basel, Strasbourg, Speyer, Heidelberg and Paris. By April 1583 he had come to St Andrews, where he spent six months studying under Melville. His later career saw him rise to the post of deputy clerk of the crown in chancery and receiving a knighthood from James VI and I on 8 July 1604.⁷¹ Powle sent a letter to Melville on 30 April 1583, while the latter was attending General Assembly business in Edinburgh, that shows how keenly his absence was felt in St Andrews:

I have heard that you, most distinguished Melville, have been hampered with more serious business,⁷² or (to speak more accurately), weighed down by enemies, as though by waves; I thought it wasn't my business to offend your ears with an empty din of words, or to disturb your studies and more serious endeavours with my trifles, that is, my salutations. But as soon as I heard that you had been freed from those troubles...how could I not do other than congratulate you, and rejoice myself! And for that reason behold my letters, both witnesses of my present disposition, and also hostages to the future; and earnest pleas that you fly back to us (at the most opportune time that you are able)...you will find among us, in these hiding places of the muses, in this arbour of Philosophers, among your own household Gods, perhaps greater and more pre-eminent things; for here you will find both comforts for your griefs, if they are what is causing you trouble, and remedies against your troubles, if they are what bear down upon you...the lodging will offer to you a secure room, and the college, just like a very well-defended citadel, will protect you from the blows of your enemies, [and] all the students will protect you from any of their blows. Your Philosophers – Aristotle, Plato – will salute you. The theological fathers – Augustine, Calvin – nod their heads with the gravity of ancient wisdom, and will reveal the calm and pleasant shade of reason and discernment...How avidly will your Powle embrace you, your presence thrill him, your humorous conversations and your very holy discussions restore his mind, and console his soul...I am compelled to take the part of Penelope that I may call you, Ulysses, now long detained not by the Trojan War but by debate in Edinburgh, back to your Ithaca.⁷³

⁷¹ P. R. N. Carter, 'Powle, Sir Stephen (c.1553–1630)', *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/56051>, accessed 20 June 2008].

⁷² Presumably the trial against Archbishop Montgomery. See below.

⁷³ Stephen Powle to Andrew Melville, St Andrews 30 April 1583 (Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Tanner 168 f. 203v): 'Cum negotiis magis seriis te impeditum, vel (ut verius dicam) adversariorum quasi fluctibus oppressum audivi, ornatissime Melvine, meorum esse partium putavi non inani verborum strepitu suas aures offendere, vel studia et conatus graviore nugis meis, id est, salutationibus, inturbare. At vero quam primum istis molestiis te liberatum fuisse...non potui non, quin et tibi gratularer, et mihi ipsi gauderem! Earmque ob causam, en literas meas, et praesentis testes voluntatis meae, et etiam obsides futurae, ac ut ad nos quam ritissime poteris advoles hortatores...reperies etiam apud nos in istis musarum latebris, in hoc Philosophorum umbraculo, inter proprios Penates, maiora fortasse et praestantiora. Hic enim et solatia doloribus, si qui augunt, et praesidia periculis, si quae iminent...Hospitium tibi securum praebibit cubiculum, collegium tanquam arx munitissima te ab ictibus adversariorum proteget, excipient te ulius suis omnes studiosi salutabunt, te tui Philosophi, Aristoteles, Plato, annuent capitibus suis, gravitate senile Theologi patres Augsutinus, Calvinus umbram rationis et indicii placidam et amaenam exhibebit...Polus autem tuus quam avide te

Powle's tone is clearly one of great reverence and affection for his teacher. However, it suggests that Melville had been absent for most of his time at the college, and the entreaty for Melville's return home was perhaps due to the fact that Powle knew he only had a limited time in St Andrews and wished to make the most of it by actually studying under Melville.

While Melville was missed at St Mary's, his involvement in church politics in the early 1580s not only kept him away for lengthy spells but also led to political retaliation against him, and had serious repercussions for the college. Battle-lines between the Kirk and crown were drawn with the arrival in Scotland of Esmé Stewart, Lord d'Aubigny and James' French cousin, on 8 September 1579. His close relationship with James and his meteoric rise to power, which included his elevation to the Dukedom of Lennox, made him a natural focus for the Kirk's fears over Catholic recusancy. These grew as Lennox consolidated his power with the removal and execution of the Regent Morton in May 1580 on a charge of collusion in the murder of Henry Lord Darnley, Mary Stewart's husband and James VI's father, in 1567.⁷⁴

The Kirk manifested its fear of Catholicism by formally adopting the *Second Book of Discipline* in April 1581 and taking a hard-line stance against the office of bishop.⁷⁵ In Autumn 1581 Robert Montgomery, minister of Stirling, was presented by the Lennox regime to the archbishopric of Glasgow. On 24 April 1582, the General Assembly convened in St Mary's, and Melville was chosen to act as moderator. Its central business was the excommunication of Montgomery for his illegal entry into the archbishopric and his refusal to accept oversight. Montgomery initially accepted the authority of the General Assembly over him but soon reneged and was excommunicated once more.⁷⁶ On 8 June the Glasgow Presbytery attempted to pass a decree against Montgomery. The provost of the town, the Laird of Minto, attacked

amplexabitur, exhilarabit illum tua praesentia, reficient animum suum iucundi sermones tui, et sanctissima colloquia tua, ipsam animam consolabuntur...Penelopsis personam cogor induere, ut te Ulysssem non Troiano bello sed Edinburgensi disceptatione, iam diu detentum, at Ithacam tuam revocem.'

⁷⁴ Donaldson, *James V- James VII*, 171-173; Hewitt, *Scotland Under Morton*, 188-207; MacDonald, *Jacobean Kirk*, 18-20.

⁷⁵ MacDonald, *Jacobean Kirk*, 21.

⁷⁶ Calderwood, III, 595-606. Montgomery had attempted to remove the minister from the Glasgow pulpit by force.

John Howieson, the moderator, and imprisoned him in the tolbooth, causing the students to riot and the college to be forcibly shut.⁷⁷

Just prior to this, on 30 May, James Lawson and John Durie had been charged to compear before the Royal Council at Dalkeith, following sermons preached against Lennox and his administration. Durie was forced to remove himself from Edinburgh on 2 June.⁷⁸ His expulsion and the continuing controversy regarding Montgomery prompted an extraordinary General Assembly on 27 June in Edinburgh, which Melville led. He opened it with an outburst that would no doubt have angered the royal government:

In his [Melville's] sermoun, he inveyghed against the bloodie guillie of absolute authoritie, whereby men intended to pull the crown off Christ's head, and to wring the scepter out of his hand. He shew also, how the dimission of the king's authoritie to his mother had been in working these seven or eight yeeres. The cheefe workers were, Beton, Bishop of Glasgow, and Leslie, Bishop of Rosse, who had writtin tuiching the same mater to the queene; and in his bookes, had drawin the pourtrature of a queene, and of a young childe twelve yeere old sitting at her feete; and she stretching furth her hands toward him, pointing to his fore fathers, to follow their example in religioun and life; 'thinking,' sayeth he, 'to make all null that was done under his raigne.'⁷⁹

After heated debate amongst the ministers, Durie agreed to remove himself from Edinburgh.⁸⁰ The ministers, meanwhile, accused the king in a series of complaints of trying to take the ecclesiastical jursidiction for himself and erect a 'new Popedome' by confounding the 'two jurisdictions' of the civil and ecclesiastical spheres.⁸¹

In August 1582 a palace coup, known as the Ruthven Raid, resulted in control of James VI being seized from Lennox by a group of pro-English hard-line Protestants led by the Earls of Gowrie and Angus, and the Master of Glamis.⁸² One of James VI's greatest supporters following his escape from these captors in June 1583 was Patrick Adamson. Throughout the ascendancy of the Ruthven lords, Adamson had hidden 'lyk a tod [toad] in his hole' inside the episcopal palace at St Andrews, pleading ill health.⁸³ When the king managed to free himself, Adamson immediately resumed preaching in St Andrews, defending the memory of Lennox, who had died in

⁷⁷ Calderwood, III, 621.

⁷⁸ Calderwood, III, 620-621.

⁷⁹ Calderwood, III, 622.

⁸⁰ Calderwood, III, 623-625.

⁸¹ Calderwood, III, 628-631.

⁸² Donaldson, *James V-James VII*, 178-183.

⁸³ *JMAD*, 137-138.

Paris on 26 May.⁸⁴ The Presbyterian party in the Kirk had been closely allied with the Ruthven lords, and the political support around Melville and his fellow ministers unravelled in the ensuing winter as a result. Adamson played a central role in this. In December 1583 he went to London with certification from James VI to discuss a potential scheme of conformity for the Scottish and English churches that supported Episcopacy and the royal supremacy in ecclesiastical governance. Adamson also wrote a series of 'Articles to the French Kirk at London' which were passed to Geneva and other churches on the Continent discrediting Melville and his faction as troublemakers, to which Melville sent out an impassioned rebuttal.⁸⁵ Although Adamson made a complete disgrace of himself, begging the French ambassadors for money and clothes and behaving poorly in company, he was able to gather evidence for building a sustained polemical case against the supporters of Presbyterianism.⁸⁶

Melville was himself courting unorthodoxy at the same time. For an unknown reason, in January 1584 he provided a letter of commendation to the sectarian Robert Brown, and the families that had arrived with him from Flanders. Brown advocated separation from all churches where excommunication was not used against unrepentant offenders, described having witnesses at baptisms as a 'simplie evill' practice, and held other heterodox opinions. He and his companions had a tense appearance before the Edinburgh Kirk Session on 14 January, but yet were allowed to remain at the Canongate, where Brown continued circulating his controversial views in pamphlet form.⁸⁷ Why Melville would choose to support Brown is unclear. It may be that they had met while Melville was on the Continent, or they may have shared similar views on excommunication, on which Melville believed the church had full jurisdiction.⁸⁸

On Saturday 8 February 1584 Melville was summoned to appear before the Privy Council, within two days, for preaching treason in a sermon on Daniel 4. Despite the lack of time to prepare, Melville appeared before the council as requested, armed with a written rebuttal of the charges⁸⁹ and a testimonial of the masters and regents of the university who had heard his preaching.⁹⁰ Melville's 'declinature'

⁸⁴ D. Moysie, *Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland, 1577-1603* (Bannantyne Club, 1830), 45.

⁸⁵ Mullan, 56; *JMAD*, 141, 148-164.

⁸⁶ MacDonald, *Jacobean Kirk*, 25.

⁸⁷ Calderwood, IV, 1.

⁸⁸ Melville to Beza, NLS Wodrow Folio 42, ff. 11 r/v; M'Crie, 71-72.

⁸⁹ M'Crie, 91-101.

⁹⁰ M'Crie, Note X, Calderwood, III, 304-306.

began by refuting the legality of the trial before the Privy Council, and complained that the accusation made against him came from William Stewart, an agent of Robert Stewart Bishop of Caithness who sought revenge against Melville for his criticism of Stewart's failure to fill the St Andrews parish.⁹¹ In terms of doctrine, however, Melville's defence was incendiary. Discussing the example of Daniel offering the history of the tyrant king Nebuchadnezzar to his son Balthazar, Melville argued that ministers should always offer up similar examples to their own kings, but in an aside stated:

'But if now a dayes,' said I, 'a minister would rehearse in the court the exemple that fell out in King James the Thrid's dayes, who was abused by the flatterie of his courteurs, he sould be said to vaig frome his text, and perchance accused of treason.'

Melville was also alleged to have implied Mary was the figure of Nebuchadnezzar, who was banished for fourteen years and was supposed to rise again, though he denied ever saying this. However, he did portray Nebuchadnezzar as a king ungrateful to God, pointing out that 'whether it be by electioun, successioun, or other ordinar middess that kings are advanced it is God that makes kings; which all is easilie forgett by them.' Melville followed this with the examples of David and Solomon, and Joas, 'in his tender age made king', who were also punished by God for their lack of faith. The tone of Melville's declination, like his sermon, was one of haughty unrepentance, exacerbated by his harangue of the council when he slammed down his Hebrew bible on their bench and proclaimed 'there is my instructions and warrant. Lett see which of you can judge theron, or controll me therin.'⁹²

Following heated discussions between Melville and the council, he was ordered into ward on 18 February.⁹³ When Melville found out that he was to be held in Blackness, 'a foule hole' kept by supporters loyal to the anti-Presbyterian and royal chancellor, James Stewart Earl of Arran, he decided to flee to England. After dinner and consultation with his fellow ministers at James Lawson's house, Melville set sail with his brother Roger and within a day had landed at Berwick. There he wrote to

⁹¹ Calderwood, IV, 2-10. As a minister being accused of incorrect doctrine, Melville argued he should be tried before the General Assembly. As a preacher in St Andrews, he should be tried by the local ministers. As a doctor of the church, he should be tried first by the university court of the rector and his assessors, with at least two witnesses to stand by the accusation.

⁹² *JMAD*, 142-143.

⁹³ Calderwood, IV, 12. M'Crie, 427.

both Stephen Powle and the pastor of the foreigner's church in London, Jean Castoll, to announce his intention to come to England, and to ask for a place to stay.⁹⁴

With Melville's flight, the supervision of the college fell in the first of a series of delegations to his nephew James. Returning to St Andrews, James packed up Andrew's books to save them from seizure. Following a heavy sickness, he set about providing tuition in March and April as best he could, doing his regular teaching in Greek and Hebrew while taking up his uncle's lessons in the common-places. James also continued the practice of making the students give a sample exegesis of a chapter of the Bible at the dinner table.

James was supported in his endeavours by the other masters of the university, who, feeling sympathy for him, attended his lessons and provided some assistance. The 1588 account of the college states that James Melville had been helped by two of the other bursars in theology. James Robertson, who became minister at Dundee, entered the college at Martinmas 1583, and John Caldcleuch, as an extant bursar and previous master under the Hamilton regime, also took some part in the teaching duties of the college. Melville was also supported by Robert Bruce and Robert Durie.⁹⁵ Bruce had graduated from St Salvator's in 1572, and following a period in Louvain and France studying law, secured leave from his father to attend the theology course at St Mary's in 1583. Bruce was made a bursar on the foundation at some point before 1585,⁹⁶ and James encouraged him in private exercise to expound the whole of Romans and Hebrews. Bruce was so impressive he provided a sermon at one of the Sunday morning services in the town, which 'a multitude of the best peiple of the town' heard.⁹⁷

However, there were serious underlying issues at the college beyond teaching provision. The account of 1584 in James' *Autobiography* makes no mention of John Robertson as second master, or what he was doing. Immediately after Melville's removal, Adamson moved quickly to consolidate his hold over St Andrews. On his recommendation, Robertson was presented to the college as principal with full

⁹⁴ Calderwood, IV, 12. *JMAD*, 144; Andrew Melville to J Castoll, Berwick, 23 February 1584 (British Library, Cott. Cal. D IX); Andrew Melville to Stephen Powle, Berwick, 25 February 1584, Stephen Powle to Andrew Melville, 1 March 1584 (Oxford, Bodleian Library (Copy) MS. Tanner 168, f. 204v).

⁹⁵ Thomas Buchanan also appeared to have supported James, named by Melville as a 'dear friend' and his name is given in the list of assessors for 1583/4 with James, though Andrew was by this point absent. *Acta Rectorum*, 103.

⁹⁶ Balcarres Papers, VII, f. 238r. Durie is one of six bursars recorded for 1585.

⁹⁷ *Evidence*, 193, *JMAD*, 146-148, 218.

jurisdiction to admit bursars and poor scholars and administer the rents and income of the college.⁹⁸ It seems odd that James would continue to teach in this situation, suggesting that Robertson did not immediately take up the post. Adamson did little more to take advantage of Melville's absence. No evidence of major upheaval is recorded in the *Acta Rectorum*, and statutes promulgated in the faculty of Arts in March 1584 were common-sense ones regarding the supervision and timing of examinations and the issue of student fees.⁹⁹

In April, David Auchmoutie, who was *oeconomus* for the years prior to 1584¹⁰⁰ and controlled the uptaking and distribution of all the rents, resigned his office. Melville suggests that the impetus for Auchmoutie's actions came from Adamson, whom he had 'intelligence and collusion' with, and perhaps Auchmoutie did not want to be at a college associated with the Melvilles in the tense political climate. Auchmoutie had collected the 'best and surest part and payment of the college leiving', presumably the rents of Tannadyce,¹⁰¹ but had chosen to resign when the harvest was at its lowest and 'all things war at the deirest'. The prospect of attempting to administer the college rents and the student programme of exercise and disputation was more than James could bear, knowing that the students would leave if sufficient board was not available. However, James discharged Auchmoutie, and enlisted the aid of his wife and Robert Bruce to carry out his duties.¹⁰²

In May 1584 Parliament passed the 'Black Acts' stating that the crown had supreme authority over both temporal and spiritual spheres. The acts also reasserted the rights and privileges of bishops in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and prohibited ecclesiastical assemblies at all levels without royal sanction. With them a 'bull' was given to Adamson restoring him to the jurisdiction and privileges he expected as an archbishop. Included with these were rights to enact visitations of the university and implement reforms as he saw fit.¹⁰³ Simultaneously, the college finances had reached such dire states that James was compelled to travel to the annexed benefices in Angus and the Mearns to take up what he could of the rents. On his return his uncle Roger warned him that Adamson was coming with a commission of magistrates to seize

⁹⁸ M'Crie, 124.

⁹⁹ *Acta*, 455-456.

¹⁰⁰ *Evidence*, 193.

¹⁰¹ The compt for 1585 shows that Tannadyce was worth £255 18s in money, with an undisclosed lease in victual.

¹⁰² *JMAD*, 165.

¹⁰³ Mullan, *Episcopacy in Scotland*, 57; *JMAD*, 194-196; Calderwood, IV, 143.

him, and convinced him to flee to Dundee. That same night Adamson and the magistrates of the town searched the college and James' home, and finding letters from Andrew hoped to seize him for collusion with an outlaw. Following a tense and difficult overnight journey by boat, Melville arrived in Berwick to meet his uncle, James Lawson, and a number of other exiled Presbyterian ministers. He was joined by James Robertson and John Caldcleuch.¹⁰⁴

In England, the Melvilles occupied themselves by visiting the universities of Oxford and Cambridge between 4 and 19 July 1584 for a conference with the leading English puritans. They networked with academics and theologians there, and in London at conferences in November 1584 and February 1585.¹⁰⁵ The conferences passed a number of resolutions that furthered the development of a Presbyterian structure for England, with the Scottish ministers providing considerable input. With extensive support from Henry Walsingham, the Secretary of State, and with a number of ministers joining Melville in May and June 1584, the possibility was entertained that Melville and his compatriots would settle in London.¹⁰⁶ Brief attempts were made to set up a foreigner's church for the exiles, though this was prevented by diplomatic pressure from the Master of Gray, the Scottish ambassador.

The polemic battle between Adamson and the Melvilles continued unabated, despite two nations separating them. In January 1585 Adamson published his *Declaration of his Majesty's Intention and Meaning Toward the Lait Actis of Parliament*, a polemic defending the king's actions in Parliament, and outlining the Episcopal church governed by the supreme royal power that Adamson envisaged. This was followed a month later by a two-fold response from the Melvilles, in the form of an *Answere to the Declaration of Certan Intentions Sett Out in the Kings Name* penned by Andrew, and a metaphorical dialogue by James on the subject entitled *Zelator, Temporizar, and Palomon*.¹⁰⁷

This situation continued until November 1585, when the exiled Ruthven lords returned to Scotland, with Andrew in tow. James returned home by December, having received confirmation it was safe to do so on 6 November, and went immediately to St Mary's while his uncle remained at Glasgow. Again, the process of trying to

¹⁰⁴ *JMAD*, 166-171, 218.

¹⁰⁵ *JMAD*, 218-219.

¹⁰⁶ G. Donaldson, 'Scottish Presbyterian exiles in England, 1584-8', *SCHSR* 14 (1960-1962), 75-6.

¹⁰⁷ Calderwood, IV, pp. 20-108; for a fuller discussion of the polemic in this period, see R. Mason, 'George Buchanan, James VI, and the Presbyterians', in *Idem, Kingship and the Commonwealth*, 187-214.

resurrect the college and its finances fell to James. James' *Autobiography*, and an unpublished and previously unseen account of the college living for 1585-86, outline how he attempted to restore the dilapidated rents and to balance the finances for the period of closure.¹⁰⁸ They also show the real detriment and impact that the college experienced. James gave the following account in his *Autobiography* of the major issues facing him on his return to St Andrews:

I was occupied in Edinbruche and uther places about the College effeares; in getting the leiving and ordour thairof restorit and restablished, quhilk the Bischope haid altered and turned from Theologie to Philosophie, *ab equis ad asinos*, and be contentious pley betwix Mr Jhone Robertstone, and of the Maisters wha remeaned behind us, and Mr David Achmoutie, claiming again, efter my departing, the tyle and intromission of Oeconomer thairof, was pitifulie rent and confoundit.¹⁰⁹

While the masters had been in exile, the ministers serving at the majority of the kirks annexed to the college had illegally obtained letters freeing them from the obligation to pay rent. James spent the first part of December at the Parliament in Linlithgow, obtaining an act that the rents of the benefices be restored to the masters and waiting for letters of restitution and repossession. In February James again had to wait on the Privy Council at Stirling to provide a formal charter suspending the ministers' assignations, and obtaining letters notifying tenants that they should resume payment to the college masters.¹¹⁰ The college had fallen into a severe state of disrepair during 1585, and just under £40 was spent by James in replacing much of the roofing, a number of the college windows, and parts of the college dykes.¹¹¹

James did well to keep the college together through a highly fraught period, and in the new year things began to improve. The plague that had killed almost 400 in St Andrews in the winter of 1585 started to abate, allowing students to return.¹¹² In March 1586 Andrew finally returned to St Andrews after four months at Glasgow, getting acquainted with the new principal, Patrick Sharp. Sharp had replaced Melville's old friend Thomas Smeaton on 10 January 1586, after the post had lain vacant for four years.

¹⁰⁸ Balcarres Papers, VII, ff. 238-240v. The same account also shows that James Melville had returned home by 5 December, much earlier than previous estimates of 27 December. Donaldson, 'Presbyterian exiles', 77.

¹⁰⁹ *JMAD*, 245.

¹¹⁰ Balcarres Papers, VII, ff. 236r, 238v; *APS*, III, 295, no. 24.

¹¹¹ Balcarres Papers, VII, ff. 236v-237r.

¹¹² Moysie, *Memoirs*; *JMAD*, 245.

The return of Melville into territory that Adamson now had control over must have been difficult, and two documents written by Adamson and Melville, likely dating from this period, reflect this.¹¹³ The work by Adamson, entitled *Some Erroneous Assertions...by Andrew Melville, professing a new and unheard-of Theology, in his lectures concerning Episcopacy* collects together some alleged remarks made by Melville in his public sermons over the nature of a bishop outlined in 1 Timothy, while Melville's *Archiepiscopal Blossoms* is a series of short criticisms levelled at Adamson. The works show the two men diametrically opposed over church governance, with Adamson defending the legitimacy of Episcopacy using the Bible and church fathers including Gregory Nazianus, fifth century Bishop of Constantinople. After attacking Melville's view of polity, Adamson also accused Melville of a number of heresies. Melville had allegedly called Augustine and Epiphanius heretics for condemning Arius' belief in the parity of all ministers, and Adamson charged him with believing in prayers for the souls of the dead. Adamson also called him a 'Cabbalist' and 'Thalmudist', who believed that God acted as a scriptural 'doctor' and catechist to Adam when he was created.¹¹⁴ Melville's response consisted only of bullet points attacking Adamson's views on Episcopacy, but does accuse the archbishop of having no respect or interest in the biblical languages.¹¹⁵ A poem of Melville's from this period, the sarcastically-titled 'Victory-Song of Patrick Adamson' (*Epinikion Patricii Adamsoni*), also captures the palpable loathing he now held for his old colleague:

That man [Adamson] with little holiness, both little learned, and with little skill in speaking, ... a bishop, a blockhead, a court attendant...a sacrilegious man who, for sacrilegious bronze, consumes, drinks, eats up and devours what would support a hundred widows, two hundred colleagues, three hundred orphans.¹¹⁶

¹¹³ P. Adamson, *Assertiones Quaedam, ex aliis eiusmodi innumeris erroneae, per Andream Melvinam, novam et inauditam Theologiam profitentem, in suis praelectionibus de Episcopatu, pro certis et indubitatis in medium allatae, ac palam affirmatae, in Scholis Theologicis fani Andreae, Regni Scotiae metropoleos*, in Adamson, *Opera*, ed. T. Wilson (1620). This may have circulated in pamphlet form in the 1580s, but the first surviving copy is in the 1620 edition of Adamson's works by Wilson; A. Melville, *Floretum Archiepiscopale*, NLS Wodrow Folio 42, ff. 125r/v. This appears never to have been published, but may have circulated in manuscript form.

¹¹⁴ Adamson, *Assertiones Quaedam*. This may have circulated in pamphlet form in the 1580s, but the first surviving copy is in the 1620 edition of Adamson's works by Wilson.

¹¹⁵ Melville, *Floretum Archiepiscopale*, NLS Wodrow Folio 42, ff. 47r, no. 71.

¹¹⁶ *Musae*, 5: 'Sanctulus ille, doctulusque./ Et disertulus...Episcopus, Baro, Comes...Et de sacrilego profanus aere/ Pitissat, bibit, exedit, voratque./ Quod centum viduas alat, ducentos/ Symmystas alat, orphanos trecentos.'

Melville barely had time to settle in again at St Mary's before this feud caused his removal once more. On 26 April 1586 James Melville preached the opening sermon at the Fife Synod, at his uncle's recommendation, on Romans 12:3-8.¹¹⁷ He attacked Adamson, who was present, for overthrowing the liberty of the church and called for his removal. The synod placed Adamson on trial, and despite complaints that he would not accept Lord Lindsay and the Melvilles as judges they were allowed to stay on the panel. The synod excommunicated him and had the sentence read against him by Andrew Hunter, minister of Carnbee. Adamson retaliated with an excommunication of his own against the Melvilles and appealed to the king, the Privy Council and Parliament for arbitration of the issue.

Even Thomas M'Crie admits that the action of excommunication headed by the Melvilles was 'precipitant and irregular', and that the synod did not have jurisdiction to implement it.¹¹⁸ Moreover, the choice of the Melvilles not to recuse themselves obviously removed any objectivity from the proceedings. The enmity between Adamson and Melville had grown so serious that the former believed a rumour that on the Sunday after the excommunication, when he decided to preach publicly despite the synod's decision, a group of men led by Melville and the Laird of Lundie were coming to hang him. Adamson was so terrified on hearing this rumour that he fled to the belfry of the church and the town baillies had to coax him down.¹¹⁹ James Melville states he was ill in bed when this happened,¹²⁰ and it seems highly unlikely that his uncle would condone such an action, but Adamson's biographer records that the archbishop saw this as a real threat.¹²¹

On 10 May the General Assembly nullified the sentence of excommunication against Adamson, when he agreed to demit his authority over the synod and to accept censure from the assembly. While it seems odd that Adamson would agree to such strictures, the king had called the assembly and had also spoken privately with the ministers who chose the moderator, suggesting he reached a private agreement with them in order to resolve quickly the dispute.¹²²

Melville was perceived by the king to have been the leading force behind the excommunication and was not allowed to escape punishment. On 26 May, for the

¹¹⁷ *JMAD*, 245.

¹¹⁸ M'Crie, 126.

¹¹⁹ M'Crie, 127-8; Calderwood, III, 499-503.

¹²⁰ *JMAD*, 201.

¹²¹ *Vita Patricii Adamsoni*, in *Opera*, ed. Wilson, 6.

¹²² Calderwood, III, 881; M'Crie, 128.

‘dissention and diversitie’ caused by the schism between him and Adamson that had caused the cessation of theology tuition at St Andrews ‘thir two years bygane’, Melville was to be warded north of the Tay, on the pretext that he was to hunt out Jesuits and recusants in the north. In the meantime, his place at St Mary’s was to remain vacant, and James was to continue teaching ‘as he will answer to God’. In Melville’s place, Adamson was to teach theology in St Salvator’s each Tuesday and Thursday beginning Tuesday 1 June, in Latin, which the whole university were to attend.¹²³

Once again the supervision of the college fell to James Melville, who returned to ‘that lang interrupted and almost ruyned wark’. The summer passed with James teaching what he could alongside Adamson.¹²⁴ Andrew appears to have instructed James to ascend to the place of third master, or perhaps the students still at St Mary’s by this point had advanced beyond basic grammar, for James began to teach biblical history, with geography and sacred chronology, highlighting key textual points in Latin and Greek as they went along. James also lectured on 1 Timothy, and obviously had a copy of Adamson’s ‘Assertions’, as he taught ‘insisting on the contraverted questionnes, bringing in all the Bischopes reasones, and refuting them, and establissing the treuthe to my uttermaist’.

