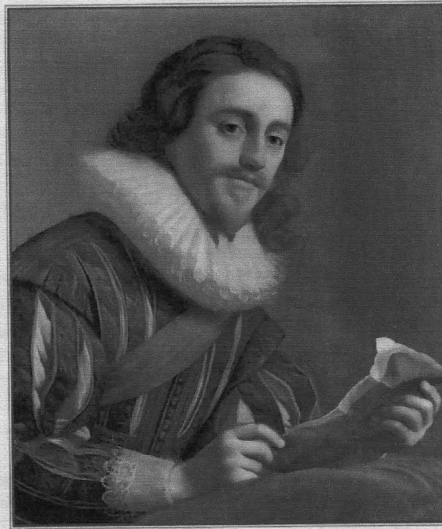WITH CAP AND GOWN, BOOTED AND SPURRED
1603-1660

WITH CAP AND GOWN, BOOTED AND SPURRED

ഇ ൦൪

THE UNIVERSITY EXPERIENCE AT OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE AND THE
TRANSMISSION OF MASCULINE CULTURE IN EARLY STUART ENGLAND

1603-1660

By

GREGORY W. STONE, B. A. HONOURS

A Thesis

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies

in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements

for the Degree

Master of Arts

Wilfred Emberton, *The English Civil War, Day by Day*
(Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 1997), 16.

MASTER OF ARTS (2004) McMaster University
(History) Hamilton, Ontario

TITLE: With Cap and Gown, Booted and Spurred: The University Experience at
Oxford and Cambridge and the Transmission of Masculine Culture in
Early Stuart England, 1603-1660

AUTHOR: Gregory W. Stone, B. A. Honours (The University of Calgary)

SUPERVISOR: Professor J. D. Alsop

NUMBER OF PAGES: vi, 212

Abstract

ഐൽൽ

This thesis deals with the institutional histories of Oxford and Cambridge Universities in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in an attempt to establish their role within the English state and within English culture in the Early Modern period. It seeks to explain the complex relationship between social definitions of masculinity and the translation of those conceptions via the universities to a student population whose influence and power upon their leaving of those precincts would be felt throughout the nation. It further argues that education at Oxford or Cambridge was not relegated to the college halls alone, but was the result of both official and unofficial instruction conducted both within and without the university setting.

Acknowledgements

ဆၵ

The acknowledgements are perhaps the most difficult section to write in relation to a work that has received so much support and encouragement from so many. I must preface my thanks by stating that if a name is not found upon these pages, it is the result of my owing too much to too many rather than a disregard for each and every contribution, all of which have been to my immeasurable benefit. Of friends, mentors and family, I am blessed both in their number and their quality and may offer but these insufficient words of gratitude in return.

This thesis is particularly indebted to my advisor, Professor James D. Alsop whose patience, encouragement, and support was at all times forthcoming regardless of how much they were tested. In addition, I would add Professor Stephen J. Heathorn and Professor Melinda Gough who did me the great honour of acting upon my examining committee and whose critiques and comments have helped to improve the final manifestation of this work in addition to those offered by Professor Alsop. The work as it is here presented is indebted to their advice and corrections and any success with which it meets is very much to their credit. The responsibility for any errors that may persist, however, resides with the author and not his mentors.

My family as well has maintained me throughout my writing by listening, providing comments, asking questions, and through the support they offered at all stages. Without the patronage of my father, Michael J. Stone, and my mother, Mary E. Lea, this work may never have been initiated. They have provided for my every endeavor in every

Table Of Contents

☙❧

☙❧

List of Illustrations

ജാരു

ജാരു

ജ)൦ള

O, what a noble mind is here o'er thrown
The courtier's, soldier's, scholar's eye, tongue, sword:
The expectancy and rose of the fair state,
The glass of fashion and the mould of form,
The observ'd of all observers, -- quite, quite down!
And I, of ladies most deject and wretched
That suck'd honey of his music vows,
Now see that noble and most sovereign reason,
Like sweet bells jangled, out of tune and harsh;
That unmatch'd form and feature of blown youth
Blasted with ecstacy: O, woe is me,
To have seen what I have seen, see what I see!

Hamlet, III, i.

ജ)൦ള

Introduction

ຊວຊ

In a letter to Vice-Chancellor Frewen of Oxford University dated 1631, Archbishop Laud, the newly appointed chancellor, initiated a campaign which would endure for the entirety of his office and persist long afterwards. He implored his deputy in the following terms: "I pray call the heads together, and give them warning concerning their several companies, that no man of what degree soever (and therefore much less youths) be suffered to go in boots and spurs together with their gowns."[1] Laud's complaint was not particularly novel. His predecessor, the Earl of Pembrook had noted the sound of heavy heels and jangling spurs in the halls as well; he had voiced his displeasure but had done little more than that. At Cambridge the situation was, and had been for some time, much the same. At the end of the sixteenth century, Sir William Cecil had observed the increasing propensity of students to go about as though to attend a hunt rather than lectures and disputations.[2] What makes the case of William Laud of particular interest, however, is the growing obsession that he seems to have developed with the wearing of such accoutrements to the degradation of academic dress as his chancellorship progressed as evinced in his letters and enactments against them. Even in his first dispatch to Frewen regarding the issue, Laud's tone bordered upon outright threat: "If any head of a house permit it [the wearing of boots and spurs] in his own

---

[1] William Laud, *The Works of the Most Reverend Father in God, William Laud, D. D., Sometime Lord Archbishop of Canterbury*, 7 vols. (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1853), v. 47-48.
[2] Mark H. Curtis, *Oxford and Cambridge in Transition, 1558-1642: An Essay on Changing Relations Between the English Universities and English Society* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1959), 54-55.

2

college, whither my authority reaches not, I shall complain where he will be unwilling to answer."[3] When Laud's masterpiece, the Statutes of the University of Oxford, was completed in 1636, the wearing of boots and spurs was expressly prohibited and would remain so until 1854.[4] The measure, however, both for the remainder of Laud's years and throughout the history of both universities, was wholly unsuccessful. It is, in part, the purpose of what follows to explain why.

The coupling of the clerkish cap and gown with the aristocratic act of wearing boots and spurs reflects an issue much greater than merely a penchant for disorderly attire on the part of students. It is indicative, rather, of the essentially schizophrenic character of university education that existed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The point of university attendance was to train young boys to the point of manhood; to instruct those fundamental attributes of manliness requisite for the fulfillment of a position of authority within England's social, political, and ecclesiastical administration. In order to arrive at so fundamental a directive within England, however, the universities had undergone a period of rapid transformation from their previous role as ecclesiastical institutions designated to educate men destined for the church. No longer were they primarily the preserve of plebian scholars alone as they had been in the years preceding 1500; aristocrats and members of the gentry had begun to flood Oxford and Cambridge throughout this period. A new utility had been established for the university system with the advent of Reformation and Renaissance which made them applicable to the

---

[3] Laud, *Works*, v. 48.
[4] William Laud, "The Statutes of the University of Oxford," in *The Oxford Book of Oxford*, ed. Jan Morris (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 78.

3

proclivities of any Englishman capable of attendance or with ambitions to attain a position within the burgeoning bureaucracy of the Tudor and Stuart states. Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the role played by the universities, the demographics of their student bodies, the curriculum inculcated and the proclivities and careers of their graduates were evolving. If the universities were to produce men capable of governing the country, the endeavour required a particular type of man: one who was loyal to the established order, a man capable of leading and coercing others, a man willing to tie his honour to that of the crown, his virtue to the church, coupled with a willingness to draw his sword in the defense of either.

So crucial a position as the universities were harnessed with required a dualistic approach: a man was composed of two parts, the intellectual and the physical, and if he were to fulfill the responsibility required of him, he would require instruction in both. What concerned Laud and others so greatly when noting the spurs beneath the hem of the gown was a conflict of interest between the traditional perspective of academics as essentially humble, diligent and clerical pursuits, or at least the ideal conception of clerical study, with the imposition of a class of student whose honour and power depended upon a very different ethos involving display and bold assertion, physical prowess, sex and violence. The man required to govern was to be composed of a blending of the two and if the universities were to maintain their newfound applicability to the English gentry and aristocracy along with the plebian scholars who had been their staple previously, a balance had to be struck between the instruction of the physical and the mental.

4

Thus, it is the purpose of this current work to, one, establish the experience of the universities, and two, to analyze university experience. In the first, it proposes to examine the events affecting the universities within the nation of England during the seventeenth century, to explain their form and function and the evolutionary process which they underwent throughout the sixteenth century to reach that position. The influence of Oxford and Cambridge Universities was growing within England during the early modern period and the reason for this depends primarily upon the external influences that catalyzed their rise to prominence and the social and intellectual trends which exacerbated this process. In the second, it intends to look at who attended the universities in an attempt to define the man produced there: his mental and physical self and the ramifications his training held for the Stuart state.

The study of early modern English universities has, thus far, omitted the role which they have played in the formation of masculine identity. Research on early modern research on higher education, most notably the studies of Hugh Kearney, Mark Curtis, David Cressy, Lawrence Stone, and, more recently, Nicholas Tyacke and James McConica, have not dealt with issues of gender within this distinctly male sphere dedicated to distinctly male pursuits. Such a deficit is made more curious by the centrality which university graduates played within the administration and culture of the state as the period progressed. The universities held a particularly central role within the English state despite the small size of their annual student intake and output. So small a population, however, implies a degree of elitism and, indeed, the men who attended one of the two universities generally served in authoritative or influential positions within

5

their communities upon their leaving university, be it as poets, lawyers, merchants,

gentlemen, noblemen, justices of the peace, preachers, clerks, or bankers. In this way, the

universities disseminated their doctrine throughout much of the nation via their graduates.

Yet, once more, we must recall that the universities educated men: it was not merely

intellectual thought inculcated within the college walls, but manliness. Was this too

spread throughout the nation by influential university men along with the doctrines of

curriculum? Though it is not within the scope of this current work to answer so grandiose

a question, the purpose is to at least begin such an inquiry by establishing, it is hoped,

some of the foundations of masculinity as inculcated within the universities. The

universities of Oxford and Cambridge did not monopolize masculine training during the

early modern period, but they most assuredly contributed to and reflected upon it. The

work conducted here is intended as a supplement to that research already well

established; the intent is to broaden the parameters of historical enquiry in reference to

the institutional and cultural aspects of university education or at least to initiate such a

process.

The conduct of such an enquiry shall rely upon a number of sources relating to

both educational theory and practice and to the social and institutional history of the

period. The exploration of gender in the seventeenth century, most especially definitions

of masculinity, is relatively new to the field of history and has not, heretofore, focused

upon schools or universities. Although historians such as Anthony Fletcher, Elizabeth A.