In June and July however, James was forced to forego teaching for the rest of the summer as he worked to return his uncle to the college. The chief falconer at Falkland, John Irving, held a tack from St Mary’s of the kirk of Conveth that was due for renewal.¹²⁵ Irving had notified James VI of this, and the king wrote to James ‘twyse or thryse’ to come to Falkland on 22 May with all haste to discuss the conditions of Andrew’s return.¹²⁶ However, each times James journeyed down, at great expense, he found only Irving waiting for him, eager to discuss his tack. James apparently promised to take the matter under consideration, and sent a delegation of the dean of arts and a professor from each college to the king, asking him to reinstate Andrew. Once Irving’s claim had been acknowledged the king became strangely attentive to the plight of the Melvilles, and James was sent to Andrew in Angus to seek assurance of his good behaviour and to get his pledge to leave the archbishop in

¹²³ M’Crie, 428-429. *JMAD*, 249. The act of council does not specify that Adamson preach in Latin nor that the university attend, but James records this.

¹²⁴ *JMAD*, 249.

¹²⁵ Balcarres Papers, VII, f. 236r.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

peace. James accompanied Andrew to a meeting with the king on 3 July, who was given leave to return to St Mary's on 15 August, though according to James' later account he did not do so until September.¹²⁷ Irving's tack was renewed, and in exchange the king promised to 'better the college twyse sa mikle',¹²⁸ which translated into a confirmatory grant of prebendaries and smallholdings before Parliament on 31 January 1587.¹²⁹

Andrew was thus allowed to resume his duties, and the college finances were moderately improved. However, the business with Irving had been hard on James and the college:

...the moyen of the Maister Haker prevealed, and maid all our exercises to veak except now and then for a monethe, and cost me neir a couple of hounder mylles ryding...¹³⁰

The process of travelling back and forth between Falkland and Angus cost James £5 18s. 18d., a fraction of the costs the college incurred in these years of disorder. Following the dispute with the ministers and tenants in the preceding year, the rents of 1586 were not collected in. By January 1587 the college was in extensive financial difficulty, and James was delegated by the other masters to intromitt them as best he could. James spent ten days that month in Tynningham negotiating the rents with the tenants, agreeing with them that they would deliver them to Edinburgh on 20 January. When they failed to do so, James had to visit Edinburgh again on 28 January to collect them. At the same time he witnessed the annexation of the prebendaries from James VI to the college and had the necessary legal documentation drawn up, and also answered a summons for the ongoing legal contest being waged by the family of John Hamilton for the back rent due to the late principal on his expulsion. James returned home on 7 February, but in April was on the move again, this time heading to Conveth and Tannadyce to receive rents for the Candlemas term. On 14 and 20 August James went with Richard Ainslie, one of the college bursars, to get money from all the parishes in Angus and the Mearns for the Lammas term, but despite travelling the rents were still not completely in by 20 October.¹³¹

¹²⁷ *Evidence*, 193.

¹²⁸ Balcarres Papers, *ibid.* *JMAD*, 250-251.

¹²⁹ *APS*, III, 488.

¹³⁰ *JMAD*, 251.

¹³¹ William Morris, another bursar, had also been over to collect rent from one of the towns but ended up in debt when his horse fell ill and he was forced to spend eight days there at a cost of 40s.

The cost of all this was extensive. The compt of the rents for 1585 show that the college received 14 chalders and 8 bolls in victual which were quickly consumed among the staff and six bursars, and £865 16s. in money. The legal actions between December 1585 and July 1586 had cost £51, and those of the next year a total of £107 3s. 4d. The repairs of the college and the costs of maintaining basic staff in 1585 had cost £67 2s. 8d., with staff costs of £27 2s. 8d. coming out of James Melville's own pocket until the rents for 1586 could be fully taken up, while repairs in 1586 had cost £46 3s. 2d. £149 4s. 8d. remained unpaid from the ministers in the parishes annexed to the college, and other legal actions including the pursuit of David Auchmoutie for his withholding of the 'great yard' of the college in 1585 came to £108 13s. 10d. The fees paid out to the masters, who had been so long without stipend, totalled £410 5s. 11d. The total cost of all this and a small additional debt from a previous compt was £866 9s 8d., and if this compt provides a record for all the college income for the period between 1584 and 1587 then this would mean the college was in debt by 13s. 8d.¹³² All in all, the college had weathered the political dissension of the Melvillian exile and return—but only just, and only thanks to James Melville.

Andrew returned to teaching and, for a brief moment during 1587, student life appears to have had some semblance of normality. The college successfully completed its compt under the new *oeconomus* John Caldcleuch, who appears to have been promoted from his position as bursar during Melville's exile. The rent and victual Caldcleuch took in supported the masters and five bursars, and although the college ended up overspent for the year by £46 16s. 4d., the additional money had been spent buying new linen, napkins and dishes for the college.¹³³ Adamson was out of favour once more in St Andrews by the beginning of the year, having been charged with calling the attendees of his sermons 'goats' hiding in the flock of true Christians. Despite claiming that Melville had some collusion in this name-calling and that he had heard an unorthodox sermon preached by his enemy on Christmas Day regarding the birth of Christ, Adamson still found himself isolated and out of favour.¹³⁴

The highpoint of the year was the entertaining of the king (at a cost of £10 to the college)¹³⁵ when he arrived with the French poet Guillaume Du Bartas at the end

¹³² Balcarres Papers, VII, ff. 236r-239v.

¹³³ Balcarres Papers, VII, ff. 241 r/v.

¹³⁴ *StAPR*, 12-13. Adamson described himself as 'disagreeing and dissassenting fra the neoteriks that hes writting of the birthe of Christ quhome Mr Andrew Melvine followis.'

¹³⁵ Balcarres Papers, VII, ff. 241 r/v.

of June. The king and Du Bartas listened to a series of lectures by Melville, and a declamation between him and Adamson regarding Episcopacy and the nature of royal authority. Melville circumvented the king's injunction that no disrespect be given to the archbishop by refuting arguments on Episcopacy solely from Catholic authors. Though this was daring, Du Bartas and the king both admitted that Melville had a considerable store of knowledge, and delivered his lecture with 'far more spirit and courage' than Adamson.¹³⁶

In October 1586 James was appointed to the ministry of Kilrenny and Anstruther, leaving the college he had worked hard to maintain. James finally left for the parish with his family at Whitsunday 1587,¹³⁷ and was followed by James Robertson, leaving Andrew, John Robertson and John Caldcleuch to teach. Despite the fact the college had reached a form of equilibrium by 1587, the 1588 visitation shows starkly how little had been achieved by the end of the first decade of the 'New Foundation.' The report of the visitation commission for 16 April acknowledges that a full rental for the college was not available owing to the issues with David Auchmoutie, but also states that on the departure of the Melvilles in 1584 Learmonth of Dairsie had taken the charter box of evidence relating to the college and had later restored it to John Robertson, without a detailed inventory. On the tumult of the college since the entry of the Melvilles in 1580 the commissioners simply stated 'the troublis and pest stayed the haill wark quhill May 1586.'¹³⁸

Teaching was not meeting the standards required by the 'New Foundation', primarily because there were only three masters instead of the five who were supposed to be allocated to the college. John Caldcleuch had taken up the teaching of Hebrew, and John Robertson continued his teaching for an hour on Mondays, Tuesdays and Thursdays in the New Testament. Melville taught a lesson from the Psalms in Hebrew each day from five until six AM, and the common-places from ten to eleven AM on Monday, Wednesday and Friday. The masters took turns on alternate Sundays to offer lectures in English from Hebrews or 'sum uther pairte' of scripture. There was an addition to the staff however, for Patrick Melville, Andrew's other nephew, had joined the college from his post at Glasgow at some point in 1587. However, he was yet to give 'specimen doctrine' so only taught for an hour at five

¹³⁶ M'Crie, 132-134.

¹³⁷ *JMAD*, 257.

¹³⁸ *Evidence*, 193.

AM every day from Ecclesiastes. Moreover, eight bursars were in the college as the tenor of the 'New Foundation' dictated, and each Saturday they took turns to preach in English, and public declamations were held between ten and twelve AM. Those living *collegialiter* also expounded a verse of scripture with ensuing discussion at dinner each day, showing that despite the paucity of teaching students were getting a chance to preach and explore biblical textual issues that would prepare them for the ministry.¹³⁹

A compt was to be given to the commission in early May to see if the rents would allow for the full compliment of masters required by the foundation, but when the commissioners returned they were disappointed. No compt was presented on account of the dispute between Auchmoutie and the masters, because the discharges given to Auchmoutie while Andrew was in exile were held to be invalid and so the compt was deemed incorrect. Worse still, no register of the college evidence or of the college library had been prepared. The excuse given, used for the whole visitation, was because of 'Mr Androis truble, and that thay skantlie understuid the contentis of thair awne evidentis.' They were ordered to prepare inventories and present them to the Clerk Register by the end of the month. With that the visitation commissioners left the college, in the same state of flux it had been in for the better part of a decade.¹⁴⁰ The 1588 visitation showed that the college was still feeling the impact of Melville's exile even two years later, with continuing irregularities in finance and administration. That the college had kept going at all was down to the tenacity and hard work of the inexperienced James Melville, and it is clear that for a completely different set of reasons to those at St Salvator's the 'New Foundation' had failed to take root at St Mary's.

St Leonard's—the enigmatic case study of success?

Fragmentary evidence surviving for St Leonard's suggests that under the rector James Wilkie the college was moderately successful prior to 1588 in balancing college administration with reform. The masters there had adopted the doctrine outlined in the 'New Foundation', but not its programme of regenting. Extensive Greek and Latin

¹³⁹ *Evidence*, 193-194.

¹⁴⁰ *Evidence*, 195.

tuition was offered, and the college finances and lands seem to have been in relatively good shape in the late 1570s and 1580s. This was impressive considering the depredations of lay commendators of the priory property that belonged to the college. On 9 October 1570 Robert Stewart, Earl of Lennox and March and Bishop-Elect of Caithness, was admitted to the commendatorship of the priory of St Andrews. The appointment was bitterly protested as an example of the kind of abuses seen in the pre-Reformation church by William Douglas of Lochleven in Parliament and by John Knox in the pulpit. The resistance to his appointment was still palpable when his brother, the Regent Lennox, was killed on 3 September 1571. Despite the loss of his patron Stewart kept the commendatorship, and started a process of giving away the priory resources 'for null and frevoll causes' to his supporters, until Winram and the priory chapter ordered an injunction that any grant given without the chapter's consent could be nullified.¹⁴¹ Following the death of Stewart in August 1586, the commendatorship of the priory was given to Ludovic Stuart, second duke of Lennox and Esmé Stewart's eldest son. Ludovic had arrived in Scotland shortly after his father's death on 26 May 1583, and had been confirmed in his father's estates and title on 31 July. The commendatorship was one in a long line of gifts to Ludovic as a favourite of the king.¹⁴² The pair gave away a number of the priory properties in the 1580s. Robert gifted the yards within the monastery to David Orme and his son on 1 November 1584, the senzie chamber (a small house within the priory grounds) to Robert Scheves on 20 June 1585, and the 'glass hous' within the priory to John Scott on 23 July 1586. Ludovic gave away the chapel of St Magdalene in the priory.¹⁴³

Counterbalancing this, however, were considerable grants of property made to the college by James VI and John Winram. On 26 March 1577 James VI gifted St Leonard's with the lands of Monydie Roger in the Perthshire parish of Auchterhome,¹⁴⁴ and on 28 November 1581 the priory of Portmoak was annexed to the college, providing two new bursaries.¹⁴⁵ Following the death of John Winram on 18 September 1582,¹⁴⁶ the full rents and belongings of the priory passed to the

¹⁴¹ Dunbar, *Reforming the Scottish Church*, 145-147.

¹⁴² R. Macpherson, 'Stuart, Ludovick, second duke of Lennox and duke of Richmond (1574-1624)', *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26724>, accessed 23 March 2007]. In November 1583 he had been made a gentleman of the bedchamber and great chamberlain. In July 1583 he received the lordships of Dalkeith, Methven, and Balquidder with the teinds of the archbishopric of Glasgow.

¹⁴³ See various entries in UYSL152.

¹⁴⁴ UYSL110/I1-6.

¹⁴⁵ UYSL110/H1.

¹⁴⁶ UYSL110/H3.

masters. They formally entered into possession of it in the following October, taking a detailed inventory of what was a very richly furnished house.¹⁴⁷

Despite the lack of evidence for the college, St Leonard's offers us the first real insight into the initial impact of the 'New Foundation' on teaching in the arts colleges. Notes from the lectures on dialectic given by John Malcolm, a regent in the college between 1584 and 1586, are the earliest surviving evidence for teaching in the 'Melvillian' period. If they are representative of the views of the arts masters then the idea that Ramism was wholly embraced at the university at the expense of Aristotle has to be reassessed. James Melville recorded that Malcolm was one of the regents in the college who reacted strongly against Melville for his critical reassessment of Aristotle in theology teaching:

[The regents,] wha heiring, in Mr Androe's ordinar publict lessones of Theologie, thair Aristotle...mightelie confuted, handling the heids anent God, Providence, Creation, &c., maid a strange steir in the Universitie, and cryed, "Great Diana of the Ephesians", thair bread-winner, thair honour, thair estimation, all was gean, giff Aristotle sould be sa owirharled in the heiring of thair schollars; and sa dressit publict orationes against Mr Androe's doctrine. But Mr Andro insisted mightelie against tham in his ordinar lessones...with sic force of treuthe, evidence of reasone, and spirituall eloquence, that he dashit tham, and in end convicted tham sa in conscience, that the cheiff Coryphoes amangs tham becam grait students of Theologie, and speciall professed frinds of Mr Andro...¹⁴⁸

It is true that Malcolm later became a minister at Perth, and that he and Melville remained good friends,¹⁴⁹ but his lecture notes reveal a more nuanced picture than that painted by James Melville. Provocatively entitled 'Dialectic taught according to the wisdom of Aristotle, not the 'opinion' of Ramus' (*DIANETICA Ad Aristotelis Scientiam non ad Rami Opinionem Continuatam*),¹⁵⁰ what Malcolm offers in his lectures is a summary exposition of the central tenets of Aristotelian logic, but with reference to specifically Ramist terms and couched in a completely Ramist framework. It begins with the most general statement possible about philosophy and logic, that Philosophy is the love of wisdom (*amor sapientiae*) divided into 'analytic' (formal) logic and 'dialectic' (informal or rhetorical) branches, maintaining the

¹⁴⁷ UYSL110/H2.

¹⁴⁸ *JMAD*, 123-4.

¹⁴⁹ Melville provided a liminary verse for Malcolm's only known published work, his *Commentarium Acta Apostolorum* (Middleburg, 1615).

¹⁵⁰ St Andrews University, MSBC59.

traditional distinction between the two sciences that Ramus had removed. Yet Malcolm also notably splits his lectures into two halves, the first dealing with ‘invention’ or the finding of topics for argument, and the second dealing with ‘disposition’ or construction of argument, echoing the Ramist organisation of logic into ‘invention’ and ‘judgement.’¹⁵¹ He then proceeds via dichotomy and increasing specialisation to go through every component of logical argument.

However, here the boundary between Ramus and Aristotle becomes blurred. The section on ‘invention’ discusses genus and species and the four causes, but in discussing the ways that topics for an argument can be ‘invented’ Malcolm offers an all-inclusive outline showing how Aristotle’s ten categories can be used for this purpose, as well as a discussion of how it can be done using the Ramist topics of distribution, opposition, similitude, comparison, conjugation, notation, and human and divine testimony.¹⁵² Further to this, Malcolm’s text is replete with examples drawn from classical literature, a hallmark of the Ramist method. Malcolm’s list of authors makes for impressive and eclectic reading: he includes extensive quotations from Cicero’s orations, from Ausonius, Ovid, Martial, Plautus, Horace, Juvenal, and Persius, and even single quotes from Buchanan’s tenth psalm and from the Epistle to the Romans.

The second half of the work, on ‘disposition’, completely breaks with the tone and style of the first, offering a short but very traditional account of the four types of basic logical argument – syllogism, enthymeme, induction, and example – along with an account of the main parts of the syllogism.¹⁵³ The final section, a very detailed discussion outlining the three classes of ‘figura’ that can be applied to syllogisms, their medieval names (Barbara, Celarent, Darii, Ferio, and so on) and the rules for conversion between them, is slightly bewildering in terms of the classical and more general nature of the earlier part of the work.¹⁵⁴

The slightly schizophrenic nature of these notes is perhaps explained by the suggestion that Melville’s arrival in St Andrews prompted a vogueish fashion in the students for Ramism, which Malcolm felt he had to pander to in order to engage them. He seems to suggest this in his introduction to the work, where he notes that even

¹⁵¹ Malcolm, ff. 2r-2v.

¹⁵² Malcolm, ff. 3r-10r.

¹⁵³ Malcolm, ff. 10r-15r.

¹⁵⁴ Malcolm, ff. 15r-22r.

though he is teaching using the Ramist method, the focus on Aristotle's logic will be unpopular:

I seem to be about to teach something not at all pleasing perhaps to the heathens [following] Ramus, and to those who have been sworn to his sect (let envy be absent from the word)...I am going to reveal them as a new school of falsified 'philosophy' (this is what they call it), because they either have not understood [philosophy], or they have passed it by while it was in operation, or they have been unwilling to enter upon the right footpath while it was open to them...What [Ramism] is, and why it does not shrink from the light, and flee the censures of philosophers, this is my short reckoning. The first point is that it is entirely in agreement with the mind of Aristotle. The second is that I could smell that the university's quite absurd, pernicious opinion, which is dangerous to youth entering upon the philosophical course, had filled up the minds of many. And naturally I am unwilling to say that the dialectical opinion of Ramus' narrow system should be given priority, but that it should be reconciled with Aristotle's, [which is] broad, useful and necessary. Thus I predicted it would happen that the brilliant opinion of the noble philosophy of the Peripatetic (pardon my saying so) was beginning to stink, and was not being retained in its own place (because the conversations of depraved people have often been a hindrance to things well arranged, and to good men) and the *frivolous wisdom* of Ramus, praised beyond measure by people ignorant of Aristotelian precision in argument, would obliterate it. For they say that the very delightful loftiness of philosophical disputations should be neglected, and abstruse investigations, and everything should be judged by reference to plebeian and common praxis.¹⁵⁵

Malcolm's comments say something very important about how the new ideas associated with the 'Melvillian' reform plan were received in St Andrews. Rather than suggesting that he and his cohorts were blindly bound to a conservative or reductive mode of teaching, Malcolm is clearly familiar with the work of Ramus but simply sees no intellectual merit in it, and is disapproving of the interest that students and other masters appear to take in it. In many ways, he shares the concerns of the St

¹⁵⁵ Malcolm, 1r-1v: 'tametsi Rami gentilibus forte, eiusque sectae coniuratis (absit verbo invidia) rem non ad modum gratam facturus videar...qui novam interpolatae philosophiae scholam (sic sunt locuturi) aperiam, quam illi vel non agnoverunt, vel agintam [read: agentem?] praeterierunt, vel patentem recto tramite inire noluerunt...Quid vero sit, cur lucem non reformidet, neque philosophorum censuram defugiat, haec nostra compendiarium ratio. Primum est, quia ad Aristotelis mentem est continuata: Deinde, quia subolfecerim perabsurdam hanc opinionem Reipublicae Literariae perniciosam, quia iuventuti stadium philosophicum ineunti periculosam, multorum animos opplevisse; Illam scilicet stricti iuris Rami dialecticam nolim dicere praeponendam, sed cum Aristotelis fusa, utili, et necessaria esse componendam: Hinc augurabar fore ut praeclara illa nobilis Perapatetici philosophiae, ne dicam obolesceret, sed non suo haberetur loco, pravorum enim hominum sermones rebus bene constitutis, virisque bonis saepe obfuerunt) et Rami κενσοφία ab ignavis Aristotelicae subtilitatis supra modum laudata subolesceret: Eam dicunt illi negligendam esse ream multo iucundissimam philosophicarum disputationum sublimitatem, et abstrusas disquisitiones, omniaque ad plebeiam, et proletariam praxin referenda.'

Salvator's provost James Martine—namely, that the focus in Ramism on practical application and method ('praxis') at the expense of more in-depth philosophical training left students intellectually impoverished and lacking the ability to hold nuanced debate. These lectures clearly show that the adoption of new intellectual modes at St Andrews was far from easy or free from critical scrutiny.

If Malcolm's notes show that Ramism was making headway among students in the early 1580s, the visitation account of the college for 1588 paints a slightly different picture, although it was on the whole far more positive than that of the other colleges.¹⁵⁶ The college had 'ressavit the Reformatioun of 1579' in terms of teaching, but had not followed the financial terms laid down for dividing stipends and assigning rent to the staff. Wilkie had taken on board the proposals to create four specialised regents for teaching, but no mention is made of the texts of Ramus. Malcolm taught Greek to the first years, and William March taught the basics of Logic and Rhetoric using Cicero, Porphyry, Demosthenes and Aristotle's *Categories*. Alexander Lindsay taught the third class using the *Organon* and *Ethics* of Aristotle, and Andrew Duncan provided tuition in physics and mathematics using *De Sphaera* and the *Physics*.

The college had also enlarged slightly beyond the scope outlined in 1579, adding Daniel Wilkie to the staff as a regent offering remedial Latin grammar for new entrants, and the college supported 15 bursars on the rents of the college. It was also well run in terms of discipline and finance. The college was 'eque with thair rent' despite having a total of eighteen live-in students, and a compt was held daily, monthly, quarterly and yearly, and meticulously written up. The only real issue that the college had with students was that the 'banqueting, reatousnes of clething and libertie' granted at BA examinations should be removed (providing the masters got their graduation fee of 'tria nobilia'). They also could not agree a set fee for boarders as required by the act of Parliament, for they charged £22 per quarter whereas St Salvator's only charged £18.

It is thus clear, on limited evidence, that the college was well organised and had quietly continued about its business during the 1580s while its counterparts were troubled by internal and external strife. However, the evidence also suggests that the initial fad for Ramism that had likely arrived with Melville had quietly died down and

¹⁵⁶ *Evidence*, 195.

a more traditional curriculum had prevailed, at least in St Leonard's. Malcolm's lecture notes show clearly that the staff were intelligent and capable of critical judgement when it came to modern philosophical teaching, and as specialists in arts had more reservations about the merits of the Ramist method than the theologian Melville.

Conclusion

The years 1579-1588 were ones of disruption and dislocation for the University of St Andrews. The vagueness of the direction given by the royal council for the implementation of the 'New Foundation' left huge loopholes that the masters of St Salvator's could easily exploit. The fact that the conservative and nepotistic Martine and his colleagues were entrenched in their own way of doing things compounded this problem and left the college divided and unreformed. Conversely, Melville's religious radicalism and clashes with the government had a material impact on his ability to carry out his duties as principal of St Mary's. His continued absence from the college also meant that the programme of 'Melvillian' reform was found wanting where it was arguably needed most. It seems ironic that the greatest success in reform at St Andrews in the 1580s was at St Leonard's. Moderate reform to an already stable foundation seems to have yielded considerable results, although we know too little about the process there to draw this conclusion with certainty. While Melville would go on to consolidate his hold over the university in the 1590s, it is clear that by the end of the 1580s the programme of reform at St Andrews still had far to go.

Chapter 4: The rise and fall of the ‘Melvillian’ party, 1588-1597

The visitation of 1588 revealed the limited impact of educational reform at St Andrews, but following this there was a marked rise in Melville’s fortunes, both at court and in St Andrews. This included his assumption in 1590 of the role of rector of the university. However, the second half of the 1590s saw Melville fall from grace as rapidly as he had ascended. The royal commission that visited the university in the summer of 1597 not only deprived Melville of the rectorate, but also severely curtailed his freedom of movement and involvement in ecclesiastical politics, and attempted to bring the administration of the university entirely under royal control. Their actions were part of a wider attempt by the royal government to arrest the momentum of the Presbyterian party in Kirk affairs, which James VI believed had sponsored a riot in Edinburgh against him on 17 December 1596. The lead commissioner and chancellor of the university, John Lindsay of Menmuir, also had a personal grudge against the St Andrews Presbytery for his humiliation in the pulpit by one of their ministers late in the preceding year. However, the proceedings of the royal commission were not entirely arbitrary or politically motivated. On the contrary, unpublished draft proposals for the overhaul of the university’s administration show that it clearly aimed to make St Andrews a public institution, free from the ancient privileges awarded to it by the Catholic church and answerable to government for its conduct. Moreover, accusations denouncing Melville’s performance as rector, though perhaps influenced by political factors, appear to have had some real foundation if the gaps in university record-keeping and administration during his tenure are anything to go by.

Politics and teaching at St Andrews, 1588-1596

In the aftermath of the events off the English coast in the summer of 1588, and amidst a growing fear of encroaching Catholic and Jesuit influence in Scottish affairs, the king and Kirk enjoyed a period of uneasy co-operation. James VI accepted a growing level of support and advice from the Kirk in state matters, and also showed some willingness to deal with the recusant Earls Huntly, Erroll and Angus, who were seen as the most pressing Catholic threat to the country. When Huntly was found to be

carrying out secret negotiations with King Philip of Spain in 1589 he was warded in Edinburgh castle and, following a rumour on his release that he and the Earl of Errol were planning to take an army into southern Scotland, he surrendered without a fight to a military force led by James VI at the Brig of Dee. In the following year when James sailed to Denmark to meet his bride Princess Anne, he left the country in the hands of a coalition of ministers and Privy Council members, with a prominent position in government given to the Presbyterian minister Robert Bruce. On his return he ratified a range of anti-Catholic legislation and supportive measures for the Kirk that gained him a standing ovation at the General Assembly in August 1591, and in 1592 passed the 'Golden Act' that legally recognised the Presbyterian system of church government.

A further conspiracy led by the Catholic earls, known as the 'Affair of the Spanish Blanks', came to light early in 1593. Despite some reluctance to persecute the earls, James bowed to pressure from both Parliament and Kirk and took a military force against them to the north-east in autumn 1594.¹ It is a telling indicator of how close the Presbyterian party and the king had become that Melville and a number of other ministers accompanied him, and it was due to Melville's rather merciless stance against the earls in council meetings that the king slighted Huntly and Errol's castles at Strathbogie and Slains.² By the beginning of the following year the earls had left the country, along with the king's chief political rival Francis Stewart fifth Earl of Bothwell. Relations between the government and the Kirk grew to such an extent that the presbyteries worked with local government to organise local militias who were to assemble in the event of a Catholic invasion. By the beginning of 1596 there was even discussion of a new system of ecclesiastical funding that would give the Kirk political representation. The 'constant platt', devised by the king's secretary John Lindsay of Menmuir, advocated the creation of 51 parliamentary representatives drawn from the presbyteries. These representatives would replace the surviving bishops, abbots and other ecclesiastical commendators as they died out, and would result in far tighter control by the Kirk over existing church lands.³

¹ MacDonald, *Jacobean Kirk*, 39-59; Donaldson, *James V-James VII*, 186-196; R. Grant, 'The Brig o' Dee affair, the sixth Earl of Huntly and the politics of the Counter-Reformation', in *The Reign of James VI*, 93-109.

² *JMAD*, 318-319; Calderwood, V, 357.

³ MacDonald, *Jacobean Kirk*, 62-63.

The growing relationship between king and Kirk in the early 1590s mirrors in many ways the complex one between the king and Melville. It appears that following the heated events of the preceding decade a measure of rapprochement grew between the two men. Anecdotal evidence of their meetings, captured by James Melville and David Calderwood, shows that Melville enjoyed a great deal of liberty with James VI, taking an active role in several council meetings and exhorting him to deal with the threat posed by Catholic recusancy.⁴ Melville's growing friendship with the king is reflected by the fact that he wrote two lengthy poems for court events in this period. The 'Small Garland' (*Stephaniskion*) was recited before Queen Anne at her coronation in May 1590, and the 'Birth of the Scoto-Brittanic Prince' (*Principis Scoti-Britannorum Natalia*) was written to celebrate the birth of Prince Henry in 1594. Both poems were full of praise for the Stewart line and extolled the importance of a king to a well-ordered society, and were so well liked by James VI that he ordered their immediate publication.⁵

As Melville grew in favour at court, he consolidated his place in St Andrews, particularly in St Mary's. Melville was appointed rector of the university in March 1590 following the death of Robert Wilkie, and he would hold this post unchallenged for seven years.⁶ Melville also continued to hold his post as principal of St Mary's. The combined authority of both roles gave him a free hand in dictating policy and staffing at the college, which he used to secure the appointment of John Johnston in 1593.⁷ Johnston was initially opposed as second master by John Caldcleuch,⁸ who continued to be difficult and argumentative towards Melville. Caldcleuch was incensed at the intrusion of Johnston, and one of the few papers surviving for St Mary's in this period records his list of grievances at this given in before the Privy Council. However, Caldcleuch was not only unsuccessful in his petition, but was removed from his post for disrupting the college and attempting to appeal unlawfully to the civil government above the decision of Melville and his assessors.⁹

It is easy to see why Melville would be keen to employ Johnston, as they shared much in common. Johnston was originally educated at King's College,

⁴ Calderwood, V, 288-289, 330-331; *JMAD*, 313, 318-320.