Foyster, and Laura Gowing have conducted extensive research into the nature of gender

identity and its formation in youth during this period, they have focused primarily upon

the significance of definitions of masculinity and femininity in marital and familial settings. An opportunity, however, is presented by their research for a study of the educative processes during this period. Though formal education at one of the two universities was relegated to but a small percentage of the population, the curricular and extra-curricular activities conducted there provide a regimented example of current values and ideals thought important for male youths to learn in order to develop into proper men. What was explicitly instructed in the colleges and what was implicitly inculcated in the streets at Oxford and Cambridge may help to elucidate or further confirm our current understanding of early modern gender and the upbringing of male youth.

The research conducted in relation to the universities and their scholarly population shall focus primarily upon personal correspondences and the diaries of students, parents and administrators along with manuals and works dedicated to the theory of education. To a certain extent, such an enquiry is more easily conducted for Oxford than for Cambridge. The study of seventeenth century Oxford is greatly augmented by its biographers, Anthony Wood and Brian Twyne, along with the copious correspondence of Arch Bishop Laud and a number of royal and parliamentary injunctions in relation to it. The wealth of documents afforded to Oxford has further been supplemented by numerous publications of manuscript material at the beginning of the twentieth century, primarily thanks to the Oxford Historical Society. Cambridge, by comparison, suffers from a deficit of such sources save those of Thomas Fuller who wrote in 1655 a brief, albeit highly useful, history of his *alma mater*. Finally, in terms of

secondary literature, Oxford has benefited from a number of large-scale histories, most

notably those of Charles Edward Mallett and the recent publication of the monumental

History of the University of Oxford in six volumes, resources which are not paralleled in

the case of Cambridge.

Regrettable though such a discrepancy is, it does not necessarily obviate a study

of the two in conjunction. At crucial moments in the course of the seventeenth century,

the reactions and policies of both universities were in congruence with one another both

at the administrative level and in terms of their student population. Demographically

speaking and in terms of curriculum, the population at Oxford and Cambridge, both in

terms of social standing and geographic distribution, is virtually indistinguishable.

Furthermore, the collegiate structure of the two institutions and their relationship with

students in terms of discipline were nearly identical. Though at particular points the

experience of the two institutions diverged, the ideological platform upon which they

functioned and their structure remained the same.[5] Such a parallel becomes particularly

evident following the ascension of Laud to the chancellorship of Oxford. While his

statutes were imposed only upon Oxford, their effect reached far enough to alter

Cambridge along similar lines. Where fundamental differences occurred mention shall be

made; the unanimity of experience betwixt the two shall be otherwise implied.

Laud's war with the spurs was never won. It was, indeed, a battle which could not

be won. Though the universities were intended to shape the man, they could not redefine

the fundamental characteristics which delineated gender within the seventeenth century.

---

[5] Lawrence Stone, "The Size and Composition of the Oxford Student Body, 1580-1909," in *The University in Society*, ed. Lawrence Stone, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), i. 6.

What follows then is a relation of how the universities came to be institutions central to the administration of the monarchy and the state, a pillar of their claim over the nation, and how they both shaped and were shaped by early modern English masculinity. Like the frontispiece to Thomas Hobbes's Leviathan, the English student and the man which he later became was but a singular body within the composite whole of England: each part was integral, informing and supporting its neighbor beneath the weighty head of the crown. It is the hope of this author that the degree to which this was true for the seventeenth century scholar and the university which he attended may be established and aptly judged by this endeavour.

Chapter I

"O, What a Noble Mind is Here O'er thrown!"[1]:
Legacies of Reform

෨෬

It was with tooth and claw that the Reformation visited Oxford and Cambridge

universities in the first half of the sixteenth century. The question of Henry VIII's divorce

was one central to the dualistic ontology of the two institutions and their members. It

required of them a choice which would shape forever their role within the Christian faith

and within the realm of England; it was a question of loyalty and of purpose advanced to

organizations which held both pope and king as master. As ecclesiastical bodies, Oxford

and Cambridge could not condone what Henry asked of them: justification of his divorce

from Catherine of Aragon which had already been refused by the pope. As physical

bodies, however, situated within the realm of England and under the temporal jurisdiction

of the king, they could ill afford the repercussions of Henry's offence should they decline

to assent. Be it pope or king, an official pronouncement upon Henry's divorce would

signal allegiance and fealty to one authority alone and mark the death of amicable

relations with the other. Much more than mere diplomatic associations, however, were

placed in jeopardy; incur the ire of the king and the university charters could be revoked,

their privileges removed, members exiled or imprisoned, and their properties confiscated.

Disregard the pope's decision, by contrast, and the universities faced condemnation as

---

[1]William Shakespeare, Hamlet, in *The Complete Works of William Shakespeare* (New York: Avenel Books, 1975), III. i. 1089.

institutions of the Catholic Church, and the potential excommunication of their faculty. If not the end, a fundamental change at least approached the universities in terms of their function in English society and their relationship with authority regardless of their decision. When the Reformation finally broke upon the universities, it tore irrevocably the fabric of their ecclesiastical past and initiated a process of redefinition for Oxford and Cambridge, from both within and without.

Throughout the sixteenth century, the universities underwent a significant period of transition in their internal and external administration. The break with Rome forced the universities to redefine their status in English society while pressures from the state, most particularly the Tudor monarchs, initiated a process of centralization that established the universities as national institutions. Although maintaining their position as the primary educators of the clergy, Oxford and Cambridge took on a distinctly secular role. The power to which the universities answered following the Reformation was both temporal and ecclesiastical, but it was embodied by the crown rather than the mitre, and this simple distinction altered their curriculum, the population of those attending, and the purpose for which students attended the universities. A discussion of university education and its centrality to the development of English masculinity must begin and end with the questions of who and why, the answers to which must be sought in the tumultuous years of the Reformation and, as the chapter which follows shall discuss, the Renaissance.

The Act for Restraint of Appeals, established in 1533, officially recognized Henry VIII and his descendants as head of both church and state within England and it made matters, at least initially, simpler for the universities which had previously divided their

allegiance between the pope in Rome and the reigning sovereign in England. The

jurisdiction of the king now lay in both ecclesiastical and temporal matters and deference

on the part of the universities was now forwarded to him alone upon issues relating to

either. Yet upon closer examination, the Act resulted in an increasingly complex

relationship between the universities and authority as the century developed and it was a

relationship which was becoming progressively perilous to navigate. In the first place, it

removed one of the universities' most precious safeguards against potential abuses of

power in that they could no longer check the intrusions of one body against the

jurisdiction of the other once all authority had been vested in the singular personage of

the monarch.[2] In the second place, the regime of Henry VIII began to extensively

reconstruct the manner in which the English church functioned following the passing of

the Act for Restraint, and what changed in the church affected Oxford and Cambridge

universities which had supplied, up to and until that point, so many of its members.

Thirdly, the lines between ecclesiastical and secular interests began to blur and the

universities were tied much more to state administration and, more importantly, the

monarchy than to the international brotherhood of Christian learning. Such a process

required adaptation at a rapid pace to prove utility in an era which saw large scale

dissolution of the old church's holdings of which the colleges were considered a part.

    The factor which most immediately affected the form and function of the

universities under Henry VIII was his embittered relationship with canon lawyers who

had so long delayed his divorce, partially deciding his break with Rome via act of

---

[2] Mark H. Curtis, *Oxford and Cambridge in Transition, 1558-1642: An Essay on Changing Relations Between the English Universities and English Society* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1959), 17.

parliament. At least initially, the king's adoption of the role of head of the church

suggested not a process of secularization for the universities but, rather, the maintenance

of their original ecclesiastical mandate under a new authority. In 1535, however,

following the Act of Supremacy, Thomas Cromwell, the newly elected chancellor of

Cambridge, officially forbid the teaching of canon law at both Oxford and Cambridge

and, by so doing, removed in a moment one of their central purposes.[3] As a letter to

Thomas Cromwell sent from the University of Cambridge in 1539 suggests, this

essentially halved the number of students attending either of the universities, their

potential careers having been built upon continued affable relations betwixt England and

Rome.[4] Nor had other faculties remained unaffected by the Reformation. The study of

civil law also suffered a major downturn in the number of students studying for

bachelor's degrees as the fate of the universities took on an uncertain aspect and the Inns

of Court and the study of common law became the preferred house and form of legal

training in England. The number of students studying civil law prior to 1534 was never

reached again in the history of Oxford or Cambridge.[5] The uncertainty brought about

theologically by the Reformation was epidemic and it quickly infected the pursuit of

secular as well as ecclesiastical disciplines of study with a degree of reservation on the

part of perspective scholars.

---

[3] Thomas Fuller, *The History of the University of Cambridge, From the Conquest to the Year 1634*, (1655) ed. Marmaduke Prickett and Thomas Wright (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1840), 219-221.
[4] James Bass Mullinger, *The University of Cambridge,* 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1884), ii. 49. Lawrence Stone's figures confirm this approximation. Lawrence Stone, "The Size and Composition of the Oxford Student Body, 1580-1909," in *The University in Society,* ed. Lawrence Stone, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), i. 16.
[5] Stone, "The Size and Composition of the Oxford Student Body, 1580-1909," i. 16. For the rise of common law, see G. R. Elton, *England Under the Tudors,* 3rd ed. (London: The Folio Society, 1997), 167-168.

Much more threatening than declining student numbers, however, was the fact that the overall utility of the universities had been acutely questioned. Canon law had been one of the most important areas of study and its removal threatened the efficacy of university attendance. As superfluous institutions, Oxford and Cambridge could not hope to survive the large-scale dissolution that was already occurring with monastic properties throughout the country: without use the universities were without value.[6] As organizations originally established by, and for the support of, the Catholic Church, they were officially divested of their rights and privileges, power and purpose in 1533 when the heads of the colleges and halls, proctors and the vice-chancellor were commanded to relinquish their "...charters of foundation, donation, or appropriation, statutes, constitutions, pontifical bulls..." and provide a full account "...of their immoveable property and true inventory of their moveable goods..."[7] The fate of the universities was officially laid at the feet of Cromwell and, more importantly, the king. By their indecision on the question of Henry's divorce, the universities had failed doubly, both as religious and as temporal institutions and were, as such, declining in their utility to either. The confiscation of their charters was essentially the removal of their legal and corporate existence.

It was not merely the fact that the universities might fade into obscurity and their property be sold to members of the court and gentry which elicited reserve on the part of perspective scholars and despair for those already in practice, but that, like canon law, their destruction may be potentially pursued vigorously by a retributive monarch. Henry's

---

[6] Fuller, *The History of the University of Cambridge*, 214.
[7] Mullinger, *The University of Cambridge*, ii. 9.