⁵ Williamson/McGinnis, 31-32, 276-287.

⁶ *Acta Rectorum*, 109; M'Crie, 153-154.

⁷ Johnston first appears on the presbytery on 19 April 1593. *StAPR*, 125.

⁸ Caldcleuch was still a member of the college staff as late as 19 October 1592, as he was still part of the presbytery in his capacity as a master of St Mary's. *StAPR*, 110.

⁹ *JMAD*, 314; Balcarres Papers, VII, ff. 263r-265v.

Aberdeen, and like Melville had studied in several institutions on the Continent. Unlike Melville, his studies led him not to France but to reformed centres in Switzerland and the Palatinate including Rostock, Helmstedt, and Heidelberg. Johnston and his fellow Aberdeen alumnus, Robert Howie, also shared Melville's distinction of being the first to print a work by George Buchanan. Melville had shepherded Buchanan's *History* through the press in the early 1580s, while Johnston and Howie prepared the first two editions of his *De Sphaera* in 1586 and 1587 at Herborn from manuscripts in their possession.¹⁰

Johnston also shared Melville's interest in Ramism, if his early published works are any indicator. While Johnston published a very traditional set of *theses physiologicae* on Aristotle's *Physics* during his regency at Heidelberg in the later 1580s, he also wrote a pamphlet in response to criticisms of Ramus by his former colleague at Helmstedt, Owen Günther. In 1589, in consultation with Johannes Piscator, he also produced an introductory manual for the study of theology. This manual apparently used the Ramist 'method' in its organisation and featured various 'tabulae' that logically expounded the main heads of doctrine.¹¹ Unfortunately, neither of these latter two works has survived and their contents are only known from scattered references in Johnston's correspondence. However, they do suggest that Johnston, like his elder colleague Melville, engaged with the works of Ramus during his Continental education.

In early 1592 the Zurich linguist and scholar Casper Waser visited St Andrews, which caused a considerable stir among both the town and gown community. Born in 1565, Waser had matriculated at Heidelberg on 1 May 1585 and at Basel in November 1586, and it was at the former that he likely made the acquaintance of Johnston. The pair met again in London between December 1591 and March 1592, where Johnston had been forced to stop on his journey home due to serious illness. Waser was visiting Britain as tutor to the young German noble J. P. Hainzel von Degerstein, and in the first half of 1592 the two travelled to Scotland, eventually getting as far north as Aberdeen. Waser and his young charge paid a visit to St Andrews between 12 and 17 May, and made the acquaintance of Melville and the ministers and councilmen of the city, who continued to correspond with Waser

¹⁰ Cameron, *Letters*, pp. xvii, xx, xxv-xxvi.

¹¹ Cameron, *Letters*, pp. xxix-xxxii, 35-36, 52.

after his return home.¹² A batch of letters sent to him in February 1594 give a number of insights into academic life at St Andrews, particularly at St Mary's, and the list of correspondents is itself revealing.¹³ A letter to Waser from David Monypenny, the dean of arts and second master of St Salvator's, shows he was spending considerable time with his colleagues at St Mary's. He had clearly become a good friend to Melville, whom he describes as his *magnificus rector*.¹⁴ The alliance of Monypenny with the 'Melvillian' faction in the university suggests that either he supported Presbyterianism, or that the underlying tensions between him and James Martine were still unresolved and Monypenny saw this alliance as another opportunity to undermine him. Another of the correspondents was John Kennedy, the young fifth Earl of Cassilis. Cassilis, who was born in 1574/5,¹⁵ had succeeded to the title at an early age and was served heir to his father in 1588. He matriculated in St Salvator's at some point in the late 1580s, and was enrolled as a divinity student by the time of Waser's visit in early 1592, for he is described in another letter to Waser as having lived in St Mary's for 'another year' (*apud nos in Collegio Theologico alterum annum vivit*). Cassilis, as hereditary presenter to many of the bursaries and prebendaries of St Salvator's, would have been another valuable ally for Melville. His letter to Waser shows a young man who was extremely devout and deeply interested in theology.

One of the only fragments alluding to the actual content of teaching in this period is found in a letter by Johnston to Waser, though it may be a throwaway comment. There is nothing concrete to show that Hebrew, Chaldaic and Syriac were being taught to the students in the early 1590s, but Johnston notes in a terse comment that Waser's *Institutio Linguae Syrae ex Optimis Scriptionibus*, published at Leyden in 1594, had been 'seen and tried out' at the college (*Grammatica tua Syra nobis visa est et probata*).¹⁶ Whether this means it was actually being used as part of a teaching programme in near Eastern languages at the college, or was merely browsed through by staff, is unknown. However, it is worth noting that advanced biblical languages

¹² Cameron, *Letters*, pp. xxxv, lvii, lxviii, 92, 304-305.

¹³ Cameron, *Letters*, 90-93 (Johnston to Waser, 19 February 1594), 360 (Cassilis to Waser, 12 February), 361-362 (Monypenny to Waser, 13 February).

¹⁴ However, this was also a standard title used in many German academies and universities. I am grateful to Professor Howard Hotson for this observation.

¹⁵ A. R. MacDonald, 'Kennedy, John, fifth Earl of Cassillis (1574/5-1615)' *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15377>, accessed 14 March 2008]. Cameron cites Cassilis as being born in 1567: *Letters*, 93.

¹⁶ Cameron, *Letters*, 90, 93.

were clearly under discussion at St Mary's, even if there is no way to prove they were fully taught.

Perhaps heeding the warnings of the visitation commission to maintain better records, divinity students began to be formally recorded after 1588 in a register separate from the matriculation roll found in the *Acta Rectorum*.¹⁷ Although those recorded do not represent the entire divinity student body,¹⁸ it is clear that new entrants to the college between 1588 and 1596¹⁹ must have been few in number, fluctuating between a low of three entrants per year (in 1594) and a high of 13 (in 1593). A tentative analysis based on recurring names in the register suggests that while approximately 40 percent of this group (29 students) stayed for just one year, around 50 percent stayed for two, three or four years (16, 9 and 13 students respectively), with just under ten percent staying on for five or six years (four and three students). While this suggests that many students were merely gaining some practical theological 'polish' following their MAs, a significant percentage were staying on for the equivalent of an extended period of theological study.

The undergraduate origins of these students, where known, also reveal some interesting trends. Out of 74 known entrants to St Mary's in the same period, just over 50 percent (38 students)²⁰ came from outside St Andrews or cannot be traced elsewhere in the university records. 31 percent (23 entrants) came from St Leonard's, while just under 18 percent (13 entrants) came from St Salvator's. The far lower entrant rate from St Salvator's again suggests an underlying hostility towards St Mary's, and to Melville, from Martine and the other conservative masters at the college.

Melville and the other masters of theology were also heavily involved in the St Andrews Presbytery, the 'appellate court' and jurisdictional superior to the local kirk session.²¹ The presbytery was a particular concern of St Mary's and the local ministers, as statutes in 1586 and 1590 confirmed that regents in philosophy could not sit on it, but only those holding the ecclesiastical offices of 'pastor' or 'doctor'.²²

¹⁷ UYUY152/2. Although known as 'Howie's Book' because it features many entries by Howie from his period as principal, the title is misleading, as the register was started long before his arrival at the university.

¹⁸ See comments on the student register in the 1597 visitation, discussed below.

¹⁹ See appendix.

²⁰ 30 are unknown; eight are recorded as matriculating into the University from St Mary's. Smart, *Register*.

²¹ *StAPR*, pp. iv-vi.

²² *StAPR*, pp. ix-x, 45.

Melville was moderator of the presbytery between October 1593 and April 1594 and on at least one other occasion, and there are numerous references to his acting as a commissioner and visitor for presbytery business.²³ By far the most important function of the presbytery in relation to the university was in trying the doctrine and preaching of divinity students and ministers in the weekly ‘exercise.’ This could take the form of either a public disputation or lecture before the town congregation or an assembly of students, or a private session before the presbytery where a text would be subjected to systematic exposition and discussion. In the case of the latter one minister or student was proposed as ‘maker’ or chief speaker on the text, while a second would ‘add’ further points on its broader themes without the detailed exegesis. The person chosen to ‘add’ became the ‘maker’ in the following week.²⁴ This programme can be seen in action in the example of the divinity student Nathaniel Harlaw. On 15 April 1590, Harlaw was given eight days to prepare a sermon on John 3 which he would give at 2PM ‘in the New Colledge scholis.’ Two weeks later he was given the same length of time to prepare for a further public trial of ‘the heads of catechisme’. Having passed this, Harlaw was then ordered on 21 May ‘to studie to Calvinis cathechisme and to give ane compt of the questionis and answeris thair of being, and for him places of scripture and ressonis to conform the said answeris’, to be tried on 1 August. Harlaw was clearly successful, for he was appointed to the ministry at Ormiston in the following year. Similarly, Robert Yule was recommended to the parishioners at Largo after being found to be ‘indewit with guid qualetis’ in February 1592, and the presbytery minutes record a number of other students who underwent the same process.²⁵ Divinity students who were sufficiently skilled were also occasionally allowed to participate in the practical work of the church. On 7 March 1594 licence was given to any of the theology students who had been on the ‘exercise’ to help Andrew Moncrieff dispense the sacrament to his parish at communion.²⁶

²³ *StAPR*, pp. xxiv-xxv, 41 (26 March 1590, visitation to Abdie to examine Nans Murit for witchcraft), 47 (30 April, visitation to Auchtermoonzie), 52 (18 June, trial of religious faith of Master of Angus), 57 (3 September, mediation of feud between Laird of Craighall and the ‘guidman of Callinch’), 68 (15 October, visit to Laird of Forret).

²⁴ *StAPR*, pp. xii-xiv; Kirk, “‘Melvillian’ movement”, 374-378.

²⁵ *StAPR*, 43, 47, 48, 50 (John Wemyss and Nathaniel Harlaw), 56 (trial and censure of ministers), 68-69 (Robert Buchanan), 93, 95, 98 (Robert Yule), 113-114, 118 (John Dykes, Gilbert Ramsay), 131-132 (Alexander Forsyth), 133 (John Kinnear).

²⁶ *StAPR*, 156.

Outwith St Mary's, Melville's influence in church and town affairs also grew considerably. By 1591 his erstwhile enemy Patrick Adamson had fallen completely from royal favour, owing to the massive debts he had incurred in England, and his continued changeability towards church politics.²⁷ Disgraced and penniless, Adamson turned to Melville, and despite the great chasm that had developed between them, Melville offered him financial aid. This support did not come without cost, however, for Adamson was forced to recant his support for Episcopacy in a written 'Refutation' (*Palinodia*), which was circulated widely in both Scots and Latin to other Presbyterian communities across Europe. Adamson died on 10 February 1592, and by then Melville had taken considerable steps to ensure that a large body of Presbyterian supporters were in place in the local church. It was through his 'cairfull procurement' at the General Assembly and the St Andrews Kirk Session that the radical minister David Black, one of Melville's fellow exiles from the mid-1580s, was appointed minister of St Andrews in 1590. In 1593, owing to an increasingly heavy workload, Robert Wallace was nominated to join Black as a further charge to the city, and the parish was divided between the two men. Both men were powerful public speakers as well as strict disciplinarians, and between them enforced a range of fines and humiliating punishments for immoral behaviour and failure to keep the Sabbath.²⁸

Accompanying this growth in discipline was a noticeable increase in the involvement of Melville and his colleagues in the kirk session. Before 1590, only James Wilkie, James Martine and John Robertson had represented the university as elders, but after Melville replaced John Robertson on the eldership in January 1591 this rapidly changed. In the next election in November 1593, the kirk session practically doubled in size, as did university representation on the eldership.²⁹ Melville and Robert Wilkie of St Leonard's were joined by John Johnston from St Mary's, with Homer Blair replacing a conspicuously absent Martine, along with the St Leonard's regent William March and the St Salvator's regent James Ross. In the following year the session was split into two separate bodies, one for the south parish under Robert Wallace and one for the north under David Black. The university representatives were joined at this stage by William Welwood and Homer Blair, the

²⁷ *StAPR*, 82.

²⁸ *JMAD*, 29; J. K. Cameron, 'Black, David (c.1546–1603)', *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/70046>, accessed 14 March 2008].

²⁹ From 16 elders and 11 deacons in 1591 to 39 and 20 respectively in 1593. *StAKSR*, 694-695, 760-761.

two masters most poorly treated by Martine in the 1580s. These two separate bodies of elders were also now to be organised into groups to regularly ‘oversie the maners and conversatioun of the pepill’, a process repeated in the elections in October of the following year.³⁰ This showed a paramount focus on discipline, inculcated by Melville and his colleagues.

On a number of occasions Melville’s involvement in town politics had a direct impact on St Mary’s. In the summer of 1591³¹ a riot broke out between the townspeople and St Mary’s that saw the gate of the college being torn off and a threat made to burn the entire building down. The spark for the riot was accidental enough. John Caldcleuch had been practising archery in the college garden with a number of theology students when he accidentally missed the target and shot the arrow down the passageway leading onto the street, where he wounded an elderly maltman in the neck. Upon hearing this a number of the townspeople allied with Learmonth of Dairsie, who already disliked Melville because of his haranguing them in the pulpit over their moral conduct and drinking, saw an opportunity to exact revenge. After smashing the gate they made straight for the principal’s chamber where he was firmly ensconced, and attempted to smash the door in with wooden beams while Melville hurled rebukes at them. It was only through the mediations of David Black, Robert Wilkie, and the other masters of the university that the disorder was calmed. While James VI wanted the prosecution of the townspeople involved upon hearing of the disorder, the event was dealt with quietly by taking bonds of assurance that such an action would not happen again.³² It is clear though from this episode that the attack was less to do with the conduct of the members of the college, as it was to do with Melville’s turbulent relationship with the leading men in the town.

A similar episode in 1593, this time to do with the involvement of Melville and the Presbyterian faction of the town in the provost elections, further confirms that Melville’s interference in town affairs was a major source of friction. At the annual election in Michaelmas 1593, the Presbyterian supporter Captain William Murray was narrowly elected to the post by the craft guilds and tradesmen of the city, ousting Learmonth from what had been in effect a hereditary office. Learmonth was so

³⁰ *StAKSR*, 788-792, 802-804.

³¹ James Melville ascribes this event to the summer of 1592, but a reference in the presbytery records to ‘the tumult quhilk wes aganis the New Colledge’ on 24 June 1591 shows it was in the preceding year. *StAPR*, 80.

³² *JMAD*, 307-309.

enraged by this assault on his power that he sanctioned a series of night attacks on some of the citizens, in one case abducting a man's daughter. He then brought together a band of armed men and took them to harass the town, at which point Melville, decked out in a corslet and armed with a 'whait speare' (a sign of his rectorial office) convened an assembly of masters of the university to oppose him. With the aid of John Lindsay, Sir George Douglas and a number of other local men, the group took to arms to defend the town. Although the election was disputed before the Convention of Estates in the following November, Murray was upheld as provost.³³ Melville was clearly a rector and university man who was far more active in the political affairs of the city than any of his predecessors, and carried considerable sway.

Elsewhere in the university, the masters at the other colleges appear to have accepted Melville's growing favour without complaint, and to have carried on with little disruption to their business. The record for entrants to St Salvator's for the period 1588-1596³⁴ is only partially complete, but the years 1589-91 and 1593, which appear relatively representative, show student numbers remained steady at about two thirds of those of St Leonard's, climbing as high as 22 entrants in 1589 before dipping to ten in the following year, and then levelling out to an average of around 15 students. Politics at the college continued to overlap with those in the town, and the college was rocked in the aftermath of the 1588 visitation by an escalation of the feud between the Martine and Welwood families. A central player in this escalation was none other than Patrick Adamson. At some point between 18 December 1588 and 9 March 1589, following an earlier confrontation, William Welwood was ambushed and stabbed by Henry Hamilton, one of the archbishop's retainers. Welwood was taken to his mother's house, but a posse led by Hamilton, Adamson's brother-in-law James Arthur and a baillie of the town attempted to gain entry. They were met by John Welwood, William's brother, and several of his Geddie and Smith kinsmen, and in their attempt to apprehend Hamilton James Arthur was stabbed to death.³⁵

James Melville states that Adamson had ordered the attack on Welwood as revenge against the Presbyterian faction in the town, and this may well be true. Hamilton and the Arthurs involved certainly had close affiliations of business and

³³ *JMAD*, 313-314; Cameron, *Letters*, 92, n.17.

³⁴ See appendix. This is ignoring 1588, which appears to have been a particularly poor year all around, and the years 1594-96, for which no specific college data is available.

³⁵ Cairns, 'Academic feud', 260-261.

service with Adamson, but why Adamson would choose to target Welwood and not the Melvilles casts doubt on this explanation. The proximity in time to the quarrel between Welwood and Martine, however, particularly given the fact that it was still unresolved at the time of the attack, suggests that it may have been Martine influencing the archbishop through his Arthur kinsmen to order the assault.³⁶

The arbitration process that followed the murder between 9 and 24 March was swift and exacting. James Smith, John Welwood and John Geddie, as ring-leaders in the quarrel, were to be banished from Scotland on pain of 5,000 merks each, and a number of their kinsmen banished from St Andrews. The sentence was supported by the king and a commission to oversee its execution was set up by act of Privy Council on 3 April, and carried out on or before 3 May 1589. While this sequence of events did not remove Welwood from his office in St Salvator's, removing three of his merchant kinsmen from their base of operations would have crippled his family's ability to raise income, and appears to have forced him to halt further public opposition to Martine.³⁷

The arbitration did temporarily settle the Welwood-Arthur feud, along with the conflicts in the college. Following these events Martine and his family quietly continued to consolidate their hold over finance and posts in St Salvator's. In February 1590, David Martine was promoted from a regenting post to the place of third master following the resignation of William Cranston.³⁸ Why Cranston chose to resign is unclear, but with two Martines as his colleagues it is clear why David Monypenny may have felt isolated in the college and turned to support from masters in the other colleges.

Between 22 January 1590 and 16 August 1591, there were a large flurry of legal actions between the college masters and George and James Sibbald regarding rights to the teinds of Cults (usually the patrimony of the provost of the college) which had been sold to their father by John Rutherford in 1574. George Sibbald apparently falsified his father's will to include a transfer of the right to the teinds, and in August 1590 he also forged a royal inhibition to compel the parishioners to pay him the crop for that year. The case appeared before the commissary court in June 1591, at which time James Martine went round the parishioners of Cults gaining written

³⁶ *JMAD*, 273-274; Cairns, 'Academic feud', 261.

³⁷ Cairns, 'Academic feud', 262-263.

³⁸ UYSS110/AE18. Martine, 'unus regentium', was elected on 25 Feb 1590.

statements to disprove that Sibbald had been granted an inhibition, and Sibbald was ordered to be arrested for forgery.³⁹ Sibbald was to be tried for this act in July, and in one way these actions can be seen as the masters simply attempting to protect their patrimony and regain the tack following the death of its holder. However, the masters, particularly David Martine, were not entirely blameless in this process. On 16 August 1591, he was reprimanded by the Privy Council and ordered to appear in November for attempting to escheat Sibbald's goods before he had been judged guilty in due legal process.⁴⁰ There is no record of Martine appearing before the Privy Council, but the right to the teinds was settled in the college's favour.

This consolidation of the college rents and patrimony was also supported by royal aid, again showing that James VI supported St Salvator's, and Martine. In winter 1590-1591 James VI ordered that Martine's stipend be augmented, this time with 8 bolls wheat, 16 bolls beer, 24 bolls meal, and 32 bolls oats instead of the £200 cash that had been offered previously in 1587.⁴¹ On 5 July 1592, an act of Parliament was passed confirming the annexation of all the old chaplainries and prebendaries to the college that had been part of the pre-Reformation college patrimony.⁴²

Events had taken a seemingly victorious turn for Martine and his family against the Welwoods in 1589/90. By 1591, however, Martine was engaged in a process of reconciliation with Welwood and the mathematician Homer Blair regarding their stipends, a problem unresolved from 1588. The softening in attitude towards these men is partially explained by the fact that Martine required the support of all the college masters in continuing legal actions regarding the parish of Forteviot, where various claimants were attempting to sue for the rents. On 2 June 1591, the masters elected William Scott as Vicar of Forteviot. In the year following Robert Rollock, by then well established as principal at Edinburgh, officially resigned his holding of the parsonage.⁴³ In November 1591 it was agreed that Homer Blair and William Welwood be paid their stipend of £100 and a chalder of oats each, and Welwood gave written acknowledgement that he had been paid.⁴⁴ On 19 February 1592, Homer Blair was reconfirmed in his holding of the Manderston theology bursary by James Martine, David Monypenny and David Martine as part of his fee,

³⁹ UYSS110/G10.5-10.22.

⁴⁰ UYSS110/G10.23-24.

⁴¹ UYSS110/C4.12.

⁴² UYSS110/C4.14, E4.22, E5.

⁴³ UYSS110/E3, E4.23. Rollock resigned on 29 July 1592.

⁴⁴ UYSS110/AH13-14.

along with various other small holdings and lands.⁴⁵ On 18 February 1592, the masters collectively called an action against James Murray of Tibbermuir, relating to the lands of Forteviot. Alexander Bonar had resigned a tack of the scheves to the Murrays on 6 November 1586, which the masters refused to recognise.⁴⁶ There was confusion over who had the rights to the income and whether the original contract made with Bonar still stood. On 8 August 1593, letters were given by David Russell to all in Forteviot to pay the teinds to James Martine, David Monypenny and David Martine. However, on 3 December, a ruling before the Privy Council found in favour of Bonar for the crop and teinds of 1593 onwards made under the initial agreement in 1574, despite Bonar selling his rights.⁴⁷

Another reason why Martine may have been interested in improving relations with Welwood was the rising favour of the Presbyterian faction in local and national politics, which obviously had an adverse impact on his family's favour in the town. The growing favour of the Presbyterians saw the return of the banished Welwood kinsmen by act of Parliament on 8 June 1594, providing they agreed to stand trial or make restitution for the murder of James Arthur. Between October 1595 and September 1596 a process of reconciliation led by a neutral commission of presbytery members and local men made considerable progress, as James Smith and John Welwood appeared before the kirk session on 3 September to declare mutual amity.⁴⁸ Although he could have sat on the presbytery proceedings as nominal minister of Cults, Martine stayed out of the reconciliation process, choosing instead to focus on improving the material affairs of the college. In 1596 he and the other masters agreed with the ministers in St Andrews, Learmonth of Dairsie and the baillies that the college building would be used as an additional public kirk on Sunday mornings due to overcrowding. The state of the college kirk cannot have been optimal as the proviso was made that any repairs or 'plenissing' made by the town or parishioners to the windows and interiors were to be lawfully kept by the college. For the preceding three decades, the college kirk had been used exclusively by the commissary court, and this was a shrewd move on Martine's part to get repair work done without cost to the college.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ UYSS110/AH9-12.

⁴⁶ UYSS110/E4.19, 21.

⁴⁷ UYSS110/E4.25.

⁴⁸ *StAPR*, 172-175, 178.

⁴⁹ UYSS110/C5.6.

Arts tuition in the 1580s and early 1590s: The St Leonard's College Orator's Book

As in the preceding decade, nothing of substance survives to tell us about the politics at St Leonard's in the 1590s. The barest munimentary evidence shows that the remnants of the priory lands attached to the college were still being sold off by their titular commendator, the Duke of Lennox, well into the 1590s, but this was clearly not having a major impact on the college. It had by far the largest number of matriculated students of any of the three colleges in the period, with recorded figures staying firmly above 20 entrants per year and rising as high as 35 in 1590.⁵⁰ However, St Leonard's offers us the first detailed insight into teaching at St Andrews in the 'Melvillian' era, and the college appears from this evidence to have had a far more developed and consistent teaching programme than its counterparts. The College Orator's Book is a large collection of essays and poetry by St Leonard's students from the first half of the 1590s, recited by students in the third and fourth year of their MA degree. These students took turns as a group on Saturday mornings to read an essay on a subject of their choosing in a public assembly of the college. After the reading the *lector's* essay was transcribed into the book, with a note of who would take the role in the following week, which moved in rotation through the senior students.

The first 440 pages of the Orator's Book cover a period beginning at an undetermined start date in 1589, and ending with an oration given on 18 June 1595. However, appended to the end of the document are two Latin orations given in the exact same format as the others in the book dating from 1560/61.⁵¹ These two orations were part of the collection of manuscripts taken from the university by the historian and former Principal of St Mary's, John Lee, when he took up a post at Edinburgh University. These papers have only been returned to the university in a piecemeal fashion following the auction of his estate.⁵² We have no further evidence of provenance for these orations, or whether they were part of a much larger collection of student essays from the earlier period. If this is the case, however, it would suggest that this practice, and the style and content of the orations, remained completely

⁵⁰ See appendix.

⁵¹ UYSL320, 440-444.

⁵² F. Macdonald, 'Lee, John (1779–1859)', *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16296>, accessed 25 Feb 2008]; Lee sale catalogue.

unchanged despite the various reforms of the university in the thirty years following 1560. More importantly, if the content of these orations and their sources is indicative of intellectual culture at the university in the early 1560s, it suggests that, at St Leonard's at least, drilling students in the use of classical texts and in the production of elegant Latin was well entrenched far earlier than we have presumed. This has considerable implications for the praise showered on Melville in bringing to St Andrews the 'new learning' of Renaissance humanism via the 'New Foundation.' It suggests, in fact, that St Leonard's was teaching largely along these lines well before his arrival, and before any of the reforms considered for St Andrews after 1560.

However, there is nothing else to corroborate or disprove this thesis. The only other set of lecture notes to survive from this period, those dictated from courses under the St Leonard's regent John Echline at some point between 1592 and 1603,⁵³ merely provide a basic introduction to logic. The first half of the text offers a brief outline of Porphyry's *Isagoge*,⁵⁴ while the second part comprises very summary notes on a number of books selected from the *Organon*.⁵⁵ These latter notes share many of the traditional features found in John Malcolm's notes, including an exposition of the main kinds of syllogism and of the various modes of proposition,⁵⁶ but make no reference to the original Greek of the texts. This may simply mean that the younger students, having intermediate Latin from their time at grammar school, were expected to grasp the rudimentary elements of logic in a language they were comfortable with before studying Aristotle's works in their original language. However, this is pure conjecture, and Echline's notes ultimately do not help to clarify our understanding of teaching in the period.

These tantalising suggestions aside, the bulk of the Orator's Book shows that, by the early 1590s at least, the college was trying to drum the ability to declaim successfully into its students. These candidates were expected to produce orations in Latin and Greek, on a range of classically inspired themes and from a variety of authors. A paraphrase of the Horatian trope on 'Why death ought not to be feared' is

⁵³ Smart, *Register*. Echline matriculated 1586/87, and received his MA in 1590. He was a regent by 9 December 1592 and had left by 7 November 1605.

⁵⁴ University of St Andrews MS36226, *Capitula Quaedam Eorum Quae a Porphyrio Imbecillitati non parum Utilia*, 1-23.

⁵⁵ MS36226, 23-34 (De Interpretatione chapters 1-10), 35-43 (Prior Analytics), 45-64, 73-81 (Compendium of Books 1 and 2 'of Demonstration', presumably Posterior Analytics), 83-89 (Topics, Book 1, ch 1-12).

⁵⁶ MS36226, 40-43, where the syllogisms are listed by their traditional names of Barbara, Celarent, Darii and Ferio.

the subject of numerous orations and of an extended Latin poem.⁵⁷ Other titles include the surprisingly contentious ‘Why no republic or civitas can be governed by a king, emperor or magistrate’,⁵⁸ and ‘Why virtue [and, in another example, charity] is to be preferred to all possessions’,⁵⁹ giving an idea of the classical and republican flavour of the texts the students were immersed in. Still others simply sing the praises of poetry, rhetoric or jurisprudence.⁶⁰ A few of the texts also discuss rudimentary aspects of philosophy, including a defence of the supremacy of Aristotle and a discussion of why ‘essence is not individual’.⁶¹ Perhaps with a mind to the potential ministerial careers of many of these students, some orations also expound on solid Christian themes and draw on biblical content. These include one on free will, two praising Christ for his constancy on the cross and as the source of all truth and glory, and an extended poem on Genesis.⁶²

The texts themselves are highly formulaic, as the contents of an example oration by William Boswell on ‘Why death ought not to be feared’ from 1589/90⁶³ will suffice to show. Many of the senior students gave three or even four orations in the final two years of their degree, giving them multiple chances to prepare and deliver a polished oration. Boswell presented a further two orations in the course of his degree, one in Latin and one in Greek in 1590.⁶⁴ Like many an undergraduate essay, Boswell’s text suffers from considerable errors in syntax and structure, as well as repetitiveness, but on the whole is relatively sound. In the first section of his text, he attempts rhetorically to beg the pardon of his audience for his lack of skill and for

⁵⁷ UYSL320, 10-12 [William Boswell, 1589/90]; 177-183: ‘Carmen Quod Mortem Non Esse Timendam’ [James Willocks, 12 May 1592]; 292: ‘Mori Non Miserum Esse’ [John Barron, 8 December 1593].

⁵⁸ UYSL320, 316-318: ‘Nulla Republica aut Civitas sive Rege Imperatore, aut Magistratu Aliquo Gubernari Possit’ [William Penman, 10 February 1594].

⁵⁹ UYSL320, 258-259: ‘Virtus est Praeferenda Omnibusque Quibuscumque Possessionibus’ [William Penman, 5 May 1593]; 260-263: ‘Contendit Charitatem Ab Omnibus Esse Amplexandam’ [George Chalmers, 12 May 1593].

⁶⁰ UYSL320, 184: ‘Quod Iustitia Prudentiae Dignitatis Palmam Longe Praeripeat, Oratio’ [Adam Davidson, 21 May 1592], 191-195: ‘De Exercitiis in Re Poetica et Oratoria Hebdomadarius per Jennies Classes atque Ordines Instituendis Oratio’ [David Lindsay, 1592], 227-229: ‘De Eloquentiae Laudibus Deo Duce Agemus’ [John Barron, 3 February 1593].

⁶¹ UYSL320, 274, ‘Individua Non Differunt Essentia’ [David Porteous, 9 July 1593]; 299: ‘Quisquis Aristotelis Vult Profligare Labores Noscat in Assuetis Verba Volare Volis’ [John Douglas, 4 January 1593/4].

⁶² UYSL320, 365-369: ‘Deo Duce de Fortitudine et Constantia Christiana in Cruce Referendo Deo Duce Agemus’ [John Barron, 7 December 1594]; 394-395: ‘Omnem Gloria Immoderato Laudis Appetitum Perire, Veramque Gloriam in Solo Jesu Christo Fundari Deo Duce Docebimus’; 399-407, ‘Carmen’ on Genesis; 107-109: ‘In Nullo Homine Esse Liberum Arbitrium Deo Auspice Docebimus’ [Archibald Dunmure, 1590].

⁶³ UYSL320, 10-12.

⁶⁴ Smart, *Register*.

mistakes occasioned by fear of the heavy task upon his shoulders. He turns to an unlikely mix of quotes from Virgil, Ovid, Horace, Ennius and Cicero and a paraphrase of some quotations of Christ's teaching from the New Testament to support his main contention, showing the fusion of Christian and classical learning these students were exposed to.

He then goes on to offer examples of men who have faced death valiantly and who have earned eternal merit as a result, including Lucius Brutius 'who was killed in liberating his nation' (*non solus Lucium Brutium, qui in liberanda patria est interfectus*), the two Scipios, and Marcus Marcellus among others, before offering some closing remarks around the saying that death makes equals of all people, from paupers to kings (*nam omnibus mors aequa est ut est vetus Carmen, pauperibus reges...aequat*). Boswell's example shows that students were clearly being trained in giving short speeches following formulaic patterns that used a number of rhetorical devices to support their points, including quotations and illustrative examples.

While these orations give some sense of the tuition being given to students, they also suggest two noticeable gaps in the curriculum. Firstly, although two orations exhort the audience on the benefits of learning both Greek and Latin, and a number of orations use the odd Greek word, less than five percent of the texts are actually in Greek. The orations that are in Greek only appear sporadically in the overall body of texts, as a cluster of four orations in 1590, a single oration by Patrick Ramsay in November 1594, and a further three in 1595.⁶⁵ This suggests that only a handful of students in the period covered by the Orator's Book actually progressed with Greek far enough to be proficient beyond a very basic level. In many ways this should not come as a surprise, as students had far more scope to engage with Latin as the main language of study and discourse at both the university and during their earlier grammar school education. The small number of orations may thus simply indicate that Greek was reserved for students who either displayed greater aptitude in their studies and were better equipped to undertake further classical language studies, or had perhaps learned the language on their own or elsewhere.⁶⁶

Secondly, none of the texts make mention of Ramus or his works, or show any structural bias towards Ramism. There are two orations that have titles discussing the

⁶⁵ UYSL320, 48-55 [1590], 361-364 [1594], 407-415 [1595]. The latter group of three are, however, split into two in March and one in June, with no further texts recorded in the intervening period.

⁶⁶ A useful comparison is the state of Greek studies at Oxford at the turn of the seventeenth century. Feingold, 'The humanities', in Tyacke (ed.), *Seventeenth-Century Oxford*, 256-261.

benefits of ‘conjoining philosophy with eloquence’ which obviously echo the main objective of Ramus’ work. However, on closer inspection these discuss more generally the role of oratory in combining rhetorical excellence with poetic flair, rather than debating the merits of Ramist ideology.⁶⁷ As a result, although it is clear from these texts that humanist Latin and thorough grounding in the classics was one of the priorities for teachers in St Leonard’s, the alleged priority of Melville to inculcate the Ramist ‘method’ in students is not as apparent in the evidence for St Leonard’s as it is in the later evidence for St Mary’s.

On the other hand, the actual existence of such a well regulated and well recorded exercise, and the fact that so many students had multiple chances to deliver speeches, also shows a level of organisation and consistency in the senior degree programme at St Leonard’s that is not in evidence at any of the other colleges, or indeed at the other Scottish universities, in this period. This may well be an accident of survival, and nothing more. However, the fact that such a monumental volume exists only for St Leonard’s may well reflect the fact that they had achieved a far superior level of educational provision and administration than their counterparts at St Andrews, and elsewhere.

The crisis of 1596 and the visitation of 1597

Despite the increase in co-operation between the king and Kirk throughout the early 1590s, the spectre of Catholicism in Scottish affairs over the course of 1596 rapidly undid this relationship. The Octavians, a group of eight ministers appointed in early 1596 to supervise the king’s parlous finances, were suspected of Catholic sympathies,⁶⁸ and there was great insecurity over the influence and access that this group of men wielded. This was exacerbated by the king’s continued refusal to forfeit the wives of the exiled Catholic earls from their hereditary property. When Huntly and Erroll returned to Scotland in the latter half of the year, a commission of General Assembly delegates, led by Melville, went to Falkland in September to exhort the king to deal with them. It was during this visit that Melville grabbed the king by the sleeve and, in what Alan MacDonald has rightly described as the ‘language of crisis

⁶⁷ UYSL320, 231.

⁶⁸ MacDonald, *Jacobean Kirk*, 61; *JMAD*, 330; Donaldson, *James V-James VII*, 217, n.14.

and confrontation’, harangued him as ‘God’s sillie vassall’ and announced ‘thair is twa kings and twa kingdomes...Thair is Chryst Jesus the king...whase subject King James the Saxt is, and of whase kingdome [is] nocht a king, nor a lord, nor a heid, bot a member.’⁶⁹ This was the most extreme and shocking speech that Melville had made regarding royal authority since the mid-1580s, and the force of it emphasises how tense the situation between the Kirk and the royal government had become. This meeting also represented a break in the relationship between James VI and Melville, with the air of mutual respect between them vanishing after this.

The confrontation reached a critical point in November, when David Black was summoned to appear before the Privy Council for preaching a treasonous sermon denouncing all kings as ‘the devillis childrene’ and attacking both James and Queen Anne for their lack of commitment to the Kirk. The commissioners for the General Assembly advised Black to reject the authority of the Privy Council on doctrinal grounds, stating that only the St Andrews Presbytery had the right to judge his sermon in the first instance. Regardless, on 9 December Black was found guilty of sedition and was ordered into ward north of the Tay, and the king ordered the commissioners of the General Assembly who had come to Edinburgh in support of Black, including Melville, to leave the city.⁷⁰

The ministers of Edinburgh were left to continue pleading the case with the Privy Council, and on 17 December a delegation led by Lords Lindsay and Forbes, and the ministers Robert Bruce and William Watson, approached the Tolbooth to appeal to the king and the Lords of Session. In their train were a large number of burgesses, nobles and lairds who had been roused in a sermon by Walter Balcanquhal earlier that morning to join the delegation. James VI remained locked within the Tolbooth and refused to come out, and when the lead delegates returned to the crowd outside a rumour was sparked of an armed Catholic plot, resulting in an angry call for arms. Although the town provost Alexander Hume calmed the situation, the king felt seriously threatened and condemned the ministers, who in turn blamed the rapid escalation of events on James’ refusal to heed their exhortations. The king and Privy Council removed themselves to Linlithgow, where the episode was given a much more treasonous complexion when Lord Hamilton appeared with an alleged letter from Bruce and Balcanquhal. This letter apparently stated they would pledge

⁶⁹ MacDonald, *Jacobean Kirk*, 63-65; *JMAD*, 369-371.

⁷⁰ MacDonald, *Jacobean Kirk*, 68.

Hamilton their support to become king if he supported their actions, in effect suggesting the men had tried to engineer a ministerial *coup*. Edinburgh Council, fearful of losing the power and prestige associated with its role as the centre of royal administration, offered an unequivocal apology and substantial financial remuneration to the king for the muddled events of this 'riot', and the Edinburgh ministers fled the city after their arrest was ordered.

James VI followed this order in the opening months of 1597 with swift and decisive action. On 6 January he banned all ecclesiastical courts, other than the kirk session, from meeting in Edinburgh, and interfered heavily in the selection of new ministers for the city. In February 1597, he ordered a meeting of ecclesiastical representatives at Perth to discuss a series of articles on church polity that would curb the jurisdiction of the Kirk over secular authority. This 'extraordinary' General Assembly achieved little, but thanks to the work of the king's agent Sir Patrick Murray was attended by a range of delegates from across the country, who were primed to accept the royal supremacy in ecclesiastical matters. It also confirmed the king's right, established in the 'Golden Act' of 1592, to dictate the time and place of the General Assembly. James used this to order an assembly at Dundee in May superseding the one planned by the Kirk at St Andrews in April. With the king in attendance, the legality of the Perth meeting was approved, the Catholic earls were absolved from further prosecution, and the commission of the General Assembly was changed from a small group of ministers acting as representatives of the wider Presbyterian interest into a regulated body that would act as the 'judicial committee' and liaise with the crown in church matters.⁷¹

Against the backdrop of growing royal involvement in the Kirk, a specific issue with the behaviour of the ministry at St Andrews had considerable impact on the affairs of the university. In November 1596 the second minister in St Andrews, Robert Wallace, had condemned the royal secretary John Lindsay for arbitrarily dealing with the trial of David Black and with accepting bribes to do so. Lindsay sent a letter to Wallace at the end of January 1597 seeking an apology, to which he received an insulting response from the minister. Lindsay dispatched his agents James Wemyss and David Lindsay to the presbytery to intercede on his behalf, and directed

⁷¹ MacDonald, *Jacobean Kirk*, 68-82.

letters to his old friend Melville to secure him justice.⁷² Melville offered assurances in a letter of 21 February that he would be willing ‘to do all guid affiris to yor G[race’s] contentement’,⁷³ but the response of the presbytery five days later was cool to say the least. They stated that ‘according to the canon of the apostil 1 Timoth[y] 5.19 they could noth receawe ane accusatioun aganis ane elder without tuo or thrie witness’, and that they would not proceed until they had such testimony.⁷⁴ Interestingly, feeling that he was not being given satisfaction by Melville, Lindsay turned to Robert Wilkie and James Martine, whom he asked to take up the case on his behalf. He was no doubt referring to Melville when he stated ‘I have maid this request to utheris of your nowmer quha hes bein mair in my affection nor ever ye wis, albeit I have found ye contrarie efectis nor I hoipit for.’⁷⁵

Despite attempts by John Johnston to intervene and placate Lindsay, the confrontations between Lindsay’s executors and the presbytery grew ever more heated. James VI also interceded on Lindsay’s behalf, and issued letters of horning to force the witnesses to the sermon to compear with Lindsay’s executors before the presbytery.⁷⁶ At the same time, a letter to Lindsay on 4 March shows increasing ambivalence on the part of his agents towards Melville, who noted:

albeit he gave us ane verie guid countenance and apperit to mein verie weill to your Lord yet cald we find him nawayis myndit to satisfie...that no inconvenienc we culd allege culd be able to pervert the wordis of the Scripture and gif we wald neidis ressoun that matter he wald leave us to ressoun with the apostle quho haid set the saimin down in so plain termis that it could be thrawin to no other sens.⁷⁷

At this meeting Melville also added rather disingenuously that he had only one vote and had little power in the presbytery, although Lindsay’s agents knew full well that Melville had far more authority than he was willing to admit.

Things reached a head at the next presbytery meeting on 10 March, to which David Lindsay and John Wemyss had taken a party of witnesses who had heard Wallace’s sermon. The presbytery only accepted the commissary clerk Robert Maule and John Arnot as representative witnesses, and denied them as ‘apostolic’ on the

⁷² Balcarres Papers, VIII, 56r-62r.

⁷³ Balcarres Papers, VIII, ff. 64r/v.

⁷⁴ *StAPR*, 215-216.

⁷⁵ Balcarres Papers, VIII, ff. 70r, 72r.

⁷⁶ Balcarres Papers, VIII, ff. 86r-87r.

⁷⁷ Balcarres Papers, VIII, ff. 75r/v.

basis that ‘thair compeirance wes to give obedience to his majesties letteris’ and not to assist in the accusation out of good conscience. The meeting broke up in disarray:

quhairupon efter ane verie hote ressouning we callit in upone our notar and taik instrumentis in his hand baith of thair refusall to give us anser in writ and of thair generall anser to our replyis qullk perturbit thaim verie mekill and movat Mr Andro Melvil to fall out in verie greit railling against us eftir this.⁷⁸

Lindsay attempted to present a further bill of supplication before the presbytery, but nothing further has been recorded. This episode seems to have further fuelled the anger and suspicion of both Lindsay and James VI towards the presbytery, as Lindsay’s last recorded letter of 15 March to Wemyss records ominously ‘ye sall witt the king is informit that the presbiteri preatches against al qlk was don in the last general assemblie...quherby his majestie is determined to put ordor to them.’⁷⁹ Lindsay’s personal humiliation at the hands of men he regarded as friends in the presbytery, coupled with the king’s intense personal suspicion of the radical nature of the ministers at St Andrews, would make for a powerful combination that must have affected the severity of the visitation in the following summer.

The royal visitation convened at St Andrews on 7 July 1597 and continued without a break for five days, summoning the masters of the university to appear on 8 July.⁸⁰ This visitation has always been explained as a thinly-veiled attack on Melville and St Andrews as a stronghold of Presbyterianism, and much of the evidence and actions recorded by it certainly fits this interpretation. The visitation commission was large by normal standards, including thirteen men in addition to the king. The suggestion that it was targeted at humbling Melville is certainly borne out by some of the names of the sederunt. In addition to John Lindsay, Learmonth of Dairsie and his kinsman Learmonth of Balcomie were appointed to the commission, no doubt keen to get revenge on Melville for his condemnatory attitude towards them and their humiliation in the 1593 provost’s election. Also on the commission was George Gledstanes, who had been transferred into St Andrews as a minister just prior to the visitation following the suspension of Robert Wallace. Wallace’s right to stay in office by a directive of the presbytery had been summarily overturned by the new church establishment, and the entrance of George Gledstanes into St Andrews was a

⁷⁸ Balcarres Papers, VIII, ff. 79r/v.

⁷⁹ Balcarres Papers, VIII, ff. 73r/v.

⁸⁰ For what follows on this visitation, see *Evidence*, 196-198; Balcarres Papers, VII, ff.26v, 51r-64v; *JMAD*, 417-419.

further act of the royal will. Gledstones, a staunch royal supporter, would from 1597 onwards act as a check on Melville in St Andrews, but at this stage appears to have played a minor role in the visitation.

One of the first acts of the commission was to establish a ruling council for the university, made up of Lindsay as chancellor, George Young the Conservator of Privileges, David Carnegie of Culluthie, and the ministers David Lindsay, Robert Rollock, and Thomas Buchanan, all of whom except Buchanan were on the visitation commission. The commission banned all teaching staff not holding a pastoral post from taking part in any 'Sessiounis, Presbeteris, Generall or Synodall Assemblies.' Instead of any master from the university being able to attend these sessions a commission of three was to be chosen to represent the university, from which only one could attend the General Assembly at any time. Moreover, theology students and masters were banned from attending the presbyterial 'exercise' in St Andrews, presumably to stop young students from being involved in its very politically and ideologically charged atmosphere.

While there is some evidence that the other colleges were ordered to collect material together to present to the commission, the proceedings make no mention of St Leonard's. They also make only fleeting reference to St Salvator's, stating that the regents now taught according to the 'New Foundation' and that Martine still taught medicine, despite his earlier complaints that it was not in line with his traditional duties as provost. The college had still failed to better organise its evidence and financial controls, and was instructed to improve this situation. However, the two public professors, William Welwood and Homer Blair, were discussed in detail, with Welwood singled out particularly. On 9 July, the visitors found Welwood guilty of not teaching four times a week as ordered by the 'New Foundation', and he was also charged with 'the neglect of making and keeping of a register of his auditouris, and not leving *collegialiter*', charges Martine had brought against him a decade previously. A further, more serious conclusion was reached:

Lykwayse it being fund that the Professioun of the Lawes is na wayes necessar at this tyme in the Universitie, and that Maister Williame Walwood, Professor thairof, had transgressit this Fundatioun, and the Act of Parliament maid thairanent, in sindrie pointis meriting deprivation; and the said Mr Williame was thairfoir deprivit of his said place and professioun...

The removal of one of Melville's central allies in St Salvator's, who was also a particular thorn in the side of the Royalist Provost Martine, must have been at least partially influenced by the political situation within the town. This is especially true when one considers that by removing Welwood the visitation was effectively terminating law tuition in Scotland, without offering a suitable alternative or replacement. Such a drastic action would indicate that the commission was more concerned with quashing Presbyterian supporters than worrying about the more detailed issues of Scottish educational provision.

Further to this, the bulk of the visitation focussed exclusively on Melville's conduct in the university, firstly in managing St Mary's. The letters summoning the masters of the university ordered Melville and the other two masters of St Mary's to appear a day before the other colleges, showing that their behaviour was top of the list of things to deal with. The visitation offered a range of sustained criticisms against the form and content of theology teaching, and against the masters themselves, and it is unclear to what extent these criticisms were entirely justified. One of the main issues was that 'doctors' of the church and the masters of St Mary's attended synods and general assemblies to the detriment of teaching. As a result the quality of teaching was 'arbitrary', in the sense that it was done when the masters felt like it. The masters admitted that there were only three as opposed to the five teaching staff projected in the 'New Foundation', but protested that the commission's complaint that 'the text of the auld and new testament [was] not teachit nor the least part therof in xii years' was complete nonsense, as was the accusation that the 'repetitions, examinatiouns and disputations' used to test students were no longer in effect. However, while the masters did state that there was a theology course being taught daily by Patrick Melville and John Johnston, and that Andrew also passed through the common places of theology in a four-year cycle, they did not provide evidence that a four-year programme in the manner of an actual divinity degree was in effect, which is what the commission appear to have wanted to hear.

The perennial issues of finance and administration at St Mary's resurfaced before the commission, and the admissions of the masters on this account are fairly damning, considering the stern reprimands of the visitation in the preceding decade. While the masters stated that they lived *collegialiter* in accordance with the foundation, they admitted that the register of divinity students did not take full account of all those studying in the college, though to what extent is unknown. The

students also kept the vacation 'langer nor the moneth of September', which was supposed to be the beginning of term. Nor did the masters look after the college writs and evidences or provide a chest for keeping them, and the curious lack of munimentary material for the college throughout this entire period may suggest this was a more serious issue at St Mary's than at its counterparts. They also kept no tight regulation on college finances, for despite attempts to get one they had no *oeconomus* to manage the college rents. Furthermore, instead of taking just the allotted £100 and 3 chalders established for the principal in the 'New Foundation' and the £100 and single chalder due to both Patrick Melville and John Johnston as junior masters, Melville was drawing off a further two chalders for each of them. This was presumably due to the effects of high inflation over the preceding two decades on the real value of their allocated stipends, but how Melville was collecting it from the rents was not specified. Melville also admitted on 10 July that he was unable to produce either a register of tacks on the college, or a breakdown of the college finances. Bursaries were another bone of contention, as although the 'New Foundation' prescribed eight bursars to be appointed to the foundation, Melville and his colleagues were maintaining eleven from the college rents. Assurances were made that these bursars were regularly checked for their suitability and were not allowed to hold a place longer than four years. However, a particular criticism, most likely voiced by the king himself, was that vacant bursaries were not advertised for his presentation to worthy candidates.

Melville's handling of the rectorate was the central issue of the commission. After two days of examination, he was found to 'have not performit the office of a Rector', given a vote of no confidence, and removed from the post. Ironically, one of the main charges laid against him was that neither in administration of the university nor its finances did he conform 'to the reformit Foundation and Act of Parliament' which he in all likelihood helped devise. However, from the surviving evidence of Melville's rectorate there was more to his removal than simple political considerations. A single, telling entry in the *Acta Rectorum* is all that accounts for the period from the beginning of Melville's time as rector in March 1590 until the end of the rectorate of his replacement Robert Wilkie in March 1608:

For the whole period of the magistracy of these men nothing was inserted in this book, on account, I believe, of their modesty, because they thought nothing had been done by them that was worthy of setting down in writing.

Yet it is beyond controversy that they had carried out a very many most worthy deeds, and each man had done so both with honour and the greatest praise, but without any pretence of show.⁸¹

This was clearly written by an ally of both men, and may well be true, for it is clear that in the 1592 dispute with John Caldcleuch recourse was had to Melville as rector. Nevertheless, it is equally telling that no other records of student discipline or of legal dispute were recorded under Melville or Wilkie. It also seems more than a coincidence that for three of the seven years of Melville's rectorate there are no detailed records for the matriculations of students into their respective colleges, although overall student numbers are noted. This was another significant duty that Melville was supposed to carry out, and failed to do, suggesting that while he may have been an inspirational intellectual and teacher he in no way wished to take on the general administration and welfare of the university.

Before judging him too harshly, Melville did state that he never officially accepted the role of rector, and indeed there is no formal election noted for him. His curiously terse statement found in the printed records of the visitation that he took up the office 'bot conditionallie, that he sould find the concurrence of the Universitie to the execution thair of' and a similar statement about taking up the role of principal of St Mary's is borne out in a further comment recorded by him in the unprinted 'faultes and causes of deprivation' taken down by the commission. He stated that he 'acknowledgis nether ye fundatioun nor reformation nor ye offices of rectorie nor provestry except in setting of taks, but noth in government'. It is unclear what he meant by this, but it suggests that he only accepted partial responsibility for the role of rector, perhaps as a figurehead for administration of university finances, and never intended to take on the wider responsibilities of the role. This certainly fits with what James Melville records of his attitude to the deposition, namely that 'he wald have gladlie bein quyt' of the office 'for that it importeth a mixture of the Civill Magistracie, with the Ministerie Ecclesiastic, war nocht from yeir to yeir the hail Universitie haid burdenit him thairwithe.'⁸² This still does not explain why he reacted against the charge that he did not do the full duties of the principal of St Mary's, but

⁸¹ Acta Rectorum, 109: 'Toto tempore nihil de eorum magistrato huic libro insertum est credo propter modestiam quia putarunt a se nihil gest[ur]um esse quod esset literarum monumentis dignum quum tamen extra controversiam plurima dignissima gesta fuerint enim uterque et honore quam etiam maxima cum laude sed sine ostentatione gesserunt.'

⁸² *JMAD*, 418.

does perhaps explain that in his own conscience, and knowing how involved with ecclesiastical politics he was, he never intended to take on the full scope of duties involved in both roles.

Despite these overtly political actions, there is a range of evidence that supports a more civic-minded interpretation of events at the university in 1597. The king had intended to pursue some course of reform at St Andrews in the short period prior to the events of late 1596, showing that the visitation was not just a sudden and politically-motivated attack. On 12 August 1596 an act of Privy Council indicated that a small commission made up of John Lindsay, the Lairds of Culluthie and Kenchie, and David Black the minister of St Andrews, were to head to St Andrews ‘upoun quhatsumevir day or dayis of this present vacance and clois tyme of hervest thay sall think maist meit’ to call forth the masters with a full exhibition of their evidences and any grievances they might have. They were to report back to the Privy Council with proposals for reform of the university by the following November.⁸³ We have no further evidence that this commission ever took any action, but the fact that the record authorising it is bound up in Lindsay’s family papers suggests he must have seen it, and if he did not act on it that at least plans for reform were discussed before the events of late 1596. The fact that David Black, one of Melville’s closest allies in St Andrews, was also on this small commission suggests there were no religious motivations behind it, and that it was intended to be an open forum for improving the university.

Other actions of the visitation itself suggest this was a commission primarily concerned with improving the administration of St Andrews. There was no specific attention to the content of teaching in these papers, save for the notable statement that ‘the changing of masters to ilk classe yeirlie is remittit to ye arbitrance of ilk college according as thei sal think maist expedient for ye education of ye youth.’ This suggests that professorial teaching had clearly not made its mark in St Andrews, and the fact that the commission said little else about arts teaching indicates they must have been relatively pleased with its provision as it stood. In terms of theology teaching, they were not simply critical of Melville and the other masters, but tried to provide them with support and to further regularise teaching. Each of the masters was to have a further two chalders of victual added to their stipend, recognising Melville’s

⁸³ Balcarres Papers, VII, f. 51r.

own actions in taking up extra victual for their support. The newly established council was to elect a fourth master for the college, with the consent of the other masters, providing that his fee did not come out of their income. The four were to teach a full four-year course until a fifth master could be appointed, and this course was to comprise Melville teaching the common places of theology and law and history of the Bible, the second master teaching the New Testament, and the third and fourth masters teaching a selection of books from the Old Testament. All this was to be done 'without derogatioun' of the 1579 foundation, which suggests that although the interim teaching plan made no mention of biblical languages the masters were expected to continue teaching them, until a fifth master could be appointed.

New strictures on book-keeping and staff were the most notable changes made by the commission. For one thing, the commission appeared to be focussed on revitalising the importance and authority of the role of rector, whose arbitration in university disputes and administrations was to be augmented and rejuvenated following its slump in fortunes under Melville.

Firstly, they intended to institute a rule whereby the rector could only hold the post for a maximum of three years, suggesting that they wanted to see the role being effectively transferred between university staff and not allowed to languish. The printed statutes note 'ane Advocate, ane Agent, and a wryter for the haill Universitie', and each of these men were to be part of a support network around the rector. The advocate, also referred to as a 'procurator fiscal' for the university, was to act on behalf of the rector as an accuser in all disciplinary matters where a master was deemed to have transgressed the foundation or been non-resident and taught less than eight times in the year. There was also an additional clause cited for the offices of 'Lawer and Mathematicien' that they be deprived after any absence of longer than a fortnight, likely aimed at Welwood's continued non-residence and Blair's prolonged absence through ill-health. The advocate was to liase with the civil legal system where appropriate. The agent or 'beadle' was to act as a messenger and notifier in disciplinary cases, making sure that masters were provided with summons similar to those given out by sheriff's messengers in civil trials. Any master transgressing the foundation was to appear for trial within twenty days or else face horning, and all masters facing such a trial were to be suspended from teaching in the interim. Any decisions made by the advocate and rector in proceedings would be supported by the Lords of Session with letters decretal, and deprivation enacted where necessary. The

chancellor would provide support to the rector in special cases, but was not to have any more intrusive role than this in administering discipline. The 'writer', a student who was to be sworn in formally in the presence of the other masters, was to ensure that not only the rector's acts of discipline were recorded but also that the university registers were kept up to date, and copies lodged with the local commissary court.

Moreover, in response to the criticisms that the rigours of examination were not kept within the colleges, the roles of deans of faculty for both arts and divinity were laid down again. The deans were to ensure that examinations, disputations and teaching hours were kept, that registers of students in both faculties were properly administered, and that degrees were only administered to worthy students.

Having established that there was no clear understanding of the rentals due to each college and of the tacks set on the college properties, far tighter controls were to be imposed on finance. A central role in this process was given to the chancellor. An *oeconomus* was to be selected for each college and elected with his consent, who would give a daily account and an annual end of year account to the masters of their finances, and copies of these were to be delivered to the chancellor for his attention. If there was any surplus rental at the end of the year, the chancellor was to receive a third of it so that he could appoint bursars to the relevant college. The college were to receive the remainder to spend as they saw fit, and if the rents could bear it 'ane musician and player upon instrumentis' was also to be provided for each of the arts colleges. No tacks on college properties were to be set without the chancellor's consent, and if they had to be set they were only to be paid in oat meal and not in other fixed quantities of victual or money, presumably to get the best return by avoiding the effects of inflation on agreements fixed in cash. The continual problem of paying ministers in the parishes annexed to the colleges was to be solved by allocating the glebes and vicarages of each church to the relevant parish minister, thus removing unnecessary tacks and other financial agreements. Any existing tacks were to be reviewed to ensure that income due to the colleges was coming in and could be applied effectively.

Most startling in these statutes, however, was the recommendation that all staff be bound by financial interest to carrying out the welfare of the college. Each principal was to find caution with a 'landed gentelman' for the huge sum of 2000 merks upon their entry to the office, which would be forfeit if they transgressed the foundation in any way. A similar sum was appointed to be found for each of the

regents. The *oeconomus* for each college was to find caution for a year's worth of their college's rent which would be forfeit if there were anything lacking from their rentals. These financial strictures were something completely unseen at the university, and like the regulation of legal procedure this appears to have been another attempt to make university staff accountable to government by one of the most effective means available.