14

pursuit of divorce had done much to increase his displeasure with the universities when

they vacillated too long in providing him with their learned opinion on divorce within the

Catholic Church. Henry's own words, written in 1530, weighed heavily upon the

shoulders of university administrators, faculty and students alike at both institutions,

when he officially assumed sole proprietorship over them. He had threatened Oxford in

the following terms:

> And in caas ye do not uprightly accordinge to divine lernynge handle your
> selfe herin, ye may be assurede, that we, not without great cause, shall soo
> gwykely and sharpely loke to your unnaturall misdemeanure therin, that it
> shall not bee to your gwietnesse and ease hereafter.[8]

Cambridge received similar letters of clarification in reference to what exactly the king

expected of them coupled with the public humiliation of its chancellor, William

Buckmaster, at court and also at the hands of the king himself.[9] Nor were such warnings

intended only for the faculty. Upon receiving reports that the students of Oxford were

voicing their disagreement with his proposed separation from Catherine, Henry

responded with a threat characteristic of his temperament, "...*non est bonum irritare*

crabrones".[10] With the crown ill disposed towards them together with the removal of

Rome as a possible defender and declining viability as useful institutions, the very

existence of the universities was severely and actively imperiled. Oxford and Cambridge

had proven themselves divisive rather than supportive and the menace of dissolution was,

---

[8] As quoted in Jan Morris, *The Oxford Book of Oxford* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 42.
[9] Buckmaster was actually in the process of delivering Cambridge's affirmative decision upon Henry's question of divorce (Oxford never provided an answer) when this event occurred. Joan Simon, *Education and Society in Tudor England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), 198.
[10] "...it is not good to stir up hornets." As quoted in Morris, *The Oxford Book of Oxford*, 43.

15

in part, but a defensive response on the part of the king to the potential threat the universities potentially posed to the crown.

Already in the late 1530's, Oxford and Cambridge were witnessing the wholesale destruction of houses once maintained by monks and friars that had sat so long betwixt the colleges. Anxiety walked the halls alongside the academics who, from their windows, viewed the demolition with increasing unease.[11] In 1538, Cambridge sent a desperate letter to the king, imploring him in reference to the consumed monasteries and houses to: "...make excellent use of them by converting them into colleges and places of good literature; that, as before, lazy drones and swarms of imposters were sent out of them, so now by these means, men might be bred up in them to promote solid learning and preach the gospel."[12] By condemning the monasteries and clerical orders which were so rapidly falling about them, the universities sought to preserve their own existence for the purpose of procuring men who would, by implication of their proper 'solid learning', serve as loyal subjects and further Henry's ecclesiastical reforms. In 1545, despite these entreaties, the Act for the Dissolution of the Colleges was passed by parliament and what moribund hope remained for survival rapidly dissolved. It was only through the efforts of Sir Thomas Smith, once student of Queen's College Cambridge, that the universities narrowly escaped destruction. Smith adeptly took up the cause of the colleges and, through his position as a clerk in the queen's council, converted the order for dissolution into a commission of enquiry, the results of which the king approved.[13]

---

[11] Alan Kreider, *English Chantries: The Road to Dissolution* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979),181. Mullinger, *The University of Cambridge,* ii. 22-23, 80.
[12] As quoted in Simon, *Education and Society in Tudor England,* 203.
[13] Mullinger, *The University of Cambridge,* ii. 77-78.

Henry did not sell off the college lands nor did he destroy them or disband the few

scholars remaining after the discontinuation of studies in canon and the decline of civil

law. On the contrary, by the end of his reign Henry's approach to the universities had

moved from one of embittered rapprochement to a protectionist policy, in part because of

the appeals and findings of Thomas Smith, but due also to a politically expedient strategy

which looked to the future restructuring of England rather than upon the troubles of the

past twenty years. As England moved slowly towards Protestantism, regulation of the

new practices adopted by the church was required. Coupled with this was a need to

educate the clergy in such a way that they would remain loyal to the secular authority

which now governed them, the king. In the fading light of his final years, Henry

embarked upon a policy which would establish a clergy obedient to the monarchy. By

the end of his reign he was reported as responding to yet another suggestion to dissolve

one of the colleges at Oxford in the following words, very different from his original

threats:

> ...whereas we had a regard onelie to pull downe sinne by defacing the
> monasteries, you have a desire also to overthrow all goodnesse by
> subversion of colleges. I tell you, sirs, that I judge no land in England
> better bestowed than that which is given to our universities, for by their
> maintenance our realm shall be well governed when we be dead and
> rotten...I love not learning so ill, that I will impaire the revenues of anie
> one house by a penie, whereby it may be upholden.[14]

Henry's reference to the role played by scholars within the governance of the state was

not incidental. On the contrary, it reflected a new initiative in reference to Oxford and

---

[14] Raphael Holinshed, "Chronicles," (1577) in *The Oxford Book of Oxford,* ed. Jan Morris (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 43-44.

Cambridge; one which sought to reform them as national institutions as opposed to removing them altogether.

Rather than eradicate the universities, Henry intended to bind them to the body of the state and most particularly to the person of the monarch. In 1536, by act of parliament, scholars pursuing a degree of any nature at either university were required to swear an oath, the purpose of which was to solidify the authority of the king as much as to stamp out any remnants of fealty to the pope. It commanded of a perspective scholar and faculty member "that he from henceforth shall utterly renounce, refuse, relinquish or forsake the Bishopp of Rome and his auctorite, power, and jurisdiccion."[15] At both institutions, texts as well were cut from the curriculum for fear of their advocacy of papal authority over and above that of the sovereign.[16] Henry had not initially approached the universities to garner support for his divorce out of courtesy or custom; he had done so because the educated opinions housed within the colleges and halls had the potential of strengthening his case. The influence posited at the universities required harnessing. It is, as such, not surprising that he would attempt to exert force over them as he was now in a position to do so unencumbered by deference to Rome. The educated population of England needed to be reformed rather than removed completely and it was for this purpose that Henry began an initiative of centralization which would be pursued, albeit erratically, by his offspring throughout the rest of the century.

---

[15] As quoted in Mullinger, *The University of Cambridge*, ii. 35.
[16] The most notable and venerable text removed was Peter Lombard's *Sentences*. Curtis, *Oxford and Cambridge in Transition*, 52.

The years spent under Edward and Mary were uncertain, particularly in reference to the study of theology, and these insecurities further depleted the number of students attending. By the 1550s the situation had grown dire for both universities with enrollments dropping to their lowest until the Civil War years. At Oxford, admissions had declined to roughly 100 students annually, down from an estimated 220 on the eve of the Reformation.[17] In part the recession was the result of Henry's restrictions on the curriculum and the uncertain future portended by the Reformation. The downward trend was further exacerbated, however, by the rule of Queen Mary which served only to confuse the already ambiguous position that the universities were intended to fulfill. As Anthony Wood reported of those difficult years, "…two religions being now as it were on a foot, divers of the chiefest of the University retired and absented themselves till they saw how affairs would proceed."[18] The lag of recovery in numbers, both professorial and scholarly, with the ascension of Elizabeth was the result of a very similar period of restructuring and hesitation at the universities. Just as Mary had transformed Oxford and Cambridge to conform to the dictates of Catholic doctrine with her ascension, so too was restructuring required as Elizabeth replaced the Catholic academics once more with Protestants.

Financially, the events of the first half of the sixteenth century had significant ramifications. With the passing of the Catholic Church had gone a primary source of funding for the universities, vested now in the crown which was much more interested in

---

[17] Stone, "The Size and Composition of the Oxford Student Body, 1580-1909," i. 6.
[18] Anthony Wood, "Annals of Oxford," in *The Oxford Book of Oxford*, ed. Jan Morris (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 53.

restricting and controlling the privileges of the universities than it was in contributing to

the power of potentially divisive institutions (although, upon the ascension of Edward VI

in 1547, the universities' rights and privileges were confirmed and the threat of

dissolution at last began to fade).[19] Combined with low admissions, funds had sunk very

low indeed. Both Oxford and Cambridge began to sell off their libraries in order to

supplement their incomes, so much so that in 1556 a motion had been put forth to the

Oxford Convocation that it ought to sell the university's shelving as there were no longer

books to keep upon it. The proposal was accepted: the shelves were sold.[20]

It is ironic that what rescued the universities from the brink of extinction was a

process which holds as its highest exemplar Henry VIII: the establishment of

endowments and the founding of new colleges. In 1546 Henry founded Christ Church

College at Oxford, renamed from Wolsley's original foundation of Cardinal College, and,

in the same year, he laid the foundations for Trinity College at Cambridge which was

literally built upon the rubble of the houses of the Franciscans it replaced (figure 1.1).

Both rose from the ashes of a fallen order, the dust of a chaotic era in English history.

Henry was not a hypocritical king: he led by example both in the tilt yard and in the

administration of his state. It is due to this attribute that as one of the greatest threats to

---

[19] Mullinger, *The University of Cambridge*, ii. 87.