Although there is no evidence that these latter proposals were fully enacted, it is clear that the actual meeting of the visitation in July was not intended to be the end of supervision by the commission. Ongoing examinations into the university appear to have continued, at least for St Salvator's. Ten days after the official visitation ended, James Martine wrote up an account of all the known prebendaries, altarages and chaplainries attached to the college and who held their right of presentation, while Homer Blair compiled a list of the college writs and evidences. These lists were sent to John Lindsay for his perusal, suggesting that his newly revitalised authority as chancellor was to be used with immediate effect.⁸⁴ On 19 July, a series of complaints were given in by St Mary's over the interference of the royal government in the allocation of stipends to ministers, following on from the injunction that all vicarages and glebes would be given to the local parish ministers. This again suggests that the council established in 1597 was meant to continue as an arbiter in the management of the university.⁸⁵

A series of documents, drawn up by Lindsay in October of the same year, suggests that he was trying to systematise the procedures and operation of the university to a far greater extent than even the visitation records indicate. He submitted a list of almost forty questions to the university masters, trying to get further information on some of the issues of procedure raised by the visitation. These included a range of questions checking that Melville and his colleagues were maintaining their teaching and seeking clarification of electoral procedures and the roles of the various staff at the university. Lindsay also asked for a detailed breakdown of the expenditure and economy of the university. This included a request for information on the diet of the masters and students, including how much bread and ale would be required to support the average member of staff, how many portions of beef could be expected from a carcass based on current consumption rates in the

⁸⁴ Balcarres Papers, VII, ff. 79r-99v.

⁸⁵ Balcarres Papers, VII, ff. 226r-230v, 233r-235v.

college, and whether servants also had their board supplied in the same manner as the masters and regents.

These detailed enquiries were actually part of a wider plan by Lindsay, reminiscent on a smaller scale of his attempts to rationalise the stipends of ministers with the ‘constant platt’, to provide an overarching structure of fees and board for the various foundationers. Two copies of this plan, entitled ‘The reckoning of the sustentatioune of the foundit persones in the university’, show he had seriously tried to work out calculations for providing board for all the members of the university from a planned centralised fund.⁸⁶ In this reckoning, there were to be four masters in each college as opposed to the planned five in St Mary’s and the principal and four regents in St Salvator’s and St Leonard’s, alongside an unspecified number of bursars and other staff. Each person on the foundation was to be given 20 ounces of wheat bread and 20 ounces of oat bread a day, along with three ‘choppings’ (*chopin*, or half-pint) of strong ale and ‘a pynt and a mutschkin’ (pint and a quarter) of watered-down ale. The year was to be reckoned as having three ‘flesche’ days in each week where boarders would be served a combination of mutton broth and beef, and four ‘fische’ days where they would receive four portions of preserved fish and two portions of fresh fish. In addition to this rather rigid regime, each college was to be allocated an average of two buckets of coal per day at a cost of £121 6s. 7d., based on requiring a fire in the kitchen at all times and a secondary fire in the hall in winter. On a similar basis, £45 was to be allocated to each college to pay for five month’s worth of tallow for candles in the winter. There was even to be £20 allocated to each college for the maintenance of their own ‘kail [cabbage] yardis’, to allow the colleges to grow their own produce, and a further £40 to provide for their table linen and ‘naperie’.

No further records survive to indicate what the wider significance of this reckoning was or whether the disparate documents given in to Lindsay in later 1597 constitute another ‘mini-visitation’ of the university, or evidence of the actual exercise of power by the university council. The fact that in the following month both St Salvator’s and St Leonard’s produced rentals for the chancellor suggests that they had some inkling of the intent of the scheme, though they presumably would have found it a highly disagreeable concept to stomach.⁸⁷ What they do show, however, is that government was no longer content to leave St Andrews alone between what had been

⁸⁶ Balcarres Papers, VII, ff. 68r-76v.

⁸⁷ Balcarres Papers, VII, ff. 121r-131r.

previously sporadic visitations and high-level statute reforms. After the 1597 visitation, the influence of royal power at the university would grow in much the same way as it did in many other aspects of Scottish society, and Melville's influence in both the university and the wider ecclesiastical situation in Scotland would become increasingly marginalized. While Melville would react positively to this situation by greatly developing the provision of theological education at St Andrews over the following decade, any chance he had of establishing full control over the university was well and truly over.

Conclusion

It is clear that the religious and political affiliations of Melville and his cohorts played a large part in their growth in favour with the king in the early 1590s, and equally in their heavy-handed marginalisation at the end of the decade. It is also clear that Melville's ability to influence university politics also rose and fell in correlation with this, and that the other masters of the university accepted the political reality and were happy to treat him as a superior until it was no longer expedient to do so. In the same way, many of the actions and recommendations put forward by the visitation council in 1597 were politically motivated, and less to do with Melville's fitness or otherwise as rector. Yet underlying this, the themes seen in the earlier decades after 1560 continued to shape the politics and events at the university in the 1590s. In terms of teaching, consistently high standards of education in Latin, and to a lesser extent Greek, were still clearly visible in St Leonard's, which were unaffected by the vicissitudes of political disruption and may well reflect a tradition there going back far further than has been previously believed. James Martine continued to augment the patrimony held by his family within St Salvator's during this decade, but with a more cautious eye on William Welwood while the star of the Episcopal party in St Andrews was on the wane. Finally, the influence of the civil government in the university continued to grow, and the natural development of the trend seen under the various regents during the minority of James VI was carried on by the king himself, with additional impetus from the perceived threat he felt from the Presbyterian party at St Andrews. The turn of the century would see a radical shift back towards royal and Episcopal priorities at the university, and Melville's final decade there would be a

difficult one as he tried to adjust to a university with an agenda very different from his own.

Chapter 5: The rise of ‘the Moderates’, 1597-1606

The decade at St Andrews after 1597 offers a strange contradiction in terms of sources. Not only does the evidence of reforming commissions and visitations dry up, but so do the unprinted sources in the Balcarres Papers and the university muniments. The narratives of Calderwood and Melville also cease to be interested in university affairs. There is thus a large gap in sources between the visitation of 1599 and Melville’s eventual removal from St Andrews in 1606, except for some references to his behaviour and conduct in the St Andrews Presbytery. On the other hand, the period between 1595 and 1603 is the first time that we see actual teaching sources in abundance for the university, especially for divinity. What emerges from both sets of sources is the marginalisation of Melville and his colleagues in St Mary’s by the royal government and its supporters at the university. Detailed accounts of the colleges prepared between the 1597 and 1599 visitations suggest that there was a growing air of stability across the university following the turmoil of the 1580s and 1590s. Melville, deprived of a voice in national church politics, seems to have focussed his efforts upon the education of local ministers and students, and on providing them with the tools to combat unorthodox doctrinal viewpoints, particularly those of Catholicism. A survey of the sources that survive for teaching at St Mary’s reflects what one would perhaps expect given Melville’s intellectual background—namely tuition that blended a Ramist approach to biblical exposition and exegesis with Calvinist and Presbyterian theological commonplaces. However, from a comparison with the limited sources that survive for arts teaching after 1597 it seems possible to detect a divergence in teaching between the colleges, with St Salvator’s and St Leonard’s staunchly defending the use of Aristotelian and other traditional texts above all others, including those by Ramus. Together, these sources suggest that the period of ideological ferment at St Andrews was over and, despite Melville still being in residence, a new age of royally-controlled moderation was already being ushered in.

University affairs and politics after 1597

In the aftermath of the 1597 visitation, James VI continued his attempts to exercise royal control over Kirk proceedings, and a growing majority of ministers seemed to

support this action. The king continued to dictate when and where the General Assembly should meet, and there was no dissent when he ordered just one assembly in 1601 and then prorogued the next meeting until July 1604. The extent to which royal power was unopposed is clear from the appointment in 1600 of David Lindsay, Peter Blackburn and George Gledstanes as bishops of Ross, Aberdeen and Caithness, an action that would have been unheard of five years previously. Melville was unable to rally any opposition to this process, as he was banned by the king from attending the assembly after 1597. Even though Melville and John Johnston appeared at the March 1598 assembly as commissioners for the St Andrews Presbytery they were summarily ordered to leave as unlawful representatives.

We have already seen that in the aftermath of the July 1597 visitation there was a continued correspondence between the university chancellor John Lindsay and the masters of the university. Following this visitation the masters made a concerted effort to improve their record keeping and general administration. After the failure between 1594 and 1597 to record which colleges new students were matriculating into, the new rector Robert Wilkie ensured that this fault was remedied, and the records throw considerable light on the undergraduate student populace towards the end of the 'Melvillian' period.¹ Arts students appear to have notably increased, fluctuating between 11 (1598) and 28 (1606) per year for St Salvator's, and 14 (1598) and a high of 47 (1606) for St Leonard's. Over the decade as a whole from 1597 to 1606, there was a total of 473 recorded entrants, marking a considerable growth on the previous decade when student numbers struggled to rise above 400. Except for 1601, when St Leonard's had 40 entrants compared to 16 in St Salvator's, there was an almost even split in the ratio of entrants between the colleges. This was a change to the trend of the previous two decades, when St Leonard's had a marginal numerical superiority over its counterpart. While this may simply be down to chance, it is possible that this reflects a conscious division of students into equal numbers among the two arts colleges, or perhaps more likely that with the resurgence of royal and Episcopal power at the university St Salvator's was again coming into greater favour and thus attracting more students.

Out of this body 263 students are recorded as receiving their MA, or just over 55 percent. Conversely, just 77 students, or 16 percent, are recorded as taking their

¹ See appendix.

BA. Taken together, this evidence suggests that the BA, which had been extremely popular in the early decades after 1560, had begun to fall into abeyance, with students more likely to undertake the entire course of MA study at the university. Whether this reflects a growing trend of stability at the university, or a growing level of student wealth, is impossible to say, but it is clear that a full degree-level education was a growing priority for Scottish students.

The records kept for divinity students in the same decade show that student numbers at St Mary's had remained largely static, rising from a total of 74 recorded students between 1588 and 1596 to a total of 80 between 1597 and 1606. It is clear that Melville's restriction to teaching in St Mary's after the visitation of 1597 had a positive effect: while numbers hovered at five to six entrants for the years 1597-99, they jumped to 13 in 1600 and 16 in 1601. The known origins of the student body at St Mary's are also of interest, as only 13 students from St Salvator's and 12 from St Leonard's were known to have proceeded to the college. This equals around six percent of all known MA students, which again suggests that students attending St Andrews were primarily interested in receiving a good arts degree, with very few going on to the ministry or to study theology. It also meant that the remaining 55 students, or 69 percent of the overall divinity body, were coming from other Scottish universities or from abroad, showing that Melville's reputation really was attracting a wide student following.

There are a range of college inventories and rentals for the years 1597-1599 that suddenly throw light onto the inner workings of the college administrations after the previous decades of obscurity. A rental drawn up for St Mary's shows that while some progress had been made in regularising funds, it was still a college in trouble.² The college now employed George Mearns as *oeconomus*, who was paid £100 for his services, and who had managed to take in just under 21 chalders of victual from the various college properties. These included Tynningham, a third of the kirks of Crail and St Michael's beside Cupar in Fife, and in Angus Tannadyce, Inchbrayock, Perth and Laurencekirk. However, almost seven chalders were unpaid from various sources, and did not meet the full estimate of over 35 chalders of victual due from the annexed benefices. The rental also shows how extensively the college property had been let out

² UYSL156, 81-85, 86-90. However, an undated summary rental for the college states it had received 25 chalders and 8 bolls victual and £806 4*d.*, and for that year had £156 9*d.* in surplus cash after expenses.

in tack. These included two set by Melville himself on St Michael's in 1588, and while the college had taken in £996 3s. 2d. that year from tacks and money rentals, £241 6s. 8d. was still not forthcoming. Although Melville and John Johnston stated in the rental that they had collected in £1560 due from the tacks that had been set 'four years since or thereby', it was clear that the college rents had become extremely diminished through their poor handling over the preceding three decades.

Eight bursars were supported on the college foundation at the rate set in 1579 of £22 6s. 8d. and nine bolls of victual, and a further two bursars had been set up by a mortification from Lord Lindsay. The college also had a cook and porter, and the office of university beadle outlined in the 1597 visitation was in place as St Mary's paid a third of his £100 annual fee from their accounts. The masters had spent just over £205 on the upkeep of the college, and in total were overspent by £642 9s. 7d. once all fees were accounted for. However, it appears that Melville and the other two masters took considerably more cash in this year than their fees, augmented in 1597, entitled them to. Melville took an additional £200 above the £100 and five chalders due to him, while the other two masters were awarded an additional £100 on top of their fee of £100 and three chalders. Whether this was given in lieu of back pay they had not received, or for some other reason, is unclear.

A further college inventory drawn up in 1598³ showed that the furnishings of St Mary's, though sparse, were considerable. Each room had at least a bed and 'a board, furm and press'. The account of Melville's own room shows both his spartan lifestyle and the fact that he was quite accomplished with his hands, for in addition to 'a fair standing bed of old' there was also 'another standing bed made of new by the principal, a langsett bed, a long board, a fair press, all of oak, [and] a little stool.' Johnston and Patrick Melville also had similar furnishings, but each had apparently made a small iron corner chimney for their rooms.

The rentals for St Leonard's in the later half of the 1590s⁴ confirm that the college income was fixed and stable. Every rental shows that the lands attached to the college – Fawside, Kenlowie, Rathelpie and Peakie Mill – paid just over 24 chalders of victual, while money rentals were paid into the college from a range of unspecified 'auld rentals', the so-called 'pittance silver' on various small rents in and around St

³ UYSL156, 85-86.

⁴ UYSL156, 91-94 (1599); Balcarres Papers, VII, ff. 66-67 (summary of all the college rentals, n.d.), 187-188 (n.d.), 189 (n.d.), 190 (c. 1596/1597), 191-193 (n.d.), 194-195 (n.d., copy of 191-193), 196-197 (n.d.). The names of the masters in the undated rentals indicate that they are from the late 1590s.

Andrews, and the rental of the priory of Portmoak, which was annexed to the college in 1582. The cash total raised from these sources came to around £400 annually, but money raised from the sale of unused victual greatly increased this. Two undated rentals place this income at around £1276 for one year and £2008 for another, while a rental dated to 1599 puts the total at just over £1674, meaning that the college had a considerable amount of liquid capital at its disposal.

However, the variable income from this sale, dependant on fluctuations in grain prices, greatly affected the annual college finances, as its outgoings were fixed. By 1599, the college supported the principal, four regents, an additional regent in grammar, and a provisor, who each enjoyed £108 for their board, with the principal receiving £144. While the grammarian enjoyed the same board as the other regents, he was only given an additional £20 for his cash fee against the regents' 50 merks and the £66 13s. 4d. allocated to the principal. Boarders in the surviving rentals include the seven masters, 19-20 students, and several ancillary staff, giving an average of around 30 people supported on the foundation at any one time. However, the rental takes no notice of 'boy scholars' or other poor students, of which thirteen are noted in the 1599 visitation. In addition to staff fees in 1599, board totalled £872 for the masters and £1330 for the students. There was a further £197 for ancillary fees, heating, lighting and maintenance. Following payment of these outgoings and the sale of surplus grain, the college was overspent by £44 16s. 8d. in one year, £91 8s. 9d. in another, in credit by £1007 17s. 4d. in a year when victual sold at a very high price, and was overdrawn by £680 6s. 8d. at the time of the 1599 visitation.

Judging from the rentals for St Salvator's,⁵ the three principal masters of the college each uplifted their own rents from the annexed parishes of Cults, Kemback and Dunino for their fees and board, as there are no figures recorded in the rentals for them. The 1597 rental shows that the rents due from the parish of Forteviot were still under legal process, but the college survived almost entirely on the ample rental taken from the parish and surrounding lands of Kilmany. The Kilmany rentals for 1586/87, 1588 and 1597 show it provided just over 30 chalders and between £188 and £480 in any given year. Over two-thirds of the victual was left over once allowances had been made to the various masters and bursars, and the sale of it in 1597 raised £2015 11s. 3d., though another undated rental shows a similar amount of remaining victual

⁵ Balcarres Papers, VII, ff. 66-67 (undated), 121-126 (October and November 1597), 127-129 (copy of entries on ff. 123-126)

fetched just £751. Annual fees for the college were around £1000, which included 8 bursars who each consumed three chalders of oats and twenty-three bolls of meal. This was the same amount consumed by the eight common servants attached to the college. This total also included the fees due to Welwood and Blair of £100 and a chalder of oats each, and of the three regents attached to the college, who each received £50. The undated summary rental, written when sold victual raised just £751, shows the college was left in credit by £51 10*d.*, while the 1597 rental shows that the college was left in credit by £750 9*s.* 3*d.*

Despite the college being financially stable, following the 1597 visitation tensions among the masters at St Salvator's were still noticeable. On 19 January 1597 Martine had refused the presentation of Andrew Monypenny to the prebendary of Muirton by the Earl of Cassilis, 'in respect of his minoritie and hes age as also that the said Mr James haid put and placit ane uther [unspecified] persone alreddie therintill.'⁶ Following the death of the third master David Martine in 1595, who was apparently replaced by the former holder William Cranston, it appears that Martine began to groom another member of his family for a post in the college. A royal letter of 1 March 1599 shows that Cranston had been replaced as holder of the prebendary of Balgonar by George Martine.⁷ George Martine was witness as a student of the college in August of that year to the redemption of an annual rent on Markinch, the proceeds from which were to be used 'upone the reparatione and reedifeing of some...decayit and ruinus pairtis' of the college, especially the 'separatione and biggine' of the tenements of the college between the steeple at the east and Butts Wynd at the west.⁸ James VI also appointed full control of the chaplainry of St Katharine's to the masters of the college,⁹ further showing it was stable and flourishing under the new royal and Episcopal regime.

A further visitation was sent to the university by the government in July 1599.¹⁰ This visitation, for which no other records have come to light save those already published, made a number of small operational changes to the university. On the whole, however, it was a continuation and augmentation of the processes established in the 1597 visitation. This was probably why it was referred to as the

⁶ UYSS110/J25.

⁷ UYSS110/K4.7.

⁸ UYSS110/C4.16.

⁹ UYSS110/C2.

¹⁰ *Evidence*, 199.

king's 'second visitation' rather than being seen as an entirely new commission. The biggest change here was a re-ordering of the university council, with the creation of John, Earl of Montrose as the new chancellor and a greater role afforded to George Gledstanes, who was appointed vice-chancellor. As the local parish minister and a favourite of James VI appointed in the aftermath of the 'riot' of 1596, Gledstanes' growing importance as a royal spokesman was evident in this appointment. He and Andrew Melville would come to numerous blows over the former's continual interference in the university.

The changes to the commission also made new appointments to the university council, with Montrose replacing John Lindsay (who had died in 1598), and Peter Bishop of Dunkeld, John Learmonth of Balcomie, and James Nicholson replacing David Carnegie of Culluthie, Robert Rollock and Thomas Buchanan. That the visitation was following up on earlier business rather than making radically new policy is clear from the raft of rather prosaic recommendations it made. These included a note to St Leonard's to elect an *oeconomus*, and an order that a trial be made of the still extremely unwell Homer Blair for his suitability as a master.

It was also at this visitation that Melville was formally established as dean of theology, although the post had clearly been under discussion at the 1597 visitation. St Mary's was still an area where the council exercised greater caution and oversight than they did with the other colleges, and a number of statutes were passed to ensure that the college's financial management was reviewed by the council. There was also a minor restructuring of the theology course to reflect the fact that a fourth master had still not been found. Melville was to teach the common-places and history of the Bible as stipulated in the 1597 visitation, while John Johnston was to teach a quarter of the New Testament each year. Patrick Melville was to teach the entrants in the first year 'the halie languages, with the practice thereof, in some of the practical books', and those who passed basic examinations were to be taught a third of the books of the prophets for the remaining three years of the course. The vice-chancellor, rector, the dean of theology and the other two principals were to be the annual examiners for the theology students.

The government's growing authority is also clear in the statute that asked for a formal divinity degree to be re-established, the form of which would be 'appointed by

his majesty'. While official divinity degrees would not be reinstated until 1616,¹¹ Melville's distaste for any kind of formal divinity qualification due to its Catholic overtones was clearly being disregarded. From 1600 onwards sporadic MA awards are recorded for a number of St Mary's students, with one award being made in 1600 and one in 1603, and three awards in 1601. Only the 1603 entrant, William Davidson, is recorded as having spent enough time at the college to qualify for a full degree, but it may be that the other students had also been there for a similar length of time.¹² This may be an indicator that some kind of theological degree was awarded to students who desired one before more formal qualifications were established under the principalship of Robert Howie. Again though, the image of stability and increasing royal control is apparent throughout these statutes, and the fact that there is little in the way of dissent or dispute recorded by this visitation suggests that the new status quo was broadly accepted.

Perhaps realising that the complete removal of law tuition in 1597 was a rash action, the commission ordained that the council should 'seek out an sufficient learned person in the laws' who could work as both lawyer in the college and commissary in the town, the name of whom was to be reported to the king by 1 August. Surprisingly, William Welwood was chosen to return to the college and resume his post. However, his later career in St Salvator's until his resignation in 1611, and the fortunes of his family, show that Martine and his kin had clearly gained the upper hand in both the college and the town in their ongoing feud. When Melville and Welwood had been removed from their positions of authority in 1597, further moves were made against the Welwood family as a whole. Welwood's brother-in-law, James Smith, was murdered on the Anstruther Road in September 1597, and the blame for the murder was immediately laid upon the Arthurs. Both the presbytery and kirk session were heavily involved in the mediation of the feud, with a prominent role taken by George Gledstones. However, tensions continued to run high, resulting in the attempted shooting of Welwood's sister, Esther, in the town centre by Arthur kinsmen in September 1598.¹³ It was after the feud had been brought to an uneasy settlement in the first half of 1600 that Welwood returned to his post, but under severely limited licence. James VI ordered the formal reappointment of Welwood to the professorship

¹¹ Cant, 70-73.

¹² See appendix.

¹³ Cairns, 'Academic feud', 270-277.

of law in June, but he was allowed to keep only the £100 cash from his salary in 1599 and had to give over the victual portion to the common use of the college as a punishment.¹⁴ Further to this, he was to sign a humiliating bond of good behaviour before Sir Patrick Murray of Wemyss, George Gledstones, the rector James Wilkie and James Nicholson. James VI was keen to see this latter stipulation enforced, as he wrote to Martine and the other masters on 3 November asking them to ensure that Welwood signed the bond, or be refused his stipend.¹⁵ Welwood signed it before Murray, the commissary clerks David Maul and James Mitchelson, and Robert Howie in his capacity as minister of Dundee on 13 January 1601. Welwood reaffirmed this bond on 29 July 1603, and thereafter appears to have quietly gone about his duties in the college.¹⁶

Melville's final years at St Andrews also show how far he had been marginalised. Unable to contribute at a national level to church politics, Melville put all his energy into extending his educational programme into the presbytery for the benefit of both students and local ministers. It is likely no coincidence that from the beginning of 1598 Melville took a considerably more active role in the exercise, appearing at three different instances in the year to 'make' and 'add' to the text. He is most likely responsible for the return of students to the exercise in November of the same year, despite the royal injunctions of the preceding year. It is also probably no coincidence that a new form of trial, the formal disputation within the presbytery, made its appearance in this year. Unlike the exercise, the new disputation appears to have been a more formal and academic exercise than the simple exegesis of a text. Its first recorded instance on 23 March 1598 suggests it was triggered by a General Assembly ordinance earlier that month that had called for a common 'head' or topic in religion to be regularly treated with a public disputation and examination. The disputations were to be 'in forme of short propositionis' taken from 1 Timothy which would be written and presented to the presbytery by James Melville. On 30 March the theses were given over by him, and the seriousness attached to the dispute was clear from the fact that 'all discipline [was] to seis befor none' so that all the masters of the university as well as the ministers could attend. Andrew Melville was chosen to be *praeses* over the dispute, while James Melville was to sustain against Robert Wilkie

¹⁴ UYSS110/C4.17.

¹⁵ UYSS110/C4.18.

¹⁶ UYSS200/4.

and the assembled ministers of the presbytery who were ‘to be in reddines with thair argumentis giff the tym will serve.’ Following the initial exercise, the preparation of theses was ordered by Robert Wilkie on 7 April, by George Gledstanes on 22 June on 1 Timothy 3, by Andrew Duncan on 28 September on 1 Timothy 4, by William Murray on 4 January, and by David Lindsay on 5 April.¹⁷

In November of the following year these piecemeal disputations were replaced by a much larger and more systematic programme of ‘commoun heidis of the controversies betuix the Kirk and the papistes’. This programme of 13 separate topics, repeating *verbatim* many of those found in the *theses theologicae*, was likely written by Melville, and he was to provide the disputation on the first head *De Scriptura*. The extended notes on the topics attack the theology of the Catholic church, and the further subdivision of many of the topics into a list of discussion questions does bear a slight Ramist influence, suggesting their authorship by Melville. These heads were each allocated to a different minister in the presbytery, and over the course of the following year one was taken up each month in turn. After 13 November 1600 the programme became irregular, as the next entry for a head was *De Coena* (defendant unknown) on 17 February 1602 which was then followed by Alexander Forsyth on *De Falsa Nominatis Sacramentis* on 29 April, William Welwood on *De Praedestinatione* on 10 June, and finally John Dykes on *De Ecclesia* on 28 April 1603.¹⁸ James VI appears to have been highly suspicious of these disputations, for an act delivered to the presbytery on 15 July 1602 shows he believed that ‘thai and utheris that ar on the exerceis transgress the actis of the generall assembleie by particuler applicatioun in the exerceis and disavowing of thingis authorized be the assembleie’, and he desired ‘to have sure informatioun of the weritie anent that presbyterie ther behaviour in doctrine and discipline that thei be nocht exponit to sinister calumnyis.’ On 26 May 1603, the presbytery decided that the disputations would in future only be held in Latin in St Mary’s before the masters and students of the university, so that the ‘weak populace’ might not get seditious ideas from the

¹⁷ *StAPR*, 255-257, 339, 349, 353, 362.

¹⁸ *StAPR*, 358-359. Although a note on 26 May 1603 states ‘that mair nor half a zeir syne the controwertit heidis wer dewydit and ane appoyntit for ewerie ane of the brether’ (363), and one by John Carmichael on *De Conciliis* did go ahead as it was apparently suggested that he had spoken unfavourably about the king in his treatment.

disputations. However, formal treatment of the heads did sporadically continue in the records.¹⁹

The presbytery records also reflect the increasing persecution and intolerance of Melville, spearheaded by George Gledstanes. In addition to his work mediating the Arthur-Welwood feud, Gledstanes also frequently deputised on royal diplomatic business, particularly after his appointment as archbishop on 12 October 1604. While he enjoyed the favour of royal privilege, he also incurred the distaste of his fellow presbytery members for his 'courtliness'.²⁰ A number of clashes between Gledstanes and Melville are recorded, and they show clearly that Gledstanes was gaining the upper hand in the early 1600s. On 24 September 1601 a visitation of the presbytery criticised Gledstanes for 'melling in the action betuix the Universitie and the town of Sanctandros.' This was a reference to a dispute between the university and the town council over the university's right to elect members to the kirk session eldership, a practice which had fallen into abeyance since the previous decade. This dispute reached the pulpit in May of the following year, when Melville complained loudly that Gledstanes had 'cryit out publictlie against the Universitie as sic quha wald exeme themself be discipline, he having no occasioun except that, laitlie befor the universitie maid intimatioun to [the Kirk] session of thair privilege.' The matter was prorogued to the wider presbytery, and Gledstanes 'promeist' that he would ensure university representation on the eldership, showing how influential he had become.

Melville's aggressive posture against Gledstanes, however, had backfired. On 8 July Gledstanes accused Melville of making unfavourable comments about him and the other ministers in St Andrews in his sermon of the preceding week on Ephesians 5:11. While Melville protested that this accusation was made with 'licht informatioun', the charge was taken seriously by the Privy Council, who were unfortunately meeting at the same time in St Andrews. Melville was warded within the college by the council, and though he was not held for any length of time the impact of this episode was not lost on him.²¹ While Melville was mentioned as a member of a commission on witchcraft on 20 October 1603, the next significant

¹⁹ *StAPR*, 363-364.

²⁰ A. R. MacDonald, 'Gledstanes, George (c.1562-1615)', *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10784>, accessed 20 June 2008].

²¹ M'Crie, 234-235; *StAPR*, 354, 358, n. 308 and 312; *JMAD*, 545; *RPC*, VI, 409; Calderwood, VI, 157. On the issue of the privileges of the university, see *RStAKS*, pp. xcvi, 806, 831; *StAPR*, 344, 354-356.

reference in the presbytery records relating to him is that of the following month, where on 24 November he is recorded as being ‘speciallie absent’ from the presbytery meetings, and apparently had been for some time.²² The final reference to Melville in the records, on 10 January 1605, shows how much he had been placed on the defensive. He is found seeking a deposition from all the other presbytery members regarding the veracity and soundness of his doctrine as a precaution against Gledstanes.²³ It was a huge reversal of fortune for Melville, who just ten years previously had been at the height of his powers in St Andrews and would likely have never expected such a resurgence of Episcopal power.

Teaching at St Mary’s under Melville

It is only in the 1590s that we begin to get real evidence of the form and content of divinity teaching at St Mary’s under Melville. A ‘Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans’ (*Commentarius in divinam Pauli epistolam ad Romanos*) by him is his only surviving set of theology lectures. Copied from Melville’s own manuscript in 1601 by the Heidelberg student Daniel Demetrius, this commentary was unknown to Thomas M’Crie, and was published by the Wodrow Society in 1850 with Charles Ferme’s *Logical Analysis of the Epistle to the Romans*.²⁴ While Melville’s ‘Commentary’ is indeed logically and systematically organised, it does not provide conclusive proof that Melville used a Ramist approach in his biblical exegesis. The text is not actually a detailed commentary, but rather a summary analysis of each of the sixteen chapters of Romans, preceded by a short summary of the text (the *argumentum epistolae*).²⁵

Melville starts with a very general account of the text before moving on to a specific account of each of the chapters. This might suggest that at a very high level he was following the third rule of the Ramist ‘method’ of organising material whereby the most general characteristics of a subject are placed first, before moving

²² *StAPR*, 375-376, 379.

²³ *StAPR*, 399-402, 423-427, 446-448

²⁴ C. Ferme, *A Logical Analysis of the Epistle to the Romans, Translated by William Skae: and a Commentary on the same Epistle by Andrew Melville, in the Original Latin*, ed. W. L. Alexander (Wodrow Society, 1850). The *Commentarius* comprises 385-515. The endnote on 515 states that Demetrius took down the commentary in July 1606 in ‘the space of eight days, having followed the example of Andrew Melville’ (*Quem imposuit Daniel Demetrius, octo dierum spatio, exemplar Andr. Melvini secutus*). See also Cameron, ‘Andrew Melville in St Andrews’, 71 and M’Crie, endnote.

²⁵ Melville, *Commentarius*, 385-390.

on to the less conspicuous and more specific ones. Moreover, the way in which he summarises the argument of the epistle heavily uses dichotomy. Melville begins with perhaps the most general statement he can make, namely that the text, which he sees as encompassing ‘the whole of Christian doctrine’ (*summam Christianismi complexa*), is comprised of a prograph, graph, and epigraph (given in the original Greek and in Latin translation as *praescriptio*, *scriptio* and *postscriptio*) which, as the beginning, middle and end of the text, make up a perfect and sacred whole.²⁶

He then goes on to expound logically the contents of each of these sections in dichotomous terms. The preface, the first 17 verses of chapter one, is divided into two parts, firstly that of Paul announcing his apostolic duty and office toward the Romans, and then announcing his zeal and goodwill towards them. The central text, spanning the end of Chapter 1 to Chapter 15 verse 14, also contains two parts: a section Melville calls the *doctrina*, which runs to the end of chapter 11 and comprises Paul’s exposition of the divine truth of salvation given to the human race by Christ and conferred through his gospel. The second is an *exhortatio* in chapters 12-15 on the various ways one can lead a Christian life.²⁷ The final section, the epigraph, includes the second half of chapter 15 and chapter 16 and again contains two sections, the ‘apology’ (*excusatio*) and ‘greeting’ (*salutatio*). Each has two parts, the former providing a written greeting to the Romans and an apology for Paul’s failure to visit them (*altera libertatis in scribendo, altera dilati adventus*), and the latter providing a ‘more human greeting’ (*humaniorem voco salutationem*) to those at Rome as well as a ‘more religious’ one calling for obedience to God that ‘finishes the epistle’ (*salutatio religiosor...qua epistolam claudit*).²⁸

Melville expands on this outline as he carries out a verse by verse summary of the text. However, he is less apparently Ramist in his approach, preferring to sum up simply the key points of each verse as they come up, with no especial dichotomy or arrangement. The feature that strikes the reader most is instead the focus on critically examining key words and phrases of the original Greek text, and in assessing Paul’s literary ability and mastery of the epistle form. Melville adds a short philological section to his summary of chapter 1 where he outlines a series of criticisms (*Elenchoi*) to interpretations by other unspecified authors of words and phrases in the first 17

²⁶ *Commentarius*, 385.

²⁷ *Commentarius*, 386-389.

²⁸ *Commentarius*, 390.

verses.²⁹ Melville sees this section as the thematic ‘preface’ (*exordium epistolae, sive praeloquium*) to the entire book, which may explain why he devotes particular philological attention to it. These include justifying Paul’s usage of the word δουλος (*doulos*, ‘servant’) to describe himself as a servant of Christ and as a bearer of the apostolic duty and office in verse 1, a defence of Paul’s syntactical choice in using the verb ελθειν (*elthein*, ‘to go, to come’) with the participle δεόμενος (*deomenos*, ‘being wanted, needed, begged’) in verse 10, and an approval of his use of the phrase τουτο δε εστιν (‘this is’) to soften the harshness of the word στηρικθηναι (*sterikhthenai*, ‘to be obliged, or bound, to do something’) in verse 11. This interest in the literary and syntactical merit of the Greek used by Paul is continued throughout the text, but is also expanded to include analysis in places of the etymology of Greek words and phrases. Examples include an account of the transmission of various words in the Gospel from Hebrew and Greek texts,³⁰ and a table of the various Greek forms of the names of Adam and Christ in the exposition of chapter 5, verses 15-19.³¹

There are no major doctrinal controversies in this decidedly Calvinist work, or any instances of truly original theological thought on Melville’s part. Like most reformed theologians, Melville believed that Romans was a critically important text for the understanding of salvation, and he is clearly trying to impress the importance of this on his students, along with explaining the concept of justification in predestinarian terms.³² There are, however, some instances where he is seen to give tacit support to a Presbyterian interpretation of doctrine. His exegesis of chapter 1 verse 15 states that Paul was given his apostolic office both through the authority of the Antioch Presbytery and by divine appointment from God in Acts 9, a viewpoint which Melville had engaged in heated debate over with Patrick Adamson in the 1580s.³³

Melville’s exegesis of chapter 13 and its critical passages over obedience to the temporal magistrate is extremely short and relatively tame considering Melville’s known exposure to Calvinist resistance theory and to the works of Buchanan.³⁴ He does state that there is a critical difference between obeying ‘kind and just princes’ (*benefici et justi principes*) who serve the public good and rule with the common

²⁹ *Commentarius*, 391-406.

³⁰ *Commentarius*, 402.

³¹ *Commentarius*, 449.

³² See for example *Commentarius*, 441-459.

³³ *Commentarius*, 394; see also chapter 3.

³⁴ *Commentarius*, 496-500.

consent of all, and obeying 'impious and unjust tyranny' (*impiam et injustam tyrannidem*) which is not legitimate and ought not to be obeyed. However, the main thrust of the text is to give a number of reasons why the legitimate magistrate *must* be obeyed and why those who resist the magistrate's authority deserve contempt and punishment. This is hardly the interpretation one would expect from the 'radical exponent of the two kingdoms theory',³⁵ and delineates the distance between Melville's actual recorded thought and his portrayal in Presbyterian narratives.

Overall, the 'Commentary' fails to provide deep insight into Melville's own theology beyond confirming his Calvinist credentials, and certainly does not suggest that he was devoted exclusively to Ramism. However, it is nevertheless a clear and highly effective text as an introductory criticism of Romans. Its focus on Greek syntax and etymology suggests that if this was the standard of lectures offered by Melville, he must have achieved his aim of inculcating a thorough understanding of the New Testament with specific reference to its source language in his students.

To what extent, however, is this approach reflected in the surviving texts of divinity students who studied under him? We are fortunate that seven *theses theologicae*, the pamphlets printed for the formal disputation at the end of the theology course, have survived from Melville's period as principal of St Mary's that provide some answers to this question.³⁶ Not only are they the earliest surviving evidence of theological teaching at St Andrews, they are also the earliest detailed examples of theology tuition at any Scottish university, all being printed between 1595 and 1602. The *theses theologicae* are unique in the fact that six of the seven defended were done so by individuals, the complete opposite of the process that took place in the arts faculty, which were defended *en masse* by the graduating class.³⁷ The names of the respondents show that the attestations of James Melville that the school attracted international renown were not without substance. They included Christopher

³⁵ Donaldson, *Scotland: James V- James VII*, 148-50, 168, 197-200, 204-5, 266-7.

³⁶ Christopher Jansen, *De Praedestinatione, sive De Causis Salutis et Damnationis Aeternae Disputatio* (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1595); Jean Masson, *De Libero Arbitrio Theses Theologicae* (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1597); Patrick Geddie, *De Iustificazione Hominis Coram Deo, Theses Theologicae* (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1600); John Scharp, *Theses Theologicae De Peccato* (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1600); Thomas Lundie, *Utrum Episcopus Romanus sit Antichristus necne?* (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1602); Andrew Morton, *Theses Theologicae De Sacramentis et Missa Idololatrica* (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1602). For detailed bibliographical information on these and all other St Andrews *theses* before 1747 see R. G. Cant, 'The St Andrews University theses, 1579-1747: a bibliographical introduction', *EBST* 2.2 (1941), 105-150, at 143-147, and 'Supplement', *Ibid.* 2.4 (1945), 263-273.

³⁷ J. F. Kellas Johnstone, 'Notes on the academic theses of Scotland', *Records of the Glasgow Bibliographical Society* 8, 81-98.

Jansen (Johannides) a Dane, in 1595; Jean Masson, a Frenchman, in 1597; Patrick Geddie, later minister of Orwell, and John Scharp, afterwards Professor of Theology at Die in Dauphine and from 1630 to 1648 at Edinburgh, in 1600; and Thomas Lundie and Andrew Morton, later ministers at Alyth and Cults, in 1602.³⁸ While the granting of degrees in divinity in this period was largely in abeyance, these theses appear to have been connected with graduation for divinity students in that they marked the formal end of the taught theological course, much in the same way that defence of a thesis at Geneva marked the end of the course with the awarding of a ‘testimonial’ letter rather than a degree.³⁹ The fact that three of the six were Scots who went directly into the local ministry backs up the idea that the teaching at St Mary’s and these disputations were a key part of their intellectual preparation for service in the Scottish church.

Each of the individual *theses theologicae* rigorously expounds a central topic of Calvinist theology in entirely standard terms. Thus Jansen discussed the doctrine of predestination and the means by which someone was elect or reprobate in 1595, and Masson discussed the nature of free will in 1597. Justification by faith alone and a disputation on the nature, causes and effect of sin were undertaken respectively by Geddie and Scharp in 1600. In 1602 the disputations had a decidedly anti-Papal flavour, with Andrew Morton proving why there were only two true sacraments and why the Mass was idolatrous, and Thomas Lundie offering a disputation on whether or not the pope was the Antichrist.

In a sense, the choice of these topics is obvious, and completely expected. Following his formative experience of witnessing the Jesuits in action in Paris in the 1560s, Melville had explicitly stated that his hope for St Mary’s on his accession there was to create an ‘anti-seminary’ as rigorous in inculcating Calvinist doctrine in its students as the Jesuit schools were in inculcating Catholics.⁴⁰ Each heading or ‘thesis’ within these works would have to be defended successfully by the respondent in order to pass the examination, and by having students recite ‘true’ dogma the masters of St Mary’s were giving future ministers the practical skills necessary to defend their religion. This is especially clear from the footnotes and marginal comments at the end

³⁸ Cant, ‘Theses’, 114-115. I am grateful to Mr John McCallum for providing me with the name of Patrick Geddie’s parish.

³⁹ Gillian Lewis, ‘The Genevan Academy’, 47 and n. 13; chapter 2, above.

⁴⁰ *JMAD*, 76.

of each thesis citing the relevant scriptural passages each thesis draws upon.⁴¹ In addition to marginal references, the end of Lundie's thesis is further bolstered by over 20 quotes from scripture defending it, while at the end of the theses of Morton and Geddie there are lists of 'discussion questions' (*problemata*) to show the respondent's awareness of doctrinal issues that could be raised by others.⁴² The topics of these theses are identical to many of the *theses theologicae* defended at Geneva in the same period under Beza, suggesting that Melville was perhaps following the content of theses that he had seen during his period as a regent there.⁴³ The fact that each of them was defended by a single person also mirrors the Continental practice of individual rather than group disputation.⁴⁴

The thesis on predestination defended by Jansen is the earliest surviving example in the series of seven, and is dated 10 April 1595.⁴⁵ Jansen first splits his text into two parts, the first dealing with a general outline of the doctrine.⁴⁶ He then outlines the causes of predestination, distinguishing between those who are elect and those who are reprobate, and logically proceeds through first the causes, the means, the purpose and signs of election, undertaking a similar process for condemnation.⁴⁷ The second section outlines the 'application' of the doctrine and its three main 'uses' (*applicationem et usum*), which are to remind the elect Christian to give gratitude to God for his salvation, to follow zealously his internal religious calling, and to have faith against the devil.⁴⁸

⁴¹ Jansen and Masson use footnotes; Geddie, Scharp, Lundie and Morton marginal comments. Lundie, 6-7; Morton, 10.

⁴² Lundie, 6-8; Morton, 11, Geddie, 11.

⁴³ I. Backus, 'L'enseignement de la logique à l'Académie de Genève entre 1559 et 1565', *Revue de Théologie et Philosophie*, 111 (1979), 153-163; P. Fraenkel, 'De l'écriture à la dispute: Le cas de l'Académie de Genève sous Théodore de Bèze', *Cahiers de la Revue de Théologie et Philosophie* (Lausanne, 1977); H. Heyer, *Catalogue des Theses de Théologie Soutenues à l'Académie de Genève Pendant les XVI^e, XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles* (Geneva, 1898), 9-27.

⁴⁴ Robert Howie, for example, defended a number of theses on his own while in Basle between 1588 and 1591, and sent copies back to Melville, John Johnston, and Robert Rollock. Cameron, *Letters*, pp. xliii-xlvii.

⁴⁵ Jansen's thesis does not have a date printed on the frontispiece, but a hand-written note, in what looks like Melville's hand, states 'Ad 10 diem Aprilis hora et loco solitis.'

⁴⁶ Jansen, thesis III.

⁴⁷ Jansen, theses IV-XXXI.

⁴⁸ Jansen, thesis XXXVII: 'Usus deniq[ue] huius doctrinae sunt isti: Primus, ut perpetuo hanc doctrinam, omnem gloriam salutis nostrae unico benignissimo DEO tribuamus, & grati infinitam eius bontatem celebremus'; thesis XXXVIII: 'Secundus, ut gratitudinem nostram, per omnem vitam sanctitate & bonis operibus DEO probare, et firmam vocationem nostram efficere studeamus'; thesis XXXIX: 'Tertius usus, ut persuasi de divina erga nos misericordia & amore in Christo firmissimum solatium hinc petamus & hauriamus in omni tentatione nostra, adversus omnia ignita tela diaboli.'

Throughout the work Jansen is at pains to stress the orthodox views of Calvinist doctrine on the subject. The basis of election is either the ‘sole efficacy of passive obedience’ or the ‘suffering and death of Jesus Christ.’ The cause of predestination is the ‘will or pleasure’ of God, because ‘scripture suggests to us no other cause beyond this’ and it would be ‘rash, reckless and impious curiosity’ to look for another.⁴⁹ Jansen takes specific care to point out that the doctrine of the Pelagians or Semi-Pelagians, ‘who outwith God invent the causes of human salvation in humanity itself’, are completely false, and follows Paul and Augustine in arguing that God did not first elect people who were worthy, ‘but by election he made the worthy’.⁵⁰

A similar process takes place in Scharp’s thesis on sin. Sin is dichotomised after a general introduction as being committed either by angels or men (*peccatum est hominum, aut angelorum*),⁵¹ and then as being ‘original or actual’ (*Estque originale, vel actuale*). Scharp then describes in logical form first the origin, nature, types, causes, and effects of both kinds of sin.⁵² In terms that could be interchangeably either Ramist or Aristotelian, the ‘material’ cause for original sin is the disobedience of the divine command by Adam, and the ‘formal’ cause of original sin takes the form of the payment exacted on every member of the human race afterwards. The causes of original sin are divided into two categories, the ‘external’ – the temptation of the devil via the serpent, the suspicion and envy of God by Adam, Eve – and the ‘internal’ cause of free will.⁵³ The ‘effects’ of sin are the ability to sense nudity and feel terror before God, exclusion from Eden, mortality and sickness, the feeling of lust, and for

⁴⁹ Jansen, thesis VIII (note brackets refer to marginalia, and are not used by the authors here as a way of listing points): ‘Voluntatem sive (a) beneplacitum DEI supremam causam Praedestinationis dicimus: quia (b) Scriptura supra hanc nullam alia[m] causam nobis proponit, & fides simul cum Scriptura in hac unica causa nos acquiescere iubet. Ita ut huius causae (c) causam quaerere, temerariae sit audaciae ac impiae curiositatu[m]’; thesis XX: Fundamentum Electionis & Salutis nostrae est in solo merito & unica efficacia obedientiae passivae, seu passionis & (a) mortis Iesu Christi.’

⁵⁰ Jansen, thesis XVI: ‘Falsissimum ergo est dogmatum Pelagianorum, tum Semi-pelagianorum, qui extra Deum causas salutis humanae in hominibus ipsis comminiscuntur’; thesis XIX: ‘Cum Apostolo igitur asserimus DEUM antequam iacerentur fundamenta Mundi nos elegisse ut Sancti essemus, non autem, quia sanctos futuros praevidebat tanquam ex operibus nostris. Neque elegit dignos, sed eligendo dignos facit, inquit rectissimè Augustinus lib. 5...’

⁵¹ Scharp, thesis X, XIII.

⁵² Scharp, theses XV-XXV.

⁵³ Scharp, thesis XX: ‘Causae vero huius primi peccati aliae externae fuerunt (a) quarum efficiens principalis fuit Diabolus, qui instrumento serpente utens, omenas anim[a]e facultates Evae ad defectionem sollicitavit ac tandem abripuit, (b) tum suspicionem invidi[a]e et malignitatis in Deo...(d) Interna verò causa fuit libera hominis voluntas...’

Eve the pain of childbirth.⁵⁴ ‘Actual’ sin logically follows, Scharp argues, from original sin, and is when transgressions against divine decree are either internally thought or externally acted out.⁵⁵ The work ends by detailing the main types of sin that are found in scripture, and further divides these sins into two categories of a ‘lighter’ type that will still allow election and a ‘heavier’ type that will see the condemned spend eternity in hell.⁵⁶ Scharp, like Jansen, also takes time to refute the views of other ‘heretical’ groups on original sin, denying not only the Pelagians but also the views of the Anabaptists and of course the Catholic viewpoint, again emphasising the central importance and inherent rightness of Calvinist doctrine.⁵⁷

In this way all the individual theses, to some extent, give their exposition of Calvinist theology couched in a dichotomous framework, and using Ramist terms. Masson’s thesis on free will starts with its definition, dichotomises it as being held by both angels and men, and then proceeds to expound logically the four states that comprise the cycle of free will, under the headings of creation, corruption, regeneration and glorification.⁵⁸ Thomson’s thesis only allows for the two Reformed sacraments, baptism and the Lord’s supper, and within each sacrament there are two ‘material’ actions, the ‘external’ visible ceremony and the ‘internal’ action performed by the holy spirit. The ‘material’ of the Lord’s supper is the bread and wine, and the ‘form’ that which Christ and his disciples followed. There is a double action to the performance of the Eucharist, the first on the half of the minister ‘to bless and break and dispense’ the sacrament, and the second on the parishioners ‘to accept, eat and drink’ it.⁵⁹ While Geddie’s theses on justification are not strictly dichotomous like the

⁵⁴ Scharp, thesis XXI: ‘Huius peccati poena Adamo & Evae communis, fuit (a) sensus nuditatis & miser[ia]e tam corporis, quàm animae; & (b) consenti[en]s terror, quo à facie Dei ipsos voce in iudicium vocantos sese absconderunt; denique spiritualis illa (c) censura, summaria nempe excommunicatio, & exclusio è Paradiso...(d) singularis verò poena Ev[ae] molestum viri dominium...(e) Adamo verò vita aerumnosa & laboriosa inflicta fuit...’

⁵⁵ Scharp, thesis XXX: ‘Peccatum hoc variè distribui potest, estque internum, in motu mentis, voluntatis, aut affectum, vel externum, in gestu, dicto, facto, contra legem Dei.’

⁵⁶ Scharp, thesis XXXIV: ‘Ut autem peccata (a) paria non sunt (quemadmodum Stoici voluerunt) sed alia aliis graviora & leviora, ita peccatorum poenè aliae graviores, aliae leviores sunt...’

⁵⁷ Scharp, thesis XVI: ‘ac proinde non sunt audiendi Pelagiani, qui omens in Adamo peccasse primique illius peccati reatu teneri negant; nec Anabaptistae, qui hoc nixi fundamento pedobaptisimum reiiciunt; denique nec Pontificii, qui peccatum originis non propriè peccatum, sed tantum alien[ae] culp[ae] imputationem absque proprio vitio esse volunt.’

⁵⁸ Masson, theses I, XIX- XLII.

⁵⁹ Morton, thesis III: ‘In omni sacramento est duplex material...una externa & visibilis, nempe elementa cum ritibus sacramentalibus: Altera interna & invisibilis, scilicet Christus cum suis beneficiis’; thesis VI: ‘Sacramenta alia sunt Veteris Testamenti, alia Novi...Novi Testamenti sunt, quae illis veteribus abrogates successere: nempe Baptismatus & Coena Domini’; thesis XII: ‘Coenae Sacrae material externa est panis cibarius, & vinum fructus vitis...Forma est, quam Christus, Evangelistae, &

others, the terms used to describe the nature of justification are more obviously Ramist. Thus the 'efficient cause' of justification is the holy trinity, the 'material cause' is the physical attributes of Christ's death on the cross and the spilling of his blood, the 'effects' of justification include the surety of salvation before God, absolution from sin and eternal life, the 'subjects' of justification are the elect, and the 'adjuncts or properties' of the doctrine are its 'unity, perfection, and immutability.'⁶⁰

However, one must be careful not to overstate the point; there is no exact layout applied to all these theses, nor is there an exclusively Ramist vocabulary used in the technical intellectual language of the works. There are a mixture of phrases in each that could come from both the range of 'artificial' and 'non-artificial' arguments of Ramus, or from the ten categories of Aristotle, or indeed from the general accrued baggage of intellectual discourse as shaped by both scholastic and humanist logic. Thus, like Melville's commentary on Romans, while there is obvious exposure to the logic of Ramus in these theses, the influence of Ramism at St Mary's clearly did not lead to a complete removal of the modes of thought and language stemming from Aristotelian logic.

The thesis entitled 'Whether or not the Bishop of Rome is the Antichrist?' was one of the last two theses tried under Melville at St Andrews. Although the topic initially seems shocking to us, it was probably one of the safest theological subjects to expound upon in a rhetorical debate in the religious environment of early-seventeenth century Scotland. This text is interesting primarily because the central consideration of the work is to distinguish why a Catholic or Episcopal form of ecclesiastical polity is corrupt and unacceptable, and to establish the superiority of the Presbyterian to the Episcopalian mode of church government.

The text is split into two sections, the first focussing on problems of meaning regarding the word 'bishop', and the second on the same problem regarding 'Antichrist'. Lundie argues that the office of bishop was founded by the gospels but may be either 'just' or 'unjust'. A 'just' bishop is Christ himself or a 'bishop' in the

Apostoli describerunt, & observarunt'; thesis XIII: Circa hanc Sacramenti materiam est duplex actio: una...nempe benedicere, frangere, praebere: alia sumentium: accipere, edere, bibere.'

⁶⁰ Geddie, thesis VI: 'Causa efficiens est (a) Deus Pater;' theses IX: 'Materialem causam unà cum Spiritu sancto disertè in Scripturis loquente ponimus Christi obedientiam usque ad (a) mortem crucis;' thesis XV: 'Effecta sunt, (a) conscientiarum coràm Deo placida quies (b) gloriatio fidei, ac certitudo salutis...(a) libertas Christiana cùm a reatu seu Legis maledictione, tum à corruptione...ipsa denique (c) aeterna vita'; thesis XVI: 'Subiectum proprium seu ordinarium sunt electi homines adulti' thesis XVII: 'Adiuncta seu proprietates sunt, unitas, perfectio, & immutabilitas.'

Presbyterian sense of an overseer of a single flock who governs the church in assembly with fellow bishops or presbyters.⁶¹ The ‘unjust’ bishop is ‘human’ and ‘satanic’, in the sense that humans through the power of Satan began to set up hierarchies within the church. These hierarchies produced ‘a regard for rank of distinction, the higher to the lower, in respect of which a man is said to be called bishop, or archbishop, or metropolitan, or patriarch, or pope’.⁶² Lundie uses the term ‘hierarchicopolitus’ throughout the work to imply an Episcopal office that has been corrupted with worldly concerns. His final justification for viewing the papacy as the Antichrist is that the pope is the agent of Satan who exerts a continual hold on the earth by means of his hereditary office, and who confuses both the temporal and spiritual swords.⁶³

There is, as one would expect from the title and from the examples given, a heavy flavour of apocalypticism to this text, a subject Melville was himself fascinated with. In thesis XVIII, the most detailed concluding section, Lundie provides a list of specific scriptural ‘proofs’ for attributing the distinguishing features and actions of the Antichrist in Revelation directly to the pope. He uses standard material found in contemporary reformed commentaries on Revelation which would have been commonplace in discussions of the text in St Mary’s, but there is one significant addition worth noting. In point 13 of this thesis, Lundie attributes special significance to the corruption of the Catholic Church between the papacies of Sylvester II and Gregory VII (999AD-1085AD):

The Pope of the Romans has Satan as a *co-worker*: and along with the false miracles, and signs and omens which he brags about, each one from Sylvester 2 to Gregory 7 inclusively, with many others afterwards, has been a magician, and a necromancer, and is an adept in the wicked arts and devilish slights of their papacies.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Lundie, theses I-VI. Thesis II: ‘Episcopatus, de quo nunc agitur, est praefectura Ecclesiastica, non legalis, sed Evangelica. (a) Estque iustus aut Iniustus’; thesis VI: ‘Ordinarius Episcopatus, qui & iustus & divinus ets, ut diximus, relationem habet ad gregem & populum Christianum, id est, ad singularem (a) Ecclesiam, cui praeest.’

⁶² Lundie, theses VII-XII. Thesis IX: ‘Satanicus veró Episcopatus, est is in quem humanus Episcopatus, auctore Satana, paulatim corruptus degeneravit: qui suis gradibus distinctus, relationem habet pro distinctionis gradu, superior ad inferiorem, cuius respectu Episcopus dicitur, aut Archiepiscopus, aut Metropolitanus, aut Patriarcha, aut universalis Episcopus.’

⁶³ Lundie, theses XIII-XVIII. Thesis XIII: ‘Hierarchicopoliticus, qui cum Episcopatu Hierarchico, id est spirituali tyrannide temporalem dominatu[m] invasit... & coniuncto vel confuso potiùs in persona unius utroque gladio, libidinem & luxum inexplebili avaritia & superba crudelitate cumulavit...’

⁶⁴ Geddie, thesis XVIII, 13: ‘Papa Rom. Satanam συνεργον habet: (a) & praeter fictitia miracula, & signa & prodigia quae iactat, (b) à Silvestro .2. ad Gregorium .7. inclusive, cum aliis postea multis,

As Howard Hotson has shown, the view that the mid-eleventh century heralded the age of the Antichrist was one that would play a key role in the seventeenth century, when the millenarian movement attempted to project the coming of a final holy war into the future.⁶⁵ While this idea is not prevalent in Melville's surviving writings on Revelation, this section shows that Lundie had been made aware during his theological instruction that the popes of the eleventh century also had special significance in the Antichristian mythology among Reformed commentators, from which we can infer that the discussions on eschatological issues in St Mary's were broader than the surviving evidence indicates.

The final *theses theologicae*, the class thesis of 1599, likely shows the public face of theological education at St Andrews. Entitled 'An Academic School on Subjects of Divinity for the Purpose of Seeking and Finding the Truth'⁶⁶ and defended on 26 and 27 July, they were overseen and likely authored by Melville. A note in the presbytery minutes in the preceding week states that Melville would like the assembled ministers to forego the exercise on the following Thursday and Friday to attend the 'publik disputis' at St Mary's, suggesting these were also presented before the members of the university council just after the visitation. Their contents suggest that, despite the condemnatory comments of the 1597 and 1599 visitations on the quality of religious teaching, instruction was orthodox, wide-ranging and rigorously intellectual.