[20] Stone, "The Size and Composition of the Oxford Student Body, 1580-1909," i. 17. Writing a century later, Thomas Fuller condemned the sale of books following dissolution or, in the universities' case, financial hardship and lamented all that had been lost. "Yea, I may say, that then holy *Divinity* was prophaned; *Physick* it self, hurt; and a trespasse, yea, a riot committed on the *Law* itself. And, more particularly, the History of former times, then, and there received a dangerous wound, whereof it halts at this day; and without hope of a perfect cure, must go a cripple to the grave." Thomas Fuller, *The Church History of Britain; From the Birth of Jesus Christ, Untill the Year M.DC.XLVIII*, 4 vols. (London: 1655), iv. 1.
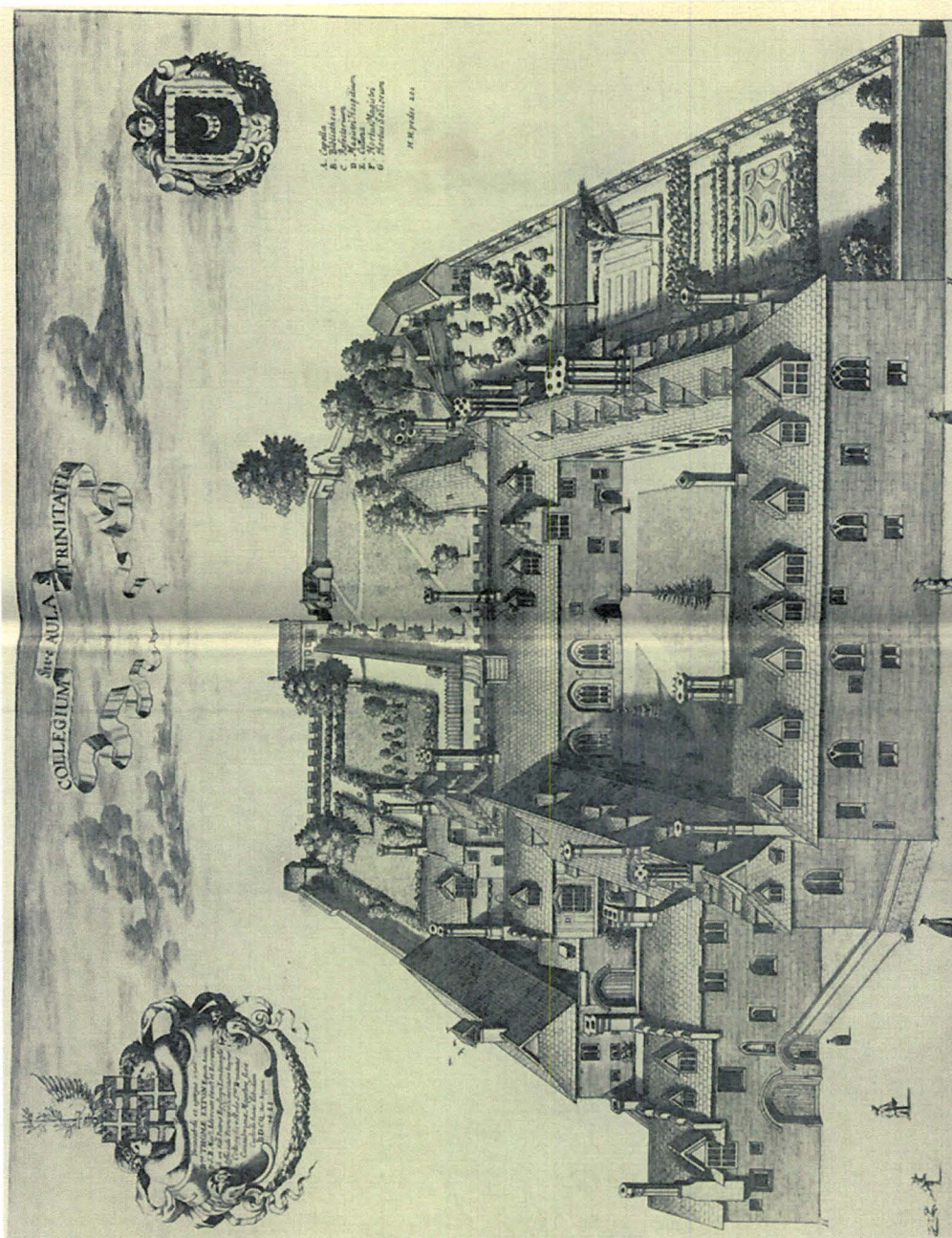
Figure 1.1
Trinity College, 1688

Charles Crawley, *Trinity Hall: The History of A Cambridge College, 1350-1975* (Cambridge: The Masters and Fellows of Trinity Hall, 1976), Frontispiece.

the universities from the period extending from the break with Rome until the late 1540's

of his reign, he would become one of their most celebrated benefactors by the end.

What Henry sought to accomplish by the establishment of these two magnificent

colleges was an example, complete with traditions and codes of conduct which would

strengthen ties to the monarchy and maintain a loyal and rigorously controlled academic

body: an example which would serve to instruct not only students, but the neighboring

colleges as well.[21] As royal institutions, both Christ Church and Trinity were subject to

visitation by the sovereign alone or a royally appointed representative and the close

connection betwixt monarchy and college was duly noted by scholars and crown alike.

When Elizabeth visited Oxford in 1566 she took up residence at Christ Church. Upon a

second visit in 1592 she again made it her home, even though the college she herself had

endowed in 1572, Jesus, was, by the time of her visit, completed. It was for more than the

mere opulence of Christ Church that Charles I made it his headquarters during the

tumultuous years of the Civil War rather than the college his father had endowed in 1624,

Pembroke, or St. John's College, which featured large bronze statutes of the queen and

himself in the Canterbury Quadrangle (figure 1.2).[22] There had evolved a convention of

reciprocal support out of repeated patronage and service between the universities and the

---

[21] Henry died but a year after the foundation of both colleges, regrettably before he had written their statutes. The form which he would have suggested these colleges to take is uncertain, especially as his ideas pertaining to them were not carried out by any of his successors. It was not until 1867 that Christ Church, for example, received an official document in reference to its form, function, and regulations. Hugh Trevor-Roper, *Christ Church Oxford*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: The Governing Body of Christ Church, 1989), 3.

[22] The statues of Charles I and Henrietta Maria were commissioned for the completion of the quad in 1633 by one of Charles' favorites and the current chancellor of the university, Archbishop Laud. Reasons for Charles I's selection of Oxford in the initial stages of the war and his motivation for maintaining it as his headquarters throughout are more fully elucidated in an earlier work. Gregory W. Stone, "Scholarly Soldiers: Student and Professorial Reactions and Contributions to the Royalist War Effort in Oxford, 1642-1646" (Calgary: Honours Thesis, the University of Calgary, 2003).

Figure 1.2
Bronze Statue of Charles I in Canterbury Quadrangle, St. John's College, Oxford

Graham Topping, *Guide to the University City of Oxford*
(Norwich: Jarrold Publishing, 1992), 7.

monarchy and of all of the royal colleges established during this period, it was those

founded by Henry VIII which came to stand as symbols of that relationship.

Christ Church and Trinity College were not the only colleges to benefit from

royal patronage. The establishment of royal chairs and lectureships represented a further

interest on the part of the crown into the internal mechanics of the universities.[23]

Although the universities benefited from these endowments, they came at a cost. By

establishing positions in many of the colleges at both Oxford and Cambridge, the

sovereign was creating a venue through which monarchial authority could be wielded and

surveillance conducted. By the seventeenth century, even the elections of college heads

were subject to the opinions of the throne. With the ascension of James I, it was virtually

accepted that it was the king, not the members of the college, who selected their

leadership.[24] Control of the upper echelons meant increasing uniformity throughout both

the elected and appointed positions below. As it was the heads of the colleges who

elected the chancellor of the university, for example, it is not surprising that throughout

the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the list of chancellors reads much the same as a

list of royal favorites. At Cambridge the chancellorship was awarded to men ranging

from Thomas Cromwell (1535-1540) to William Cecil, Lord Burghley (1559-1598),

Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex (1598-1601), Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury (1601-

1612), and George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham (1626-1628). At Oxford the chancellors

appear once again to be friends to the crown: Sir John Mason (1552-1556), Reginald

---

[23] Hugh Kearney, *Scholars and Gentlemen: Universities in Pre-Industrial Britain, 1500-1700* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970), 35.

[24] Kenneth Fincham, "Oxford and the Early Stuart Polity," in *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. Nicholas Tyacke, 6 vols. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1997), iv. 191. Curtis, *Oxford and Cambridge in Transition*, 175-176.

Cardinal Pole (1556-1558), Sir Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester (1564-1588), Thomas

Sackville, Lord Buckhurst (1591-1608), Richard Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury

(1608-1610), William Hervert, Earl of Pembroke (1616-1630), William Laud (1630-

1641), and Gilbert Sheldon (1667).

With the administration of the universities firmly in the grasp of the chancellors

via their appointed vice-chancellors, the royal presence was one incessantly felt.[25] As it

lay also in the power of the monarch to ratify or deny the university charters throughout

his or her reign, the royal prerogative was one closely adhered to. Though incursions in

elections, chairs and headships meant a depreciated liberty for the universities, it also

meant base survival and continued financial benefit. By denying royal wishes, the

universities risked the removal of their rights and privileges along with royal support

which funded many of the positions within them. An attempt at Magdalene College,

Oxford, to install a candidate for headship other than the contender James I proposed,

resulted in James stating unequivocally the value of university obedience to royal

intentions. It was the role of the university to obey, James stated, because it was there that

"..a great part of his gentrie and nobilitie should learne the principles of obedience to God

and himselfe."[26] Loyalty and duty to the monarch was required of Oxford and

Cambridge, in this sense, because it was this behavior above all others which students

were intended to learn. James' candidate was subsequently awarded the presidency. If

the decisions of the crown as to who should govern the universities were not always

appreciated or agreed upon, they were, for the most part, accepted. By supplying

---

[25] Penry Williams, *The Tudor Regime* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1979), 294-295.
[26] Fincham, "Oxford and the Early Stuart Polity", 193.

positions in the colleges through the creation of chairs, professorships and fellowships, the Tudor and Stuart monarchies had effectively claimed a stake in whom it was who filled those positions and, by association, what was taught.

Endowments and college foundations, however, were not solely the preserve of the throne and if we are to recognize a centralization of authority in the body of the monarch for Oxford and Cambridge, it must be understood to coexist with a similar movement which tied individual colleges to the court and the country. Private investments reached unprecedented levels as the sixteenth century progressed, roughly ninety-eight percent of all educational donations being given in the form of endowments during this period split between colleges and grammar schools.[27] The medieval halls, which had afforded room and board for students in both universities, were torn down to make room for more opulent colleges. At Cambridge, Magdalene College was founded by Sir Thomas Audley, Emanuel by Sir Walter Mildmay, and Sydney Sussex came into existence thanks to the philanthropy of Sir Philip Sydney's aunt, Lady Francis Radcliffe. Oxford witnessed similar growth with the birth of Sir Thomas Pope's Trinity College and Sir Thomas White's St. John's, Corpus Christi owed its foundation to Bishop Fox, and Nicholas Wadham lent his name and wealth to the foundation of Wadham College. Added to these were large numbers of professorial chairs and libraries privately funded. Sir Thomas Bodley's benefaction of the library bearing his name was perhaps one of the most magnificent of the period but it was not alone. As John Ayliffe pointed out in 1714 commenting upon Bodley's death, "with him the Genius of the Place (the Bodleian

---

[27] Wilbur K. Jordan, *Philanthropy in England, 1480-1660: A Study of the Changing Patterns of English Social Aspirations* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1959), 292.

Library) did not seem to fall, since there are now more than double or treble the Number

of Books in it than were there at the Time of his Death..."[28] The growth of Bodley's

endowment was thanks, in part, to further donations just as the expansion of college

libraries during this period owed much to small bequests of books by past students and

admirers.[29] At Cambridge perhaps one of the most famous bibliophilic donations was that

of Samuel Pepys private library and collected writings at the end of the seventeenth

century.

With the foundations of new colleges, much like the royal endowments, came

external control over the internal workings of the universities. The creation of a new

college entitled the founder to determine its statutes within the basic framework

established by the university. Colleges were an investment both in the present and for

posterity, and benefactors were often intrusive in their surveillance and forthright with

their opinions. Sir Thomas Pope's statutes for Trinity College at Oxford were particularly

thorough. When criticized for the high level of discipline he imposed upon scholars and

faculty alike, Pope responded, "I will for no mans pleasur living breke my statutes."[30]

Benefactors were blessing and curse by turns. While the universities welcomed their

financial expenditure and the growth it allowed for, the number of vested interests in the

---

[28] John Ayliffe, "The Antient and Present State of the University of Oxford," (1714) in *The Oxford Book of Oxford*, ed. Jan Morris (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 64.