The initial opening 'preparatory questions' (*progymnasmata*) of the text are fascinating. *Progymnasmata* were in origin training texts in rhetoric on a range of matters by the fourth-century Greek Aphthonius. Like their namesakes, they seem to have been made artificially difficult or contradictory to show off the skill of the students in debating. However, despite their slightly contrived nature, they show that debates were held at St Mary's about theological topics ranging from the relevance of Aristotle to theological teaching to the relation of 'sciences' such as logic and rhetoric

quisque fuit magus, & necromantes, & artibus nefariis & praestigiis Diabolicis Pontificatum est adeptus.'

⁶⁵ H. Hotson, 'The historiographical origins of Calvinist millenarianism', in B. Gordon (ed.) *Protestant History and Identity in Sixteenth-Century Europe, volume 2: the Later Reformation* (Aldershot, 1996), 159-180.

⁶⁶ *Scholastica Diatriba de rebus divinis ad inquirendam et inveniendam veritatem, a candidatis S. Theol. Habenda (Deo Volente) ad d. XXVI et XXVII Julii in Scholis Theologicis Acad. Andreeanae, Spiritu Sancto Praeside, D. And. Melvino S. Theol. D. et Illius facultatis Decano συζητησιν moderante* (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1599).

to the one ‘true’ science, theology. For example, the first three questions debate whether scripture can be understood using the tools of logic and rhetoric, and conversely whether the importance attached to these arts can be justified from scripture. The second and third questions focus on whether the language used in these arts should in fact come from scripture exclusively rather than classical sources, and whether Hebrew is the exclusive language that should be used for both argumentation and biblical exegesis.⁶⁷ Questions 4-8 debate the importance of Aristotle, his works, and the usefulness of Aristotelian terminology in theological teaching. These questions show that real intellectual effort was made at St Mary’s to assess the importance of these works to theology, and again show that Aristotle had in no way been wholly discarded in favour of Ramism. Question 4 debates whether the categories of Aristotle and of Porphyry should be kept apart from theological terminology, while questions 5 and 6 debate whether Aristotelian doctrines on the prediction of the future can be related to the doctrines of divine prophecy. Question 7 debates whether Aristotle’s doctrine of questioning and responding in *Topics* book 8 can be used in theological instruction, while question 8 debates whether the validity of arguments in the *Sophistical Refutations* is acceptable.⁶⁸

The remaining questions focus partially on theology, and partially on some problematic ideas arising from scripture that have a scientific bent to them. These include whether heaven moves and the planets are at rest, or, ‘as scripture asserts’, that the reverse was true, and whether ‘at the beginning and first point of all time’ all things were created or only the shapeless matter of the void, along with questions

⁶⁷ *Scholastica Diatriba, Progymnasmata* 1: ‘Utrum sacrae Theologiae & scripturae interpretatio sit ad praeceptiones artium & scientiarum, quas homines ingenio & industria excogitarunt, tanquam ad normam ακριβως exigenda: An ipsae potius artes & scientiae ex scriptura disceptandae & disjudicandae veniunt?’ *Progymnasmata* 2: ‘Utrum ut Grammatica linguae Sanctae ex Scripturis sacris petenda & probanda, ita & Rhetorica & Logica divinae dictionis & sapientiae ex eodem fonte haurienda?’ *Progymnasmata* 3: Utrum quicquid Graeci de Graeca, Latini de Latina lingua praeceperunt, id omne vel quaerendum in Hebraica vel praecipendum?’

⁶⁸ *Progymnasmata* 4-8. *Progymnasmata* 4: ‘Utrum attributionis sive enuntiationes de Deo rebusque divinis omnes intra metas Porphyrianorum categoriarum, vel Aristotelicarum categoriarum, vel argumentorum Inventionis logicae, ab aliis descriptorum, coeherere aut possint aut debeant?’ *Progymnasmata* 5: ‘Utrum Paulinae α ωδ ειξεις ωνε ματχαι, sint ad analyticum Aristotelicae eruditionis modum necessario vel revocandae vel exigendae?’ *Progymnasmata* 6: ‘Utrum divinae de rebus futuris praedictiones cum Aristotelica de futuris contingentibus doctrina conveniant necne?’ *Progymnasmata* 7: ‘Utrum dialectica interrogandi & respondendi ratio ab Arist. 8. top. descripta, ad Theologicas [...] traduci cum fructu & sine detrimento possit?’ *Progymnasmata* 8: ‘Utrum...absque Aristotelica Elenchorum doctrina & dissolvi & profligari, vel rectius vel expeditius possint?’

focussing on the order of creation in the Mosaic narration and whether the world is joined together with an inherent natural reason.⁶⁹

The central part of the text, entitled 'brief summaries on matters of divinity' (*Aphorismi de Rebus Divinis*) is a short general exposition of Calvinist theology. It opens with a summary account of what Melville believed theology was, essentially the understandable essence of God given to us both directly by divine will and by the scriptures and biblical authors:

Holy Scripture is perfect, transparent in itself, [is] itself His intermediary, the supreme judge of all controversies [and] of divine authority. [It is these texts], bound together in the Canonical Books and the Old and New Testaments, written together in Hebrew and Greek letters, which alone are the authentic texts and from which, in Latin or the vernacular, it is impious and close to foolish to consult in debates.⁷⁰

The text then briefly expounds the concepts of free will, justification by faith and the nature of sin, which mirror the language and material found in the other *theses theologicae*. This is followed by an exposition of the importance of natural law and Mosaic law, while the final part of the text gives a series of short questions for debate, summarising the issues raised from the preceding topics.⁷¹ Controversial religious questions such as 'is there only one true religion or many?', 'is all sin prohibited by law?', and 'should false or 'antichristian' religion still be borne in a Christian republic?' begin this section, but soon give way to a series of questions relating to moral imperatives for good governance. These include questions asking whether the death penalty ought to be applied to heretics, whether it is lawful to fight strength with strength, whether the law of war is legitimate, whether natural law allows personal vengeance, whether marriage is a divine, civil or ecclesiastical law, and whether desertion is a just cause for divorce. There are also three questions relating

⁶⁹ *Progymnasmata*, 12-15, 17-22. *Progymnasmata* 12: 'Cum sanctae literae Solem, Lunam Stellas secundum positum a Deo in natura ordinem moveri passim asserant, Caelum vero nusquam; an Christianus pie & ex fide affirmaverit Caelum moveri; Solem, Lunam, Stellas quiescere?' *Progymnasmata* 15: 'Utrum Temporis initio primoque puncto omnis omnium rerum creaturum, vel saltem visibilium Materia informis creata fuerit necne?'

⁷⁰ *Aphorismi* III: 'Sacra haec scriptura est perfecta, in se perspicua, sui ipsius interpres, sūmus omnium controversiarum Iudex, divinae autoritatis, in libris Canonicis & V. & N. T, comprehensa, Hebraicis & Graecis literis conscripta, quarum aeditiones solae sunt authenticae, à quibus ad Latinas vel vernaculas in controversies provocare stultum iuxtà ac impium est.'

⁷¹ *Aphorismi* IV-XXXIV.

specifically to witchcraft, debating how witches' bodies transform and how their powers are enhanced by the devil, and how they should be treated in law.⁷²

The wide-ranging nature of these topics, which go beyond simple theological issues, may have been Melville's attempt to show the visitation how theological training could inform practical matters of governance and statecraft. Fundamentally though, the class thesis shows the rigorous and systematic grounding in Calvinist doctrine that was being offered to the students at St Mary's, and suggests that allegations by the visitation commission that Melville's teaching was unstructured and 'arbitrary' did not have a strict basis in fact. It also shows that the relevance of Aristotle was still hotly debated at St Mary's, and although Melville clearly taught along Ramist lines he recognised the underlying importance of Aristotelian teaching to university education.

Teaching at St Salvator's and St Leonard's, 1597-1606

It is clear from the evidence of the range of speeches in the College Orator's Book that by the end of the sixteenth century humanistic study and exposition of classical literature was a central component of arts teaching at St Andrews, at least for St Leonard's. However, the final criteria for the award of an MA degree in both of the arts colleges hinged on student performance in defending a broad range of propositions covering all the subject areas they had been taught, where they would be ranked alongside their classmates in order of merit. This process was completed by late spring of the student's final year,⁷³ and the practice had developed by the end of the sixteenth century that in the following June or July the graduands would publicly defend a set of class theses, written by their regent. The laureation ceremony was a very public event and attracted a large gathering of masters, local ministers, and town dignitaries, and it is likely that the practice of printing these theses as a keepsake of the event originated at St Andrews during Melville's rectorate.⁷⁴ The only two sets of

⁷² See for example Q.4: *An omne peccatum lege prohibeatur?*; Q. 6: *'Sive una Religio vera, an multiplex?'*; and Q. 7: *'An falsa Religio aut Anitchristiana etiam ferenda in Rep. Christiana?'* Questions 18-20 are on witchcraft.

⁷³ *Acta*, pp. lxxxix-cxvii.

⁷⁴ Cant, 66; C. Shepherd, 'Philosophy and science in the arts curriculum of the Scottish universities in the seventeenth century' (Unpublished Edinburgh University PhD Thesis, 1975), 10-11. The earliest surviving set of graduation theses in Scotland are those defended in 1595 at Edinburgh, which also has a set for most years in the early 1600s.

arts graduation theses extant from the ‘Melvillian’ period are those defended at both St Salvator’s and St Leonard’s in 1603. The St Salvator’s theses,⁷⁵ supervised by John Petrie, contain three main sections – entitled ‘On the Nature of [Academic] Disciplines in General’, ‘On Universals, Individuals, and Second Notions’, and ‘On the Nature of Logic’ – and three smaller sections of ‘selected theses’ on logic, ethics and physics. The St Leonard’s theses,⁷⁶ supervised by Daniel Wilkie, contain two larger sets of theses on logic and physics, and four smaller sets of theses on ethics, arithmetic, geometry, and Sacrobosco’s *De Sphaera*, with a final set of ‘problemata’ offering some general questions for discussion.

In addition to these, there also survives a set of *theses physicae* on Aristotle’s *On Generation* and *On Corruption* which were defended by Tobias Mierbeck, a Netherlandish student, in 1600.⁷⁷ These *theses physicae* are unique in the history of Scottish graduation theses, both by virtue of their exclusive focus on natural philosophy, and by the fact that they were defended by an individual. Mierbeck is recorded as a student at St Mary’s in the 1599/1600 academic year but is not found elsewhere in the matriculation and graduation rolls, making it likely that he had come to St Andrews for some postgraduate divinity education, having obtained his MA elsewhere.⁷⁸ Although the St Salvator’s regent John Echline is the *praeses* for the disputation, Mierbeck’s theses are specifically dedicated to Andrew Melville, John Johnston and Patrick Melville.⁷⁹ It appears that Mierbeck chose to defend them as a demonstration of his academic skills at the end of his time in St Andrews rather than for any specific degree.

Although these sources are limited in number, it is possible to analyse them in terms of their structuring to see if they are organised according to the Ramist ‘method.’ Their contents can also be contextualised against the detailed analysis

⁷⁵ J. Petrie (Praeses), *Theses Aliquot Philosophicae in publicam disputationem a generosis nonnullis Salvatoriani Gymnasii adolescentibus Proponendae, propugnandaeque, Deo bene favente, ad fanum Andreae in scholis Theologicis ad diem [15] Iulii* (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1603).

⁷⁶ D. Wilkie (Praeses), *Theses Philosophicae Quaedam, a generosis quibusdam adolescentibus Leonardinis Laureâ donandis, in publicam suzetesin propositae...sunt propugnaturi, in Scholis Theologicis. Academiae Andreaepolitanae. Ad 12 Calendas Iulii* (Edinburgh, Robert Waldegrave, 1603).

⁷⁷ T. Mierbeck, *Theses Physicae De Generatione et Corruptione quas favente Deo Opt. Max. Defendere conabor sub praesidio clarissimi viri D. M. Ioannis Echlini Philosophiae Professoris in alma Academia Santandreana dignissimi* (Edinburgh, Robert Charteris, 1600).

⁷⁸ Smart, *Register*.

⁷⁹ Mierbeck, [*]2^b: ‘Clarissimis Ornatiss. D. Professoribus Sacrosanctae Theologiae in Lycaeo Andreae D. Andreae Melvino, D. Iohanni Ionstono, D. Patricio Melvino, has de generatione & corruptione Theses in debitae observanti[a]e signum lubens meritoque D. D. D. D. defendens.’

carried out by Christine Shepherd of the intellectual trends apparent within the lecture notes, dictates and later graduation theses from all the Scottish universities in the seventeenth century. Shepherd has shown how Scottish academics remained wholly attached to Aristotle and his scholastic commentators in all aspects of the curriculum in the first half of the seventeenth century, and were on the whole very slow to absorb the ideas of Keckermann, Descartes and Newton among others, a process which only gathered momentum in the 1660s.⁸⁰

The small set of theses extant for the ‘Melvillian’ period are almost entirely occupied with the exposition of Aristotelian texts and ideas, and they mirror the debates and terminology found in the analysis of later theses by Shepherd. The theses on logic centre on defending formal subject-predicate logic and the correct construction and exposition of syllogisms, while those on moral philosophy are primarily drawn from the discussions on goodness and virtue found in the *Ethics*. In terms of natural philosophy, Mierbeck’s work is simply a summary of *De Generatione et Corruptione*, with the occasional reference to *De Sensu et Sensato*, and the *Meteorologica*. The bulk of the *theses physicae* in the other arts theses are also concerned with the principles, effects and elements involved in the creation and destruction of things. There are no theses on *De Sphaera* in the St Salvator’s theses, apparently due to there being not enough time to debate them at the laureation ceremony.⁸¹ Those in St Leonard’s practically quote *verbatim* from Sacrobosco in propositions on the nature of the sphere and its technical definition, and in discussions on the Zodiac and solar and lunar eclipses.⁸²

Interestingly, there are no formal theses on metaphysics in these early works, and here there is a distinct break with the later theses, which often feature them. The earliest surviving set of theses at St Andrews after the ‘Melvillian’ period, from St Salvator’s in 1608, also omits a section on metaphysics, and it is only in the surviving theses after 1611 that they begin to reappear, though in a sporadic fashion initially.⁸³

⁸⁰ Shepherd, *passim*; *Idem*, ‘Newtonianism in the Scottish universities in the seventeenth century’, in R. H. Campbell and A. S. Skinner (eds.), *The Origins and Nature of the Scottish Enlightenment* (Edinburgh, 1982), 65-85. There are some exceptions to Shepherd’s overall thesis, however – for example, the curriculum recorded in 1641 at King’s College shows that Keckermann and Alsted were recommended authors for reading in economics, politics and metaphysics – see ‘Collegii Regii Aberdonensis Leges Veteres De Novo Promulgatae Anno 1641’, *Fasti Aberdonenses*, 230-231. I am grateful to Professor Howard Hotson for this observation.

⁸¹ There is a note to this effect on the title page.

⁸² L. Thorndike, *The Sphere of Sacrobosco and Its Commentators* (Chicago, 1949), 118-142.

⁸³ Shepherd, 142, 164-165.

This perhaps suggests that Melville, who felt like many reformed theologians that metaphysics was overly speculative and unprofitable, was successful during his time as rector in removing it from the university curriculum. There is also further confirmatory evidence in all three theses of the reading of Aristotle in Greek. Both the St Salvator's and St Leonard's theses have a range of transliterated words excerpted from the original texts,⁸⁴ while Mierbeck quotes a number of Greek phrases directly and in one proposition even debates the etymology of a Greek phrase.⁸⁵

That said, the sources used in the St Leonard's and St Salvator's theses show that the limited evidence of progress in linguistic and philosophical study was tempered by a continued adherence to a limited range of older authorities in logic and philosophy outside Aristotle, with very little reference to the works of modern Continental scholars. In addition to Aristotle and Sacrobosco, the only other author cited in the St Leonard's theses is Porphyry on logic.⁸⁶ The evidence for the St Salvator's theses is slightly better. In discussing the various range of academic disciplines in the first section, Bodin is cited as the authority on the subject of history, and while Plato's conception of Forms is vehemently denied in the section on universals, it shows nevertheless that he was also being read in St Salvator's.⁸⁷ However, the only other authorities cited in these theses were Averroës, Avicenna, Duns Scotus and Thomas Aquinas, reflecting the highly scholastic inheritance in the college.⁸⁸

The difference in sources is marked between these theses and Mierbeck's. In addition to discussing Plato's theories on generation versus Aristotle's, Mierbeck cites the work of a range of 'modern' Aristotelian commentators, including the Italians Gerolamo Cardano (1501-1576) and Jacopo Zabarella (1533-1589), and the doctors of the school of philosophy that flourished at the University of Coimbra in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century.⁸⁹ All these authors were recognised for integrating traditional commentaries on Aristotle with the critical ideals of Renaissance humanism, including a focus on the original Greek, and were among the

⁸⁴ Petrie, 'De Disciplinarum Natura', theses 3, 5, 20, 27, 31, 35; 'De Universalibus', thesis 1; Wilkie, 'Theses Logicae', 1, 17, 18, 19, 21; 'Theses Ethicae', 3; 'Theses Physicae', 4, 9.

⁸⁵ Mierbeck, theses III, VIII, XIII, XXI, XXII, XLV, L, Corollarium.

⁸⁶ Wilkie, 'Theses Logicae', 3.

⁸⁷ Petrie, 'De Disciplinarum Natura', thesis 14; 'De Universalibus', thesis 1.

⁸⁸ Petrie, 'Selectiores Theses Aliquot Ex Singulis Libris Logicis', thesis 3; 'Selectiores Aliquot Ethicae', thesis 4.

⁸⁹ Mierbeck, Theses XXII, XLVIII, XLIX, Corollarium.

first to be critical of the conceptions underlying Aristotelian physics.⁹⁰ Mierbeck's theses are the earliest in Scotland by almost a decade to make reference to Zabarella. His reading of such contemporary Continental scholarship shows a divergence from Scottish academics in keeping up with the latest intellectual trends.

There is also a marked difference between the organisation and style of Mierbeck's theses and those of the arts colleges, and they further suggest that Ramism as a teaching method was largely confined to those under the supervision of Melville and his colleagues. There is no evidence of the Ramist 'method' or of dichotomy in the arts colleges theses, save that the first proposition in each section of the St Leonard's theses begins with a general definition of the subject under discussion before moving on to specific issues. Mierbeck's thesis, conversely, seems clearly guided by Ramism. Instead of providing a commentary on the text of *De Generatione et Corruptione* as it is organised by Aristotle, Mierbeck begins with a highly generalised statement outlining the context of the work in reference to Aristotle's other texts on physics, and then proceeds to move through the contents of the work in increasingly specialised terms. Theses III to XII discuss the basic principles of matter, form and privation underlying Aristotle's generative theory, before moving on in theses XIII to XXIX to discuss in turn each of the six factors that can specifically affect matter, including generation and corruption, alteration, growth and decrease, contact, acting and being affected, and mixing. Theses XXX to XLV take this discussion to the level logically following this, treating the four basic underlying elements of cold, heat, wetness and dryness and their relationships with one another, before ending the discussion in the last four theses and summary 'collarium' outlining the 'efficient and common end' of generation and corruption.

This reordering of Aristotle's text, which treats first on the factors affecting matter before proceeding to the principles underlying it, suggests Mierbeck is following the Ramist 'method of prudence' in arranging his text to make the discussion more palatable and straightforward to his listeners. This is further evidenced by the fact that he pauses at regular points to restate what section of the text he is about to discuss,⁹¹ and also uses dichotomy to split a number of his theses.⁹² Again, it appears from this evidence that Mierbeck, being taught by Melville and his

⁹⁰ Shepherd, 64, 210-211.

⁹¹ Mierbeck, theses II, XIII, XXX, XLVII.

⁹² Mierbeck, theses XXXI, XLII, XLVIII, XLIX.

colleagues in St Mary's, was more willing to embrace Ramist ideas than the masters of the arts colleges.

The section of the St Salvator's theses on the 'Nature of Logic' shows that the formal Aristotelian approach to logic continued to be defended in the college against the new ideas brought to St Andrews by Melville, even two decades after his arrival there. Although this section of some twenty theses looks on the surface as innocuous and dry as the rest of the text, it appears actually to contain a number of pointed criticisms that relate specifically to Ramus and his 'method', though Ramus himself is not mentioned by name. The first two syllogisms of this section defend logic as a discipline in itself and attack an unspecified type of logic that only has a limited usefulness when it is 'brought to bear upon the teaching of other disciplines', which sounds like a description of Ramism by its detractors. The fact that it is curiously referred to here as 'that logic of yours' (*logica ista*) may perhaps be a pointed criticism of Melville and his colleagues who would likely have been present at the graduation ceremony.⁹³ The third, eighteenth and nineteenth syllogisms in this section state that only the formal syllogism is the true subject of logic. It serves a very specific, and essential, technical function of forming and analysing arguments in the mind so that formally 'true' propositions can then be discerned from false ones. Only the syllogism and the 'proper outcomes' attached to it belong to the discipline of logic, suggesting by default that the less formal method of argumentation developed by Ramus is incompatible with this model.⁹⁴ However, the strongest evidence that this section is not just a general defence of the rightness of Aristotelian logic is found in theses 23 to 26, where a sustained attack on specifically Ramist terms is enjoined. Thesis 23 states:

If anyone thinks that 'Method' or a system can be a logical discipline in itself, he not only overturns the aim of logic of discerning true from false, but in our opinion

⁹³ Petrie, 'De Natura Logicae', thesis 2: 'Logica ista, sive docens sive in usu posita una eademque manens specie disciplina, in proprium ultimumque finem neque cognitionem subiecti sui propositam habet, neque moralem actionem, neque in externa material operatione[m] ullam, sed tantum certam utilitatem adderendam percipiendis tradendisque Disciplinis aliis.'

⁹⁴ 'De Natura Logicae', thesis 3: 'Illud est Subiectum logicae, cuius explicatio primario in logica suscepta est. Ergo Syllogismus est Subiectum logicae'; thesis 19: 'Tres ergo solos logicae fines proprios agnoscimus: formationem notionis Syllogismi in animo nostro, Constructionem Syllogismi realis beneficio eius notionis formatae, & Discriminationem veri a falso eius constructi Syllogismi beneficio.'

at any rate he will never deliver an account of a single, adequate and reciprocal end to logic: so ['Method'] is not a suitable [academic] subject.⁹⁵

Theses 24 to 26 take to task the Ramist terms of 'invention' and 'disposition', and the Ramist dichotomy of all logical teaching into two categories. Theses 24 and 25 state that Aristotle only used the term 'invention' to refer to the 'ultimate end of logic of discerning true from false', and the term 'disposition' to refer to the middle term of a syllogism, and that he 'rightly did not acknowledge' any other usage for these terms.⁹⁶ Attacking the sublimation of rhetoric into logic under the Ramist method, thesis 26 states that many parts of logic, including 'category, noun, verb, enunciation, and the correct way of questioning and responding', do not fit into the neat Ramist dichotomy under these terms, and so it is 'quite inept' to try to shoehorn them in.⁹⁷ While we have to be careful here to attribute criticism of Ramus to these theses when he is not specifically mentioned, it is nevertheless clear that the masters of St Salvator's continued to be vehemently defensive of the authority of Aristotle.

Although there are no further sets of theses to better our understanding, judging from the authors and examples cited above it appears that philosophical teaching in the arts college at St Andrews in this period never turned fully away from Aristotle. In many ways, Mierbeck's theses are the exception that proves the rule. As a student under Melville, his critical engagement with 'modern' Aristotelian commentators and the usage of the Ramist 'method' to structure his work stands in sharp contrast with the approaches and authors adopted by the masters of St Leonard's and St Salvator's. This is not to say that the abandonment of formal logic was something that Melville encouraged. Indeed, the maintenance of the study of Aristotle, with a focus on the Greek text, was exactly what he had aimed for in his curricular reforms. However, it does show that throughout this period Ramism was treated with scepticism by the masters of the arts colleges. Also, the fact that the

⁹⁵ 'De Natura Logicae', thesis 23: 'Si quis Methodum, sive ordinem per se logicae disciplinae esse putet, is non solum illum logicae finem veri a falso discernendi eversumit [*sic*: evertit], sed nec is nostra quidem sententia, unum unquam logicae adequatum ac reciprocum finem reddere valebit: immo nec idoneum subiectum.'

⁹⁶ 'De Natura Logicae', thesis 24: 'Omnis Inventio logica proprie ad illum ultimam logicae finem spectat discendi ver a falso: Merito ergo Arist[otle] non aliam in logica sua inventionem agnovit...'; thesis 25: 'Omnia dispositio logica eorum est, in quibus disponendis naturam ab arte logica iuvari operae pretium est: Merito igitur Arist[otle] in logica sua non aliam agnovit dispositionem[m]...'

⁹⁷ 'De Natura Logicae', thesis 26: 'Pleraque sunt partes Logicae, quae neque ad inveniendam neque ad disponendum spectant proprie: ut pars de Categ[oria], de Nomine, Verbo, Enuntiatione, ac recta interrogandi ratione, & de recta ratione responendi &c: Inepte igitur admodum in Inventionem & Dispositionem distribuitur Logica.'

traditional method of disputation and logical analysis appears to have co-existed alongside the humanist orations in the College Orator's Book can be taken as evidence that two very different but complementary academic styles were incorporated into MA teaching, and this continued throughout the post-Reformation period at the university. If this is the case, then we have to revise the simplistic viewpoint that with the advance of humanism in Scottish education, traditional approaches to formal logic were summarily thrown out. If the *theses philosophicae* are anything to go by, logic continued to dominate the arts curriculum right through the 'Melvillian' ascendancy, to enjoy renewed life in the more conservative environment of the seventeenth-century university.

Conclusion

While Melville would continue in his role as principal of St Mary's until he was called to Hampton Court in August 1606, the political and intellectual momentum at the university had clearly swung away from him and his party, perhaps as much as a decade before this. The increasing difficulty he had in making his voice heard, even in university affairs and in the local pulpit, reflects the growing intolerance that the king held for radical religious dissidents, and his attitude was represented in St Andrews by Gledstones. Although the university was clearly developing and expanding in this period, and reaching a level of stability and solvency previously unseen, it was a process that was largely out of Melville's hands. He clearly continued to attract a wide range of students, and obviously gave erudite and accomplished theological education. However, there was clearly a further divergence intellectually in teaching method and content between Melville and his more conservative counterparts in St Salvator's and St Leonard's. They had perhaps absorbed a greater sense of the importance of the classical languages from Melville, particularly in reading Aristotle in the original Greek. Yet they had discarded the rest of his reformed teaching programme, particularly his adherence to Ramus and his methods, which by the turn of the century must have appeared increasingly out of vogue. In his final years at the university, frustrated and isolated, it must have been hard for him to believe he had achieved any real measure of the reform programme he had planned two decades earlier.

Conclusion: the University after Melville, 1606-c.1625

The central aim of this thesis has been to create a ‘narrative’ history for the University of St Andrews in the post-Reformation period, as it came to grips with its Protestant identity. Like any narrative, it is an interpretation of events. With such a range of unpublished and untapped material for the university in the early modern period, more than one form of spin can be applied. If this thesis successfully highlights the wealth of these sources and encourages others to explore them, and by extension fuels debate over the role of education in early modern Scotland, it will have achieved its main objective. The interpretation here has portrayed foremost the struggle, both politically and intellectually, between attempts at reform of the university and the twin forces of conservatism and moderation inherent there. It has attempted to demonstrate the wide range of social, political and religious factors that together conspired to drive events at the university in the aftermath of the Reformation. Finally, it has hopefully gone some way to re-orienting our understanding of Andrew Melville away from the hyperbole of Presbyterian rhetoric that surrounds him. Space does not allow fuller discussion of the later history of the university under James VI and I. However, it seems right to offer a brief summary of the fortunes of the university after Melville’s departure, and of Melville himself, before concluding.

The process of marginalisation at work against Melville by the turn of the century, seen clearly in chapters four and five, reached its conclusion during the decade following.¹ At the end of August 1606, Melville arrived in London to attend a meeting at Hampton Court, to which he and several of his Presbyterian colleagues were summoned by the king. The meeting was ostensibly to discuss James VI and I’s suspension of the General Assembly in 1604, and his imprisonment and banishment of a group of ministers who had attempted to contravene this suspension by holding an assembly without royal consent in Aberdeen in 1605. The first meetings with the king in late September, held before a range of Scottish and English bishops, were soon revealed to be the recalcitrant Melville’s last chance to accept the new royal and Episcopal supremacy in the Kirk. When Melville continued to defend the legitimacy of a free General Assembly and of Presbyterianism, the conference soon turned from issues of polity towards his loyalty to the crown. Melville’s incendiary behaviour at

¹ For what follows, see *JMAD*, 653-78; M’Crie, 237-347; MacDonald, *Jacobean Kirk*, 124-125.

the conference certainly did not help his case. He berated the king publicly in front of his English councillors, and at one point grabbed the vestments of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Richard Bancroft, and denounced them as ‘Romish ragis.’ Yet it was an epigram circulating at court that Melville had written, condemning the ‘Papist’ trappings of the English church service he witnessed in honour of St Michael on 28 September, that provided sufficient grounds to hold him for treason. After initial confinement in the house of the dean of St Paul’s, Melville was warded in the Tower of London in April 1607 and his office as principal of St Mary’s declared vacant. Four years passed before he was released, and only then on the condition that he not return home. He opted to accept the invitation of the Protestant Duc de Bouillon to take up a teaching post alongside the Scottish neo-Latinist Arthur Johnstone at the Academy of Sedan in northern France, arriving there in the early summer of 1611. Melville was an active part of the academic community at Sedan, and continued writing poetry.² However, he never returned to Scotland again. He died in 1622.

With Melville’s removal, the growth of state interest in the university, and the enforcement of the royal prerogative there by those loyal to an Episcopal church settlement, reached its apogee. Melville was immediately replaced at St Mary’s by Robert Howie, the principal of Marischal College, Aberdeen. Despite being a strong supporter of Presbyterianism in the early 1590s, by the end of the century he had emerged as a strong proponent of Episcopacy.³ At St Andrews he would be a close supporter of the royal government, and of Archbishop George Gledstanes and his successor John Spottiswoode (1615-1639), until the liturgical reforms of Charles I prompted him to renounce his previous allegiances and sign the National Covenant in 1638. Following the retirement of Montrose as chancellor of the university in 1605, Gledstanes returned to the medieval practice of holding the office *ex officio* as archbishop. In 1607 he turned the council of the university into a ‘commission of visitation’ that could propose far-reaching reforms which he had direct power to enact. The commission visited the university for the first time in 1608, and focussed on re-establishing ceremonial protocol, including formal graduations in divinity and law. With committee members including the English scholar George Abbott (later Archbishop of Canterbury), it clearly aimed to bring St Andrews into line with its English counterparts of Oxford and Cambridge. Its recommendations were eventually

² See the various poems by Melville in P. Mellon, *L’Académie de Sedan* (Paris, 1913), 121-209.

³ S. J. Reid, ‘Aberdeen’s “Toun College”’, 181-182.

enacted along with other reforms in 1617 by John Young, Dean of Winchester, who had been sent up specifically from England to ensure they were shepherded through. The reforms brought into existence the formal Doctorate in Divinity and other associated theological degrees that Melville had so ardently avoided. They also stipulated that two students from every diocese be supported in study at St Mary's, which was recognised as the foremost divinity school in Scotland. The triumph of the conservative party at St Andrews was clearest in 1621, when an act of Parliament revoked the 'New Foundation' and restored the original foundations of the colleges.⁴

In the two decades after Melville's removal, the university enjoyed unparalleled growth and stability, arguably because it was free of the factions that had divided it. Gledstanes established the first University Library, which began construction on the site adjacent to St Mary's in 1612. He went to considerable trouble to secure books for the institution, including a gift of 200 volumes from the king. Although the buildings were only fully completed by a grant from the minister of Leuchars, Alexander Henderson, in 1642/3, it was nevertheless a very real indicator of the measure of progress at the university in the decade after Melville's removal.⁵ Equally telling are the rise in student numbers across the board after 1608, with divinity students staying consistently in double figures and arts entrants reaching a record 108 in 1613.⁶ Though this may be down to a general growing level of literacy in Scottish society, it is interesting to note the pronounced climb takes place after a temporary ceasefire in factional politics at the university. Finally, the mutual harmony and co-operation between the university and royal government was apparent in the warm reception afforded to James VI and I on his visit to St Andrews in 1617, where he was showered with disputations and orations. A range of these works were immediately published, which show how far tuition in classical learning at St Andrews had advanced by the end of the Jacobean era.⁷

The brief survey here of the university up to the end of the reign of James VI and I serves to complete the broader detailed one carried out in the preceding chapters. It is often assumed that after 1560 there was some great forward momentum

⁴ Cant, 67-78; see also the numerous letters between James VI and I, and the Archbishop of St Andrews and the masters of the university, in B. Botfield (ed.), *Original Letters Relating to the Ecclesiastical Affairs of Scotland, 1603-1625* (Bannatyne Club, 1851).

⁵ J. B. Salmond, and G. H. Bushnell, *Henderson's Benefaction* (St Andrews, 1942).

⁶ See appendix.

⁷ *Antiquissimae celeberrimaeque Academiae Andreae Χαριστηρια in adventum...Jacobi Primi, Magnae Britanniae...Monarchae* (Edinburgh, 1617); *The Muses Welcome* (Edinburgh, 1618).

transforming the Scottish universities into Protestant institutions, making them look and feel fundamentally different as a result. St Andrews has more evidence than any of its counterparts for this transformative process, and it is clear that soon after 1560 a Protestant institution emerged there that was recognisably different from the Catholic one that had existed before the Reformation. However, the continuity between these two institutions was far greater than their differences. The original university structure remained intact, and none of the major proposals for reform – whether those put forward in 1560/61 by the *First Book of Discipline*, those in 1574 and 1576 by the Regent Morton, or those in 1579, 1588 and 1597 by Andrew Melville and the Scottish government – ever had more than a limited impact. Far more effective were the small-scale reforms enacted by the masters themselves. The interim statutes promulgated in the early 1560s removed the aspects of the university's Catholic heritage that were most incompatible with its new Protestant identity, but were flexible enough to allow the university to continue its business unimpeded at a critical time of uncertainty. Similarly, St Leonard's operated more effectively than its counterparts in the decade after the 'New Foundation' as it ignored the full reform plan and made only moderate changes and improvements to the existing foundation. Conversely, the 'New Foundation' appears to have been most damaging to St Salvator's because of the protests raised at the intrusion of two new masters into the college against the old foundation, and because it radically altered the ancient rights and privileges accorded to the provost.

It is surprising that there was such a lack of input from the General Assembly to the reform process, and that there was such an extensive role played by the royal government. Admittedly, the dividing line between those who were masters at the university and those who were connected with the General Assembly was often blurred, particularly in the case of Melville. However, it is still remarkable that after the bold plans put forward in the *First Book of Discipline* the assembly were so content to leave the university to its own devices. Perhaps, aside from training ministers, universities were less important than schools for inculcating faith in the young. By contrast, it is clear that the civil government recognised the importance of education for shaping and improving the 'godly' commonwealth. While they were less successful in enacting high-level reform, the visitations of the mid-1570s, 1588 and 1597-9 show that they repeatedly took steps to ensure the university was meeting minimum standards of education and discipline. This was the case even in the

politically charged atmosphere of the later 1590s, when the visitations not only removed Melville from his position of authority but tried to take far-reaching steps to make university masters and affairs more accountable to government.

In arts teaching, little changed in the post-Reformation period. Regents continued to take their class through the entire four year degree, and the specialist professors proposed by the 'New Foundation' did not make their appearance until well into the seventeenth century. The processes of lecturing, examination, and discipline did not alter, although as the visitation records show they were occasionally not carried out with sufficient rigour or quality. Most importantly, the texts that the masters read in arts did not fundamentally change. There was no great uptake of new Continental learning or authors, save at a limited level. The fierce resistance to Ramus and the continued adherence to Aristotle and his scholastic commentators apparent in the available evidence serves to check the idea that there was sweeping transformation of the intellectual content of Scottish arts education post-1560. In many ways, this continuity is one of the most significant findings of this thesis. Like most of the universities in Northern Europe, there was no great rejection of Aristotle or the medieval intellectual heritage at St Andrews. Rather, there was a gradual incorporation into this tradition of the Renaissance focus on *ad fontes* study of classical texts, and some limited (and judging from John Malcolm's lecture notes, sceptical) engagement with sixteenth-century reforms in logic and rhetoric. The most significant change was the focus on Greek and on advanced Latin, discernible in Malcolm's lecture notes and in the College Orator's Book. It is impossible, from our sources, to say who brought about that change and when it occurred, but the evidence points to this too being a gradual process, in development long before Melville's arrival in 1580.

While religion played a part in developments at St Andrews in the half-century after the Reformation, it was only part of a wider range of issues that motivated change. For Melville and his colleagues in St Mary's, religion was everything. There was a clear identification of the divinity college with the broader aims of the Kirk and the Presbyterian party, and the college held particular ideological significance for Melville as an 'anti-seminary' to combat Jesuits and recusants. A major part of the tension between Melville and the royal government stemmed from him using his role in St Mary's to spread the Presbyterian ideology among his students. For men like John Rutherford and James Martine, however, religion was of minimal importance,

and in many ways their conception of what a university was and its function must have been very different to Melville's. They and their families were embedded in the town, and St Salvator's and its properties were arguably just another local resource they could exploit for themselves and their kin. The feud between William Welwood and James Martine serves to exemplify this. On one level it came about because the former was nominally Presbyterian and the other nominally Episcopalian. On another it was because of what those factional affiliations meant in terms of the wider kin network and politics of the burgh, and on still another was related purely to the financial situation of both men within the college. Further to this, the example of St Salvator's generally in the post-Reformation period serves to counter the belief that all universities in this period were lofty ivory towers heavily engaged with the latest intellectual movements. For Martine, Rutherford, and their colleagues, they fulfilled their basic job of educating students with the minimum of innovation and expected to be rewarded accordingly. Problems only became apparent when monetary rewards were not evenly distributed, and only then, when the masters turned on one another, did the quality of teaching come in for criticism.

Finally, the Andrew Melville of Presbyterian legend has been shown here, at least in terms of his reputation as an educator, to have feet of clay. In some respects, this thesis perhaps gives too negative an assessment of his achievements. For example, space has not allowed for a fuller assessment of his legacy among the students he taught. Such an analysis would likely show that, although the numbers that he taught were small, he was highly influential in sowing the intellectual seeds of the Covenanting movement. Nor has space allowed for a fuller discussion of Melville's intellectual accomplishments as seen in his poetry and biblical paraphrases, which are replete with classical allusions and references to contemporary scholarship. Melville was particularly well-versed in the field of biblical chronology. Expositions of the prophecies of Daniel and Revelation written by him cite not only Joseph Scaliger, but the French and German chronologists Matthieu Béroalde and Abraham Bucholtzer, the English Hebraist Hugh Broughton, and the Genevan and Zurich theologians Nicole Colladon and Theodor Bibliander.⁸ He had considerable success as

⁸ Trinity College Dublin, MS416, ff. 2-4; *DPS*, 124-133; *Musae*, 36-44; M. Béroalde, *Matth. Beroaldi Chronicum, Scripturae Sacrae Autoritate Constitutum* (Geneva, 1575); I. Backus, *Reformation Readings of the Apocalypse: Geneva, Zurich, and Wittenberg* (Oxford, 2002); A. Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger: A study in the History of Classical Scholarship, vol. 2: Historical Chronology* (Oxford, 1993).

principal of Glasgow, where he had a free rein in teaching, and one of his greatest achievements was rescuing the university from near collapse. He was clearly effective in teaching divinity students to expound Calvinist dogma, in thanks partly to the Ramist 'method' which he used as part of the teaching process. His commentary on Romans also shows he provided students with a clear grasp of the underlying philology of scripture. However, positive achievements need to be set against the fact that, although he took his responsibilities as a 'doctor' of the church seriously, his involvement in Kirk politics seriously detracted from his work in St Mary's, especially in his first decade there. Although Melville should be given the credit for the transformation of the college into Scotland's first centre for divinity, Robert Howie arguably played a much larger and more important role in developing and stabilising it, though more research needs to be done to confirm this. Melville's uncompromising dogmatism and legendary temper also meant that while the government were keen to see widespread reform undertaken at St Andrews, they were never truly willing to rely on him to achieve it. Looking at the period as a whole, his 'New Foundation' appears to have been ignored beyond St Mary's. Meanwhile, the other university masters and the government gradually negotiated the broader development of the Protestant University of St Andrews without him.

Appendix: Student matriculations and graduations, 1559-1620

Background and data issues

There is a greater wealth of surviving material relating to student matriculation and graduation at St Andrews than there is for any other British university. The graduation roll for the university recorded in the *Acta Facultatis Artium* dates to what may be assumed to be the first formal graduations at the university in 1413. This starts some thirty-six years before the commencement of the surviving list at Oxford in 1449, while the matriculation roll recorded in the first volume of the *Acta Rectorum* begins in 1473.¹ For the period under consideration in this thesis the rolls were consistently maintained and, despite occasional gaps,² provide a wealth of data on the student populace. Both matriculation and graduation lists were recorded after 1577/78 in the *Acta Rectorum* up to 1738.³ While the rolls as they stand capture a large percentage of the students at the university in this period they do not tell the whole story, and there are a number of issues relating to their record-keeping that mean they must be treated with caution.

Firstly, there are issues relating purely to the nature of the entries in the rolls themselves.⁴ The date of graduation, but especially matriculation, fluctuated according to circumstances from year to year, in the case of the latter usually taking place between October and March in the academic year of entry but sometimes later than this.

Secondly, the recording of student names were by no means confined to these rolls, and many students are found in other university and archival sources that are not found in the matriculation and graduation registers. For example, there are names of graduating students found in the Bursar's Book throughout the period and appended to the printed *theses philosophicae* for 1603, 1608, and 1611 who are not recorded in the matriculation and graduation rolls, and there are students noted as studying at various colleges in Pringle's Book, the Balcarres Papers and the College Orator's Book.

¹ *Early Records*, pp. xxvii-xlii.

² Primarily 1559-1561, and 1579-1582.

³ *Acta Rectorum*, II, 3-120; III, 26-378.

⁴ For a full discussion of these issues, see *Early Records*, as above.

Thirdly, this problem becomes particularly pronounced in the initial period following the ‘New Foundation’, when St Mary’s was re-founded exclusively as a divinity college. In addition to no longer recording its students in the matriculation roll alongside those of St Salvator’s and St Leonard’s, the college ceased to award any formal degrees in divinity until they were instituted under Robert Howie between 1607 and 1616. Instead, students were recorded in a separate volume (known now as Howie’s Book) which did not begin until 1588 and which does not account for all divinity students, as is proven by the names of additional students found in other sources such as the printed *theses theologicae* produced under Melville between 1595 and 1602. Divinity students did not undertake a fixed period of study at the college, but appear to have spent as many years as they either deemed necessary or could pay for, with students staying from one to six years. Many of these divinity students came to St Mary’s from the other colleges in a postgraduate fashion, but many came from outside the university and so there is no way of knowing their exact background.

The fact that there is so much material has in one sense actually impeded any systematic analysis of student data for the post-Reformation period. The surviving matriculation and graduation rolls from the foundation of the university to 1579 and the matriculation roll for the period 1747-1897 were transcribed and published by the university librarian and first keeper of the university muniments, James Maitland Anderson, in the early twentieth century. However, a volume covering the intervening period, though planned and partially transcribed, was never completed owing to the range and complexity of the sources involved.⁵ Further work on this project by the university historian Ronald Cant, which comprised much more detailed and extensive transcripts of the rolls and their cross-referencing with other sources, was also left unpublished at Dr. Cant’s death.⁶

Approach and methodology

Following the publication in 2004 of his *Biographical Register of the University of St Andrews, 1747-1897*, Dr. Robert Smart turned his attention to the period 1579-1747. He attempted to create from the above sources as full as possible a register of students

⁵ *Early Records*; J. Maitland Anderson, *The Matriculation Roll of the University of St Andrews 1747-1897* (Edinburgh, 1905); UYUY306/1, UYUY306/2.

⁶ See St Andrews University Library Special Collections, Cant Papers.

for the period, with their matriculation and graduation dates, postgraduate studies, and further careers where known. While these registers give students in alphabetical order with a wealth of prosopographical information they do not provide lists of student matriculations and graduations for each year or from each college, or allow for an easy analysis of student numbers in any given period.⁷ Conversely, while Maitland Anderson's *Early Records* provides lists of student matriculation and graduation for each year up to 1579, it makes no attempt to match up the names in these lists in a prosopographical fashion. With both these issues in mind, an Excel dataset was created for this thesis where every student for the period 1559-1620 was entered with information, where known, under the following headings:

Name	College	Date of Matriculation	Date of BA (if known)	Date of MA (if known)	Other/Further Degrees (including Divinity studies)	Further Career Information
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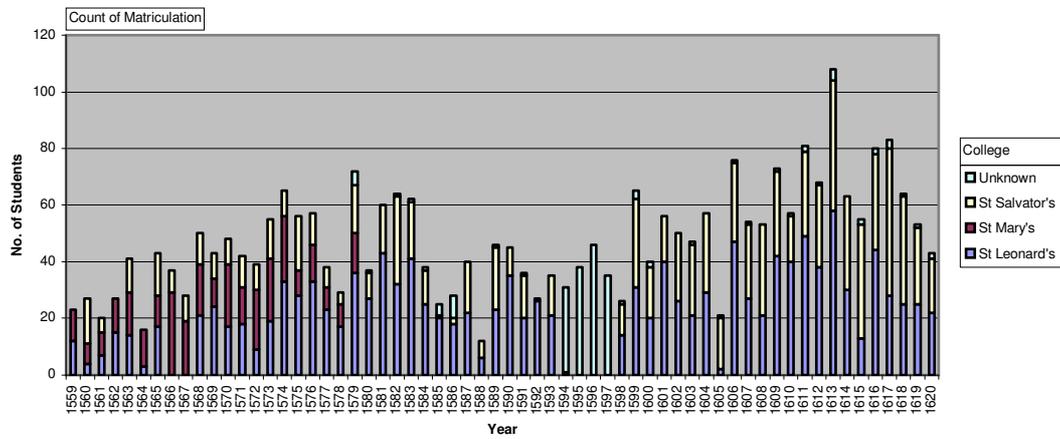
This involved cross-referencing Maitland Anderson's published matriculation and graduation lists with one another to establish which students between 1560 and 1579 went on to further BA and MA studies, entering the data under the headings above, and converting Dr Smart's prosopographical data for students after 1579 and up to 1620 into tabular format. These two data sets were then combined, cross-referenced and checked for any duplication. They were also rationalised so that where there were a range of multiple matriculation dates during any one academic year they were all assumed to notionally date from the beginning of that same academic year (for example, 10 November 1613, 5 January 1613/14 and 1 March 1614 would all be notionally dated to the beginning of the academic year in 1613). The same approach was taken with graduation dates where they were only given in the manuscripts for the approximate academic year to ensure consistency. Although this approach hides some occasional ambiguities in the dataset, it made it far easier to construct an overall model of trends in graduation and matriculation from a range of very disparate data. The entire dataset, which produced over 3,300 separate student entries for the period

⁷ Despite these minor issues, Dr. Smart's *Registers* are works of first-rate research and importance for the history of the University of St Andrews, and I am very grateful to Dr. Smart for allowing me free access to the manuscript of the *Register* for 1579-1747.

1559-1620, was then entered into a series of pivot-tables to produce the analyses below, the results of which are discussed in greater detail throughout the thesis.

1. Total Known Arts Matriculations, 1559-1620

Arts Students 1559-1620

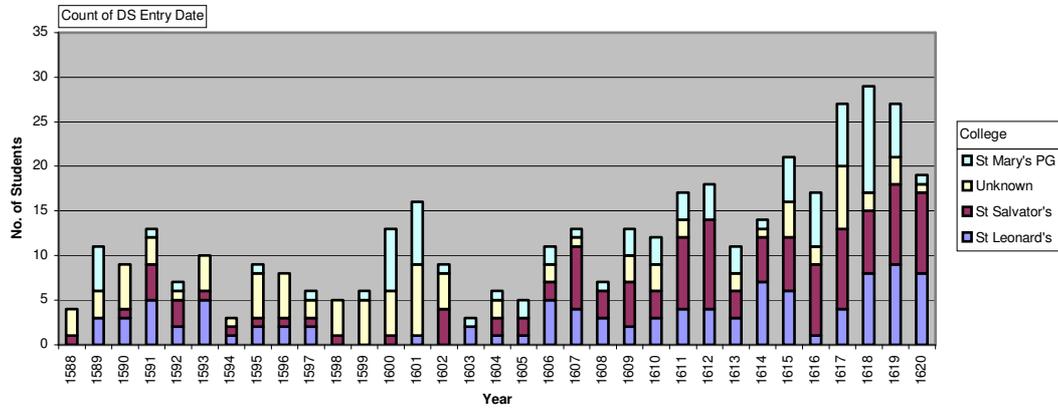


Count of Matriculation	College				Grand Total
Matriculation	St Leonard's	St Mary's	St Salvator's	Unknown	
1559	12	11			23
1560	4	7	16		27
1561	7	8	5		20
1562	15	12			27
1563	14	15	12		41
1564	3	13			16
1565	17	11	15		43
1566		29	8		37
1567		19	9		28
1568	21	18	11		50
1569	24	10	9		43
1570	17	22	9		48
1571	18	13	11		42
1572	9	21	9		39
1573	19	22	14		55
1574	33	23	9		65
1575	28	9	19		56
1576	33	13	11		57
1577	23	8	7		38
1578	17	8	4		29
1579	36	14	17	5	72
1580	27		9	1	37
1581	43		17		60
1582	32		31	1	64
1583	41		20	1	62
1584	25		12	1	38
1585	20		1	4	25
1586	18		2	8	28
1587	22		18		40

1588	6		6		12
1589	23		22	1	46
1590	35		10		45
1591	20		15	1	36
1592	26			1	27
1593	21		14		35
1594	1			30	31
1595				38	38
1596				46	46
1597				35	35
1598	14		11	1	26
1599	31		31	3	65
1600	20		18	2	40
1601	40		16		56
1602	26		24		50
1603	21		25	1	47
1604	29		28		57
1605	2		18	1	21
1606	47		28	1	76
1607	27		26	1	54
1608	21		32		53
1609	42		30	1	73
1610	40		16	1	57
1611	49		30	2	81
1612	38		29	1	68
1613	58		46	4	108
1614	30		33		63
1615	13		40	2	55
1616	44		34	2	80
1617	28		52	3	83
1618	25		38	1	64
1619	25		27	1	53
1620	22		19	2	43
Grand Total	1402	306	1023	203	2934

2. Recorded Divinity Students 1588-1620 (broken down by entrants from each college, where known)

Recorded Divinity Students 1588-1620 (broken down by entrants from each college where known)



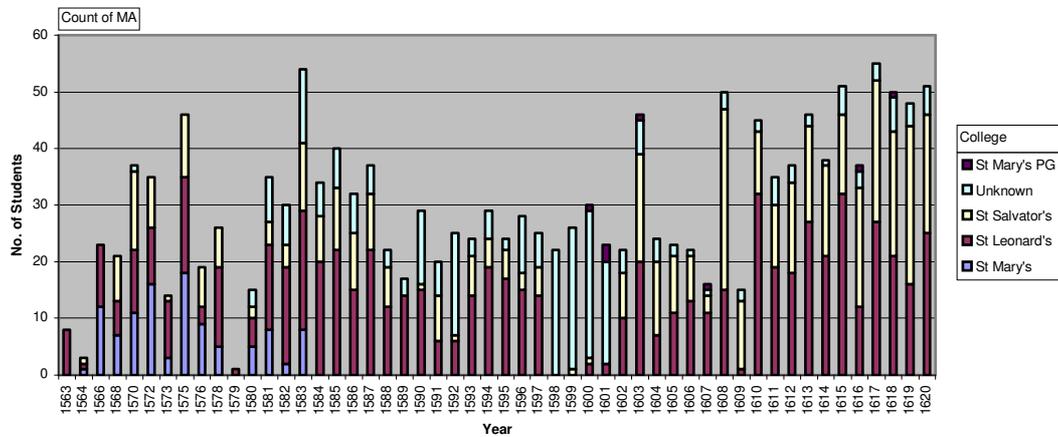
DS Entry Date

Count of DS Entry Date	College				Grand Total
DS Entry Date	St Leonard's	St Salvator's	Unknown	St Mary's PG	
1588			1	3	4
1589	3			3	11
1590	3	1		5	9
1591	5	4		3	13
1592	2	3		1	7
1593	5	1		4	10
1594	1	1		1	3
1595	2	1		5	9
1596	2	1		5	8
1597	2	1		2	6
1598		1		4	5
1599				5	6
1600		1		5	13
1601	1			8	16
1602		4		4	9
1603	2				3
1604	1	2		2	6
1605	1	2			5
1606	5	2		2	11
1607	4	7		1	13
1608	3	3			7
1609	2	5		3	13
1610	3	3		3	12
1611	4	8		2	17
1612	4	10			18
1613	3	3		2	11
1614	7	5		1	14
1615	6	6		4	21

	1616	1	8	2	6	17
	1617	4	9	7	7	27
	1618	8	7	2	12	29
	1619	9	9	3	6	27
	1620	8	9	1	1	19
Grand Total		101	118	93	87	399

3. MA Awards by College, c. 1560-1620

MA Awards by College c.1560-1620



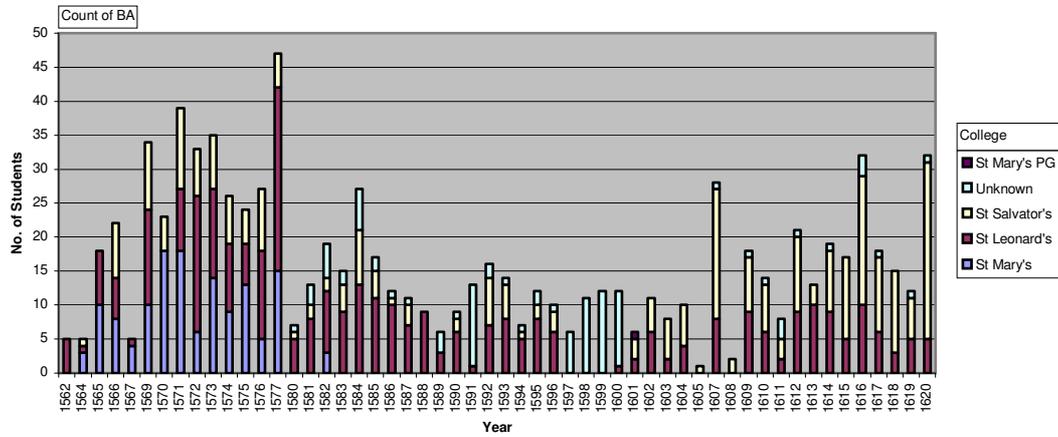
MA

Count of MA	College					Grand Total
	St Mary's	St Leonard's	St Salvator's	Unknown	St Mary's PG	
1563			8			8
1564	1		1	1		3
1566	12		11			23
1568	7		6		8	21
1570	11		11	14	1	37
1572	16		10	9		35
1573	3		10	1		14
1575	18		17	11		46
1576	9		3	7		19
1578	5		14	7		26
1579			1			1
1580	5		5	2	3	15
1581	8		15	4	8	35
1582	2		17	4	7	30
1583	8		21	12	13	54
1584			20	8	6	34
1585			22	11	7	40
1586			15	10	7	32
1587			22	10	5	37
1588			12	7	3	22
1589			14		3	17
1590			15	1	13	29
1591			6	8	6	20
1592			6	1	18	25
1593			14	7	3	24
1594			19	5	5	29
1595			17	5	2	24
1596			15	3	10	28
1597			14	5	6	25

1598				22		22
1599			1	25		26
1600	2		1	26	1	30
1601	2			18	3	23
1602	10	8		4		22
1603	20	19		6	1	46
1604	7	13		4		24
1605	11	10		2		23
1606	13	8		1		22
1607	11	3		1	1	16
1608	15	32		3		50
1609	1	12		2		15
1610	32	11		2		45
1611	19	11		5		35
1612	18	16		3		37
1613	27	17		2		46
1614	21	16		1		38
1615	32	14		5		51
1616	12	21		3	1	37
1617	27	25		3		55
1618	21	22		6	1	50
1619	16	28		4		48
1620	25	21		5		51
Grand Total	105	703	470	279	8	1565

4. BA Awards by College, c.1560-1620

BA Awards by College c.1560-1620



BA

Count of BA	College					Grand Total
	St Mary's	St Leonard's	St Salvator's	Unknown	St Mary's PG	
1562			5			5
1564	3	1		1		5
1565	10	8				18
1566	8	6		8		22
1567	4	1				5
1569	10	14		10		34
1570	18			5		23
1571	18	9		12		39
1572	6	20		7		33
1573	14	13		8		35
1574	9	10		7		26
1575	13	6		5		24
1576	5	13		9		27
1577	15	27		5		47
1580		5	1		1	7
1581		8	2		3	13
1582	3	9	2		5	19
1583		9	4		2	15
1584		13	8		6	27
1585		11	4		2	17
1586		10	1		1	12
1587		7	3		1	11
1588		9				9
1589		3			3	6
1590		6		2	1	9
1591		1			12	13
1592		7	7		2	16
1593		8	5		1	14
1594		5	1		1	7

1595		8	2	2		12
1596		6	3	1		10
1597				6		6
1598				11		11
1599				12		12
1600		1		11		12
1601		2	3		1	6
1602		6	5			11
1603		2	6			8
1604		4	6			10
1605			1			1
1607		8	19	1		28
1608			2			2
1609		9	8	1		18
1610		6	7	1		14
1611		2	3	3		8
1612		9	11	1		21
1613		10	3			13
1614		9	9	1		19
1615		5	12			17
1616		10	19	3		32
1617		6	11	1		18
1618		3	12			15
1619		5	6	1		12
1620		5	26	1		32
Grand Total	136	360	291	98	1	886

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