[29] John Evelyn, a student of Balloil College, for example, donated three volumes of *Zanchii Opera,* three volumes of *Granado in Thomam Aquinatem, Novarini Electa sacra*, and *Cresolii Anthologia sacra* to his college library as he believed those works to be in high demand by students of divinity there. John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, in *Reminiscences of Oxford by Oxford Men, 1559-1850*, ed. Lilian M. Quiller Couch (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1892), 20. The experience of Brasenose provides another example in terms of growth by private donation and has been examined in these terms extensively by Mark Curtis, *Oxford and Cambridge in Transition*, 282 Note B.

[30] As cited in Charles Edward Mallet, *A History of the University of Oxford*, 3 vols. (London: Methuen and Company, 1924), iii. 160.

education provided at Oxford or Cambridge was steadily growing. As external opinions grew in number, so too did the propensity to embitter patrons and potential benefactors at each moment a decision was required.

In part lay benefaction, by its very nature, maintained college statutes rigorously due to the nature of their donation: by endowing a college, chair, or scholarship, patrons were establishing monuments to their own persons intended to endure as a symbol of their characters and those of their families after death. With the Reformation and the removal of concepts such as purgatory and the utility of praying for a soul or having masses read as a form of remembrance, men and women of stature were required to seek out new ways of ensuring their commemoration and place in posterity; such was the case in the formation of Sydney Sussex College at Cambridge, dedicated to the memory of Sir Philip Sydney.[31] Educational endowments were one such way to represent those who had passed on without an immoderate display of grief or mourning behavior which had, by the late sixteenth century, been condemned as superstitious, weak and contemptible.[32] Mourning was suggested, by the seventeenth century, to continue for little over a week in length at the most, the memory after this point to be kept internally.[33] The formation of a college or scholarship, by contrast, was a way in which the dead could be remembered publicly and in perpetuity. As physical embodiments of their patrons, students, libraries and colleges were placed under strict guidelines for the simple fact that they essentially became the descendants of their benefactor; representations of his example to the rest of

---

[31] David Cressy, *Birth Marriage, and Death: Ritual Religion, and the Life Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 416.
[32] Ralph Houlbrook, *Death, Religion, and the Family in England: 1480-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 375.
[33] Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death*, 439.

England. Henry Vaughan's poem dedicated to Sir Thomas Bodley artfully expresses the

meaning of his endowment:

> Most noble *Bodley*! we are bound to thee
> For no small part of our *eternity*....
> Th' hast made us all thine *heirs*: whatever we
> Hereafter write, 'tis thy *posterity*.
> This is thy *monument*! here though shalt stand
> Till the times fail in their last grain of sand.
> This *tomb* will never let thine honour sleep.
> Still we shall think upon thee; all our fame
> Meets here to speak one *letter* of thy name.
> Thou canst not die! here though art more than safe
> Where every *book* is thy large *epitaph*.[34]

As immortal 'epitaph['s]' to their founders and their family lines, endowments were apt

to constant scrutiny on the part of descendants who took their maintenance extremely

seriously as they were, by association, representations of themselves.

Not all endowments, however, were as magnificent as those of Sir Thomas

Bodley or Sir Thomas Pope. On the contrary, many took a much smaller form. Some

were as simple as supplies of coal and wood to sufficiently heat the massive halls in the

winter months, while Edward Lucas made possible the wainscoting of Magdalene

College, Cambridge. In 1573 Sir Thomas Smith, the same who had lobbied successfully

for the maintenance of the universities in the face of dissolution, endowed a small feast to

be conducted annually at his old college of Queens.[35] Others took the form of

---

[34] Although a student at Oxford, little indication has been left as to what college he attended along with his brother. It is doubtful, as a number of literary critics contend, that this was written during his time there, which would have been during the late 1630's. No indication as to the actual date at which this poem was written has been as yet deduced. Henry Vaughan, "On Sir Thomas Bodley's Library; the Author Being Then in Oxford", in *Henry Vaughan, The Complete Poems*, ed. Alan Rudrum (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976), 336-337.

[35] Victor Morgan, "Cambridge University and "The Country", 1560-1640," in *The University in Society*, ed. Lawrence Stone, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), i. 214, 215.

scholarships intended to allow poor students to attend. These had become increasingly

necessary as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries progressed. The halls, once cheap

residences for students of depressed means, now fell before the newly erected colleges

which accepted only fee paying students capable of affording higher rates for habitation

and in-house instruction. At Brasenose in Oxford, nine percent of students attending

between 1610 and 1629 held a scholarship or exhibition. Between 1670 and 1689 roughly

thirty six percent were receiving some form of financial assistance or personal

benefaction.[36] In the reign of Elizabeth I, London merchants alone had donated an

estimated £27,000 to the formation of scholarships and exhibitions at the two

universities.[37] As the seventeenth century progressed, scholarships were becoming an

increasingly important mode of financing for students, allowing for many more to attend

university than may have been able to otherwise. More students meant yet another

significant source of income for the colleges but once again, it came with a price of

external control over their dispensation and use.

Another form of generosity and benefaction which did not necessarily benefit the

colleges directly, but which had a significant impact on the demographics of Oxford and

Cambridge during the seventeenth century, were the endowments of county schools.

During this period a large number of new grammar schools were founded throughout the

country and many were equipped with scholarships designed to allow a certain number of

their graduates to attend university. Usually the schools furnished students to one college

---

[36] Stephen Porter, "University and Society," in *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. Nicholas Tyacke, 6 vols. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1997), iv. 78.
[37] Joan Simon, *Education and Society in Tudor England*, 373.

in particular, very often the *alma mater* of the school's benefactor, and this resulted in strong regional ties between colleges and particular districts. Sydney Sussex and St. John's at Cambridge, for example, were well equipped with students from the North and North West of England, the result primarily of their connections with the Hull Grammar School which saw roughly two thirds of its students attend one of the two colleges in the early seventeenth century.[38] Likewise, Dean Nowell of St. Paul's endowed a school in Lancashire which included in its statutes that thirteen scholars of the Middleton School would be sent to Brasenose at Oxford on scholarship.[39] As schools became more numerous throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, so too did their connections with the universities.

The results of the increasing number of grammar schools and the scholarships which attended them was an increasingly broad geographic distribution of Oxford and Cambridge's student population. Whereas during the medieval period the universities had catered primarily to their surrounding localities and to the London area with only a few students attending from Ireland or Scotland, the complexion of the seventeenth century student body was much more diverse and comprehensive. Appendix I displays the regional distribution of Oxford students as proposed by the research of Stephen Porter. Porter's findings suggest not only that the Stuart universities were accepting students from all corners of the country, but that geographic diversification was gradually increasing throughout the period. Furthermore, the distribution of these students evenly between colleges upon their entrance during this period approached, although it never

---

[38] Morgan, "Cambridge University and "The Country"," i. 193.
[39] Morgan, "Cambridge University and "The Country"," i. 192.

fully attained, proportionate representation as the century progressed. At the same time, attendance from Scotland and Ireland was declining throughout the course of the seventeenth century, in part due to the establishment of Trinity College in Dublin.

Although similar research has yet to be conducted for Cambridge, Victor Morgan has hypothesized that the results are much the same. Morgan's study has sought to elucidate the nature of the geographic distribution of students between colleges. As local magnates endowed schools in their county districts, the colleges, in turn, began to develop regional characteristics themselves and could further draw students from a given locality. An examination of Gonville and Caius Colleges in Cambridge, for example, suggests that they were predominated by Norfolk students throughout the late sixteenth century, and for the duration of the seventeenth.[40] By 1662 Thomas Fuller reported of Oxford that "Of the colleges…New College is most proper for southern, Exeter for western, Queen's for northern, Brasenose for north-western men; Saint John's for Londoners, Jesus for Welshmen; and at other colleges almost indifferently for men of all counties."[41] Increasingly the universities were becoming proportionately representative of the commonwealth which they served, microcosms of the greater whole.

This does not suggest, however, that students from a particular locality were limited in the range of institutions they could attend. Jesus College at Oxford, for example, catered primarily to students from Wales and Monmouthshire but these scholars represented only sixty percent of the total number of students at Oxford from that

---

[40] Morgan, "Cambridge and "The Country"," i. 204.
[41] Thomas Fuller, *The Worthies of England* (1662) (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1952), 457.

region.[42] Perhaps the most blunt indication of the increasing levels of student regional

diversity lies in the statutes created to disperse students from various localities throughout

the universities in an attempt to promote unity rather than facilitate fracture along

geographic lines. While prior to the sixteenth century, the administration at both

universities had attempted to reduce regional differences in terms of students from the

North, including Scotland and Ireland, and the South divisions which had resulted in

inter-collegiate mischief and, in more extreme cases, violent brawling, the seventeenth

century had a different problem to contend with altogether.[43] As North and South

divisions began to dissipate in the face of more diverse and complex county partitions

betwixt the colleges, statues were created to deal with the new difficulties regional pride

afforded for students and administrators alike. At Peterhouse in Cambridge, the

reconfirmation of the college statutes stated both the purpose and the nature of regulating

regionalism: "For the furtherance of goodwill, peace and quiet in our elections, and for

other considerations specially moving us thereto,…that it shall not be lawful to have

more than two fellows or scholars together out of any county of England…"[44] At Christ's

College, students were to be limited to numbers of three per county out of nine northern

districts. Although Christ's maintained its northern complexion, it attempted to obviate

the problems a regional majority could potentially create within the college.[45]

Geographically, the universities were becoming increasingly representative of the nation

they served thanks in part to endowments and benefactions, but this process was as

---

[42] Porter, "University and Society," iv. 60.
[43] Morgan, "Cambridge and "The Country"," i. 188.
[44] As quoted in Morgan, "Cambridge and "The Country"," i. 200.
[45] Morgan, "Cambridge and "The Country"," i. 202.

problematic as it was beneficial. By dispersing students from varying localities throughout the universities in order to combat regional divisions, Oxford and Cambridge were becoming points of assimilation, intent on obviating regional differences and imposing an overarching 'English' unity for the peace of their own precincts. Although not a necessarily novel dimension to the function of the universities, it was one which had become much more complex following the Reformation and which was made much more important by the need to establish a uniformity of religious worship and secular administration.

The universities had long relied upon external support to supplement their finances and facilitate further development. What makes the philanthropy of the late sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries particularly important, however, is the fact that the source of that support had ceased to be ecclesiastical and became, instead, predominantly secular in origin. College and library foundations, coupled with the creation of scholarships, grammar schools, and other forms of endowments thus represent a fundamental shift in the way in which universities were maintained and enlarged, most notably in that these benefactions were the result of a distinctly secular patronage unprecedented prior to the Reformation. Of the colleges founded during the Tudor and early Stuart periods at both Oxford and Cambridge, for example, all save two owed their foundations to secular benefactors.[46] The reforming of the church had catalyzed, in part, a revolution in the universities which placed them not only within the jurisdiction of secular authority, but in its debt as well.

---

[46] Curtis, *Oxford and Cambridge in Transition*, 48.

In part, increasing secular interests were the result of the declining fortunes of the

church as an institution capable of providing the support it once had prior to the

Reformation. As Bishop Fox lamented to Elizabeth in relation to the declining power and

prestige of the Bishops in regards to their educational endeavors:

> Bishops heretofore have brought up to be learned a great number of
> scholars in the universities, which they shall not hereafter be able to do.
> Bishopes heretofore have builded colleges in the universities for the
> increase of learning which hereafter they shall not be able to do.[47]

The rise of secular philanthropy was certainly made more pronounced by the decline of

ecclesiastical benefactors and it was within the vacuum caused by the receding church

that lay-benefaction grew to maturity. The universities could no longer rely upon the

gracious donations of the clergy to the extent they once had. In response, they turned to

secular authorities, graduates, and the throne to procure the patronage required for growth

and maintenance.

Secular benefaction, however, does not wholly account for the extraordinary rise

in university fortunes in comparison with the dark days of the Reformation which very

nearly saw their collapse politically, financially, and in terms of enrollment. Not only

were the universities being maintained by secular interests, they were significantly

thriving upon them. The resurrection of the universities at the hands of laymen and the

monarchy was not merely an illusion brought about by declining church fortunes. Social

conceptions of the role universities performed and the benefits of the education that they

offered had changed to the extent that laymen began to regard them with a vested interest

which had previously been paltry at best. The deprecated condition of the universities in

---

[47] As cited from a Bodliean manuscript in Curtis, *Oxford and Cambridge in Transition*, 48n.

the mid sixteenth century is most startling when compared with the state of Oxford and

Cambridge in the first three quarters of the seventeenth, a growth for which declining

church endowments cannot fully account. While the number of student admissions in

1500 at either university was roughly 150 annually, that number had increased

substantially to between 400 and 500 by 1600.[48] At both institutions, admissions and

overall attendance were to reach levels in the 1630's which would not be reached again

until the 1870's.[49] In terms of enrollment, Cambridge numbered 1,267 members in 1564.

By 1622 its academic population had more than doubled and was comprised of 3,050

scholars and faculty.[50] Nor did the growth slow before the Civil War cut it violently

short. John Scott, conducting a survey of Oxford University in 1605, concluded that the

university was composed of 2,254 members. A second census carried out in 1634, again

by Scott, displayed a momentous growth with university personnel accounting for

3,305.[51] The uncertainty of the early sixteenth century had, by the seventeenth century,

given way to renewed acceptability and utility for university education: with stability

came expansion.

In 1604, James granted the universities corporate status by awarding them two

seats each in the House of Commons. While one of their primary mandates remained the

education of the English clergy, their original function as merely a special branch of the

church was effectively and permanently severed: though they continued to educate

England's clergy, they were regarded primarily as lay communities much like the

---

[48] Kearney, *Scholars and Gentlemen*, 22.
[49] Stone, "The Size and Composition of the Oxford Student Body," i. 17, 92.
[50] Curtis, *Oxford and Cambridge in Transition*, 3.
[51] Porter, "University and Society", iv. 40.

boroughs and counties whom they now sat beside in the Lower House.[52] What James had

provided was twofold. First, he afforded the universities a voice in the administration of

the English nation and, as a result, a responsibility for its good governance, though by

this grant he had indebted the universities to the monarchy. Second, their incorporation

was a mark of royal confidence in the loyalty and advantage of the education carried out

at Oxford and Cambridge: a solidification of the bond between royal authority and the

universities catalyzed by the Reformation which had very nearly brought them to

destruction. This did not imply that the universities were no longer accountable. On the

contrary, they were still subject to visitation at the will of the monarch, but the

parameters of the universities' relationship with the state and the crown had significantly

changed: by incorporation, the universities were now part of the government, still

subservient to it, but more capable than ever before of effecting change.

The secularization of university benefaction and the imposition of the royal will

upon college elections, professorships, and the formation of royal colleges themselves,

were intrusive elements that firmly established the universities within England. The break

with Rome had removed a connection which was external to England, an authority which

was distinctly foreign and separate from the national administration and the interests of

the state. As royal and secular attention converged upon Oxford and Cambridge and

exerted control in return for privileges, financial support, and legal protection, the

universities found themselves increasingly a part of England rather than merely

---

[52] Of particular interest in connection to this is the fact that they were awarded seats in the House of Commons, not in the House of Lords as seats granted to Bishops. This was further reflective of the general practice of appointing laymen as chancellors to the university rather than members of the ecclesiastical community, a trend begun after the Reformation by Henry VIII. Williams, *The Tudor Regime*, 294. Curtis, *Oxford and Cambridge in Transition*, 30.

geographically situated within it. As Mark Curtis has aptly stated, "...just as the Church *in* England became the Church *of* England, so the universities *in* England became the universities *of* England."[53] They were part of the fabric, representative of the geography and of the secular as well as ecclesiastical interests of the state and its people. With a national position, however, came responsibility and duty. Their survival through the tumultuous years of reform and uncertainty was bought at the price of their liberty. The fall of the pope in England had not freed them of one source of authority; rather, it had named many new masters in the rebuilding of the universities, the greatest of all being the king. What was taught, to whom, and in what ways all faced a fundamental transition throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

We have but skirted here how the population of the universities rose meteorically from its lowest point and how this new student body was geographically much more diverse than in years preceding the Reformation. Yet mere stability and the rise of colleges may not account for the renewed attendance which exceeded in the thousands numbers commonplace before the Act for Restraints of Appeals. What is more, the students who now flooded the colleges were not of the traditional form. They were no longer a class of plebeians in search of a position in the clergy. The social status of the student body was changing; a new population was making use of the universities throughout this period. The universities, as re-forged tools of the monarchy, were equipped with a new utility: one which served not only those aspiring to the church, but those who would seek position at court, in parliament, business, and in the country. It is

---

[53] Italics added. Curtis, *Oxford and Cambridge in Transition*, 50.

to the students we must turn and to the Renaissance which caused them to take up

Oxonian or Cambrian robes.

Chapter II

"The Courtier's, Soldier's, Scholar's, Eye, Tongue, Sword"[1]:
Legacies of Rebirth

ജൠ

In 1617 James I exclaimed upon visiting Oxford that "Were I not a king, I would

be a university man..."[2] His existence would have seemed little less princely had it been

so, though perhaps not in the rigid academic sense which the erudite and often pedantic

James would have preferred. The universities of Oxford and Cambridge had changed

significantly from their early sixteenth century manifestations, both in their internal

structure as well as in terms of their role in the nation at large. As monuments to men of

position, influence, and wealth, new colleges were built as palaces of learning rather than

to emulate the ideally modest monasteries of silent study and humble contemplation

which they were rapidly replacing. While the dissolution of monastic houses had cleared

space for the foundation of new and much more opulent colleges, older colleges benefited

as well through the purchase of lands surrendered by the old church. Be it expansion or

foundation, many of the colleges were now equipped with gardens, scenic walkways,

broad quadrangles and treed bowers intended for pleasure and leisure rather than

laborious study. Thomas Fuller wrote of Cambridge that its colleges were "...generally

---

[1] William Shakespeare, <u>Hamlet</u>, in *The Complete Works of William Shakespeare* (New York: Avenel Books, 1975), III. i. 1089.

[2] James I upon his viewing of the Bodliean Library. He went on to add that "...if it were that I must be a prisoner, if I might have my wish, I would have no other prison than this library, and be chained together with these good authors." Three years later he would be chained alongside them all the same with the donation of his collected works. As quoted in Jan Morris, *The Oxford Book of Oxford* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 69.

situated on the outside [of the town], affording the better conveniency of private walks and gardens about them."[3] The addition of the Physick Garden in 1621 at Oxford was but another ornament (not wholly without studious purpose), which beautified the university experience and was repaired to in the slow hours of the day by scholars, visitors, and faculty alike.[4] In 1598 Paul Hentzner reported of evenings spent at any given college that "…as soon as Grace is said after each meal, everyone is at liberty, either to retire to his own chambers, or to walk in the College garden, there being none that has not a delightful one."[5] The high vaulted ceilings of the colleges, their heraldic and symbolic stonework, painted panels, dinning halls and pained windows, all lent the universities an elegance of environment previously unknown.

Coupled with pleasure gardens were diversions much more the preserves of the court and gentry than were seen as proper recreation for students and they now presented themselves as a serious danger to the pursuit of learning. Hunting had become a popular pastime of Oxford and Cambridge scholars,[6] along with hawking, riding, fencing, dancing, whoring, and drinking. As the seventeenth century progressed, smoking and loitering at coffee houses had been added to the list of scholarly pursuits and Archbishop Laud, Chancellor of Oxford, with an eye for reforming Cambridge as well, waged an

---

[3] Thomas Fuller, *Worthies of England* (1662) (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1952), 49.

[4] From the diary of John Evelyn reporting his visit to Oxford dated July 11th through to the 19th, 1654. John Evelyn, *John Evelyn's Diary* (London: The Folio Society, 1963), 96-98.

[5] Paul Hetzner, "A Journey Into England in 1598," (1757) in *The Oxford Book of Oxford*, trans. Horace Walpole, ed. Jan Morris (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 66.

[6] Indeed, hunting parties conducted by students at Shotover near Oxford had grown so popular that Charles I's own hunting forays were being sullied by a want of game. One of Archbishop Laud's first letters to the Oxford Convocation shortly after he accepted the chancellorship stated: "…you would all be careful, that the university may stand right in his majesty's good opinion for not spoiling his game. There was lately a complaint made to me about it…" William Laud, *The Works of the Most Reverend Father in God, William Laud, D.D., Sometime Lord Archbishop of Canterbury*, (1630) 7 vols. (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1853), v. 20.

incessant war against the metallic rattling of spurs in halls which had once seemed so much more reverent and hushed in the earlier days of his own attendance. Oxford and Cambridge had become social, rather than merely ecclesiastical and academic institutions. The Commencement at Cambridge and the Act at Oxford drew crowds from across England to view the occasion and celebrations which were held not only for the scholars but for "...the exceeding assembly of gentles..." who had come to view the event.[7] With the regular visits of Elizabeth I, James I, and Charles I had come the attendant members of the court and gentry. Upon their departure, the vices and opulence of noble and leisured men appeared to have been left in their wake, to fester in the quads and streets of the university towns. In truth it was not their vice and pleasures they had left behind, but their sons. While the Reformation had focused the eyes of the state upon the universities, the Renaissance redefined the attributes requisite for manliness and made the universities institutions in which young boys, but most especially those of the upper echelons of English society, could train to become men along the lines of the humanist ideal.

The social dynamics of the university population had changed considerably throughout the sixteenth century and continued to do so during the seventeenth. However, the changes experienced did not reside solely in escalating attendance. The growth in student representation was not the result of a burgeoning plebian presence; the number of lower order students, those whose financial capacity and social standing caused them to be entered as servitors or battelers, remained relatively stable, if not experiencing a slight

---

[7] From a letter written in 1602. John Chamberlain, *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, ed. Norman Egbert McClure, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1939), i. 159.

decline when compared with numbers preceding the Reformation before their virtual exit

from the university scene altogether with the advent of the eighteenth century.[8] Rather,

the plebian population at the universities had been supplemented by an entirely new

demographic which initiated the dramatic swell composed of the sons of members of the

gentry and of the nobility of England. The princely qualities with which university life

had been imbued by the seventeenth century were only partially the result of lay

benefaction and the erection of magnificent gardens and colleges that this process

elicited. Rather, the importation of an aristocratic demographic was shaping, for good or

ill, the academic institutions of England socially just as much as the universities were

endeavoring to shape England's most affluent and powerful sons intellectually,

politically, and religiously. At the root of the shift in Oxford and Cambridge's social and

cultural mechanics at the hands of increasingly aristocratic students resided the

Renaissance and the fruition of its central tenets.

The 1570s had seen, on average at both Oxford and Cambridge, a total of seven

admissions annually of students whose fathers held a title of some sort, either as a peer or

knight. By the 1590s this number had grown to twenty-four, by the 1630s it reached

roughly forty-five (a level of attendance on the part of nobles not to be reached again in

the history of either university).[9] As a percentage of the total number of students

attending, the early 1590s saw two percent of the population comprised of sons of peers,

---

[8]Lawrence Stone, "The Size and Composition of the Oxford Student Body, 1580-1909," in *The University in Society,* ed. Lawrence Stone, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), i. 37.

[9] Stone further suggests that the growing trend of university attendance on the part of sons of titled nobility was disproportionate to the growth of that particular class which, under James I, was substantial. Despite expansion in the nobility, the proportion sending their sons to Oxford or Cambridge significantly exceeded previous numbers. Stone, "Size and Composition," i. 27-28.

thirteen of esquires, and thirty of the gentry class. The early 1600s, by contrast, had

reached eleven percent peers, seventeen percent esquires, and thirty percent gentry, the

fourty-two percent remaining being composed of plebeians and the sons of members of

the clergy.[10] These estimated numbers, however, should be understood as low for a

number of reasons. In the first place, students of higher social standing often had to pay

higher fees for residence within the college which resulted in an unknown proportion of

aristocratic students claiming lower status. Added to this, records of admissions were

rarely assiduously kept nor did all students of high standing necessarily register at all,

especially if intending only to study for a couple of years without formally taking a

degree.[11] These figures suggest an imprecise degree of growth in the number of students

of a higher social standing attending university, yet even when taken at their lowest

estimation they propose a serious challenge to the virtual plebian monopoly over

university education existent before this period. An examination of Caius College,

Oxford between 1580 and 1589 provides one of many example of how marked the

transition in demographics was. While the sons of yeomen and husbandmen accounted

for forty-seven percent of admissions, the sons of the gentry and nobility accounted for

forty-one percent, the sons of merchants and professionals for twenty-nine. If, as Mark H.

Curtis suggests, merchant and professional men's sons may themselves be counted as a

derivative form of 'gentry' or pseudo-gentry (as their fathers fulfilled positions of power

within the cities and towns much the same as did the gentry in the country), these figures

---

[10] Stephen Porter, "University and Society," in *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. Nicholas Tyacke, 6 vols. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1997), iv. 55.
[11] Stone, "Size and Composition," i. 27-28.

would suggest that not only had the plebian numbers been equaled by the number of sons of the upper strata of English society, but that they had been significantly exceeded. By the 1620s, in concurrence with Curtis's assumption, the difference between aristocratic and plebian students is striking: only fifteen percent of the total number of admissions were of plebian status; the rest were the sons of peers, gentlemen, and merchants.[12] More than at any period prior, the titled, landed, and affluent men of England were feeding Oxford and Cambridge with their money, their interests, and their offspring.

In part, the rise of aristocratic student numbers at Oxford and Cambridge may be attributed to changes in the administration of the state. As the English government became gradually more complex, departmentalized, rigorously controlled and surveyed, the positions which it both created and sought to fill were increasingly accompanied by a set of requisite skills which the universities were thought capable of providing. The mere ability to read competently had been exceeded by the requirements of mathematics, logic, and lessons only the ancients could teach seen as crucial by advocates of the humanist movement. As Sir Thomas Elyot instructed in 1531 in his *Boke Named the Gouernour*;

> For as moche as all noble authors do conclude, and also commune experience proueth, that where the gouernours of realms and cities be founden adourned with virtues, and do employ theyr study and mynde to the publike weale, as well to the augmentation therof as to the establysshynge and longe continuaunce of the same: there a publike weale must nedes be both honorable and welthy.[13]

---

[12] Mark H. Curtis, *Oxford and Cambridge in Transition* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1959), 60-61.
[13] Sir Thomas Elyot, *The Boke Named the Governour* (1531) (London: J. M. Dent and Company, 1907), 18.

Elyot, within this passage and throughout his work, ties the virtues of the state to those who govern it at various levels. An honourable and wealthy state, according to this doctrine, is one guided by an educated class of governors.

There was existent as well a prevalent sense of moral and intellectual degradation in reference to the traditional education of nobles and members of the gentry. Thomas Starkey, author of a dialogue concerning the education of England's propertied classes, condemned men of rank "who we see customably brought up in hunting and hawking, dicing and carding, eating and drinking and, in conclusion all vain pleasure, pastime and vanity" and who were, as such, unfit to govern church or state.[14] Though complaints of this nature grew increasingly prevalent in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as J. H. Hexter has pointed out, ignorance was not particularly new to the aristocracy and gentry of England: there had not occurred a general trend of deterioration which had brought them to a deplorable state despite the rhetoric of decline implied by humanist proponents. What had changed, what had elicited comment and condemnation, were social conceptions of what a gentleman or nobleman ought to be; the tools and skills he possessed and the purposes to which he directed those attributes. The upper classes had

---

[14] Thomas Starkey, "A Dialogue Between Cardinal Pole and Thomas Lupset," (1533) in *England in the Reign of King Henry the Eighth: Life and Letters and A Dialogue Between Cardinal Pole and Thomas Lupset by Thomas Starkey*, ed. Sidney J. Herrtage (Millwood: Kraus Reprint Company, 1878), 129. Roger Ascham further suggested the importance of educating youth by elucidating the effects that a good or poor education may have upon men in later life when they take up positions of authority in the state. Robert Ascham, *The Scholemaster, Or Plaine and Perfite way of Teaching Children to Understand, Write and Speak in the Latin Tong, but Specially Purposed for the Priuate Bryinging up of Youth in Ienglemen and Noble men's Houses*, (1571) ed. Edward Arber (London: 1870), 30-34.

not 'become' uneducated, for they had always been so in the classical sense. Rather, with the introduction of Renaissance values they were now expected to *be* educated.[15]

The days had passed when noblemen could rely solely upon the rudiments of literacy and a roughly conceived ideal of courtly behavior and civility coupled with martial valour, in short, chivalry, to act as sufficient claim upon position at court or in state. Although apt ornaments becoming of a man holding an office or place of influence, these were no longer meat enough to sustain his position or worth, nor could birth alone impart those skills essential to a role in court, country, or civic administration. Baldassare Castiglione chastised the French in his dialogue upon the subject of the perfect courtier, "But beside goodnesse the true and principall ornament of the mind in every man... are letters although ye Frenchmen know onely the nobleness of armes, and passé for nothing besides: so that they abhorre them, and all learned men they doe count very rascals and they thinke it a great villany when any one of them is called a Clarke." Though valiant soldiers and captains, according to Castiglione, the French nobility were ill equipped to rule that which they conquered nor could they be counted among the ranks of the ideal courtier.[16] Time spent at, if not a degree from, Oxford or Cambridge had become symbolic of rank and privilege in part because rank and privilege had ceased to serve as

---

[15] J. H. Hexter, "The Education of the Aristocracy in the Renaissance," in *Reappraisals in History: New Views on History and Society in Early Modern Europe*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979),49, 66.

[16] Castiglione's book was translated into English in 1561 by Sir Thomas Hoby and attained immediate attention on the part of English courtiers and gentlemen. Its effect is most immediately noticeable in subsequent English thought on the form and function of gentlemen and noblemen and in the contemporary literature of the time of which many of Shakespeare and Marlowe's plays provide a fine example. Baldassare Castiglione, *The Book of The Courtier*, (1561) trans. Sir Thomas Hoby (London: J. M. Dent and Company, 1923), 68-71. For a discussion of representations of Castiglione's dictates in English literature, see the introduction to this work written by W. H. D. Rouse.

sufficient accoutrement alone to attain a position of authority within any given social or political circle.

The advent of the Renaissance had catalyzed a movement of consolidation, regulation, and elaboration upon what skills exactly were required to fill a place at court or within the central and local administration of the state. There was little doubt that these positions ought to be filled by men of some notable birth, but birth alone was under direct challenge by changing social ideals and the humanist requirements implied by the holding of public office. Education, at least in England, was not ornament; it was a tool to be utilized for the betterment of the nation. According to English humanists, one pursued education to serve the commonwealth: attendance at university carried a weighty responsibility to make use of the knowledge attained thereat, an anglicanization of the concept of civic humanism existent in Italy.[17] A man could be born noble or gentle but birth did not impart the attributes that the words had come to imply: men of good birth required instruction to become men of good quality. The proof of their nobleness or gentility lay in their utility to the state which could only be entered upon with receipt of a specific form of training. Indeed, the proliferation of texts throughout this period dedicated to the training and proper upbringing of men of noble birth and of gentlemen attest to the perceived need to instruct them rather than rely merely upon the virtues of ancestry. Castiglione's characters in *The Courtier* speak at length of the value of good birth and suggest that the greatest courtier was, indeed, one who was nobly born. Counter to this argument, however, was posited the observation that many born noble were not

---

[17] Hexter, "The Education of the Aristocracy," 67.

necessarily so by their actions, while many who were not born so could become so by their industry, study, and virtue. The contenders in Castiglione's dialogue did not obviate this counterpoint, but rather sidestepped it by reiteration of the dictates of the discussion: to find the *perfect* courtier. Nobleness required instruction; the only value of birth was that it forced the individual to learn lest he sully his ancestry and in order to better assert his claim to authority. [18]

The matter of instructing the upper echelons of English society to behave as their birth dictated they ought, according to the new social dialogue on the subject, was one of fundamental importance: at stake lay the peace and prosperity of the nation, its good governance. Roger Ascham explicated the significance of proper education in a like manner to Elyot, stating "In the end the good or ill bringing up of children doth as much serve to the good or ill service of God, our prince and our whole country..."[19] The significance of education, its potential benefit to the state, had been well noted by William Cecil as well who had, at the beginning of Elizabeth I's reign, initiated plans to order, by act of parliament, the nobility to have their children attend one of the two universities from the age of twelve until the age of eighteen. In addition, one third of all scholarships at each institution were to be designated specifically for gentlemen, implying an intended extension of 'noble' values to men of that class.[20] Though the initiative was stillborn, its mere suggestion is instructive of the prevalent belief existent during this period that position and responsibility required education to be properly

---

[18] Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, 30-36.
[19] Ascham, *The Scholemaster*, 31.
[20] Hexter, "The Education of the Aristocracy," 68.

conducted. Upon leaving Cambridge University in 1564 following a royal visit, Elizabeth I stated to the assembled students and fellows that: "This one thing then I would have you all remember, that there will be no directer, nor fitter course, either to make your fortunes, or to procure the favour of your prince, than, as you have begun, to ply your studies diligently."[21] Though Elizabeth's words fell only upon the ears of those academics present and the administrators and members of the court attending to her person, the sentiment she espoused would ring clearly throughout the rest of England by the end of her reign. What she spoke of was not particularly novel but, rather, was becoming a commonly accepted belief that preferment, position, indeed, fortune itself, were best pursued by study and that such study was best conducted at one of England's two universities.

These trends in political and educational thought increasingly found corporeal form as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries progressed. The office of Justice of the Peace, for example, was steadily filled by men with university training throughout the country as the early modern period progressed; the average number of university men holding such positions ranging from just under five percent in 1562 to roughly sixty-two percent by 1636 (Appendix II).[22] An examination of members of the House of Commons within the English Parliament displays similar signs of overall increase in university educated men. In 1563, for example, 67 members, twenty-one percent, had attended university, a number which by 1584 had more than doubled to 145, roughly forty-five

---

[21] As quoted in Curtis, *Oxford and Cambridge in Transition*, 7.

[22] Victor Morgan, "Cambridge University and "The Country", 1560-1640," in *The University in Society*, ed. Lawrence Stone, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), i. 214, 215.

percent. By 1593, 164 were trained at one of the two institutions and, consistently

between 1604 and 1629, over half of the Commons had been to Oxford or Cambridge.[23]

What makes the proportion of educated members of the Lower House of particular

interest is the fact that they were elected rather than appointed, suggesting that men in

positions of power, in this case primarily members of the gentry, were increasingly

educated to the extent that their authority may have been noted by members of their

community in addition to the land they owned. As a whole, office holders (justices of the

peace, lords lieutenants), professional men (merchants, lawyers, bankers, doctors) and

landowners saw an increase from twenty-eight percent having attended university

between 1550 and 1599 to roughly forty–four percent between 1600 and 1649.[24] The

positions available in the later Tudor and Stuart states were becoming progressively

exclusive, restricted not only to those of birth as they generally had been before, but to

those of birth who had been educated. Though education beyond literacy was not a pre-

requisite during this period, a precedent was in the process of being established which

would place potential employment in the administration of the state primarily within the

hands of university men.

A survey of Thomas Fuller's *Worthies of England*, published posthumously in

1662, provides evidence of the increasing importance of education in the lives of

England's administrators. Fuller's examination of London worthies, for example,

---

[23] Sir John Neale, *The Elizabethan House of Commons* (New Haven: 1950), 302-303. P. W. Hasler, *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1558-1603*, 3 vols. (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1981), i. 4.

[24] Lawrence Stone, *An Open Elite? England, 1540-1880* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1984), 493. For a breakdown of members of parliament by occupation and their rate of university attendance see Hasler, *The History of Parliament*, i. 5.

suggests that of those men of note who lived in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,

twenty-five had attended in their youth, or were later involved in, higher education. Of

the ten individuals remaining, three were women.[25] A similar look at Kent, Somerset,

Norfolk, Yorkshire, and Devon provide an analogous outcome as displayed in Appendix

III. What these results suggest is that of those men whom Fuller deemed of sufficient

merit to be an honour to their localities of birth, the majority had been educated at the

universities. Coupled with this is the fact that Fuller went to great pains to enumerate

these men's academic achievements and training, implying that he considered them as a

contributing factor, if not an attribute in and of their own right, to their careers, lives, and

successes: a man's education was a point which made him worthy of praise for his county

and for the nation. In his introduction to the work, Fuller stated his primary purposes for

its compilation, one of which was to "...present examples to the living, having here

precedents of all sorts and sizes; of men famous for valour, wealth, wisdom, learning,

religion and bounty to the public, on which last we most largely insist."[26] What Fuller

sought to do was to enumerate those men and women of England noted as worthy yet, by

so doing, he had also to establish a definition of what worth was and to create a system

for its evaluation. Of a Kent man, Thomas Playfere, born in 1561, for example, Fuller

wrote that he "was bred fellow of Saint John's College in Cambridge" and further

elaborated that "his fluency in the Latin tongue seemed a wonder to many."[27] In a similar

fashion, Fuller praised the learning of Devonshire-born Sir John Doddridge, born in

---

[25] Fuller, *The Worthies of England*, 344-375.
[26] Fuller, *The Worthies of England*, 1.
[27] Fuller, *The Worthies of England*, 280.

1555, for his education at Exeter College in Oxford where he "became so general a scholar that it is hard to say whether he was a better artist, divine, civil or common lawyer though he fixed on the last for his public profession, and became second justice of the king's bench."[28] Fuller's heavy focus upon educational facilities when discussing regions and counties, and the prevalence of educated men presents the reader with two points: first, that the universities and schools were gems in the crown of England; second, that those men who passed through them garnered a particularly large potential for acclaim, either through the benefits it provided them in securing a laudable position or by empowering them within their communities. Education afforded these men a high appraisal at least in the mind of Thomas Fuller and those who extolled and built upon his work.[29]

The changing demographics of Oxford and Cambridge were reflected in the way in which the universities themselves defined their function within England. The rights and privileges of the universities were incessantly a point of complaint for the towns which embodied them and though the violent outbreaks between the two entities had, for the most part, subsided by the seventeenth century, rivalry remained a constant. Between 1611 and 1612 the civic authorities of Oxford, for example, had spent nearly half of its annual income on litigation with the University, a practice carried to the extent of its falling into severe financial distress by the 1640's.[30] Appeals on the part of the town were

---

[28] Fuller, *The Worthies of England, 135.*
[29] Indeed, Thomas Fuller's *Worthies* elicited a number of imitators and a large degree of praise. Many who conducted similar surveys following him utilized his text as the basis for their own such research. John Prince and Dr. Johnson provide two such examples.
[30] Alan Crossley, "City and University," in *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. Nicholas Tyacke, 6 vols. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1997), iv. 133.

made to parliament and were repeatedly denied. One such petition, sent in 1641, saw a

rebuttal on the part of the University of Oxford which elucidated the position to which it

had only recently grown accustomed: "where two corporations live together, there is a

necessity that one of them be subordinate to the other…as this place hath found

heretofore by bloody experience."[31] The king agreed and struck down the townsmen's

complaints. In essence, the universities argued their supremacy because they were

composed of "the flower of the nobility and gentry of the kingdom, which will not

eindure to be subordinate to mechanicall persons."[32] Repeated incidences of the civic

claims denied, at times by the crown personally, had established a relationship of mutual

support betwixt university and monarch. Throughout the seventeenth century, the Stuart

kings defended and protected the universities and, in return, garnered a reliable body

which acquiesced to their demands, supported their claims, and, when required, drew

their blades in their defense until the Glorious Revolution of 1688 as discussed below in

Chapter V. What is of equal importance, however, is the rhetoric of superiority adopted

by the universities extolling the elevated social class of their students and, by association,

their own worth to the commonwealth. A 1649 refutation, once more from Oxford, stated

that: "the Universities are the publick Nurseries of Religion, Piety, Learning, and Civility,

and therefore have ever been the great Care of Parliaments, and the Glory of the

Nation…for the training up of youth, upon whose education not only their own welfare,

---

[31] Crossley, "City and University," iv. 105.
[32] W. A. Pantin, *Oxford Life in Oxford Archives* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1972), 63.

but the flourishing condition of the Common-wealth…does very much depend."[33] While

the universities had utilized their value to the Commonwealth to stave off disaster before,

the elevated class of their student body punctuated this worth, effectively verifying it.

Procurement of position and the increasing of one's potential for future success

did not rest alone upon the receipt of a degree or a stint of study; friendships remained a

valuable source of preferment and this as well was a potential advantage which may have

promoted parents to send their sons to Oxford or Cambridge. By sending a son to school,

parents were entrenching him in an environment which would grow as he grew: the little

commonwealth of university friends and connections expanding to encompass all of

England the student's leaving. While the gentry and esquires sent first sons to the

universities, it was the second sons and their younger brothers who were sent primarily

on the part of the titled nobility. For the nobility, the first son would inherit a title and his

education was usually conducted at home by a private tutor if not by his father although

this trend was slowly declining as the seventeenth century came to a close and first-born

sons were seen increasingly at university alongside their younger brothers.[34] It was

successive sons who would be required to actively pursue positions for which university

attendance was a primary means.[35] Upon entrance, students passed in the halls their peers

and their betters: they ate with them in the halls, shared books, and formed alliances. If

social distinctions kept students of varying degrees apart within the colleges, however,

---

[33] Gerald Langbaine the elder, *The Ansvver of the Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars of the University of Oxford to the Petition, Articles of Grievance, and Reasons of the City of Oxon,* (1649) 2nd ed. (Oxford: 1678), 45-46.

[34] John Cannon, *Aristocratic Century: The Peerage of Eighteenth Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

[35] Stone, "Size and Composition," i. 28.

inter-collegiate rivalries and common experience often welded them together again as quickly.[36] By making contacts at university, students were establishing foundations for their future careers with their betters and their inferiors.

Once enrolled within one of the colleges at Oxford or Cambridge, students were immediately initiated into a world which closely represented that which they would enter upon their leaving. Rank and wealth were at the forefront of the university experience, a constant reminder of one's past and potential future. Upon matriculation, students were organized according to their social status within the colleges: the position of their parents deciding in part their position within the scholarly community although a higher rank could be bought for the sons of more affluent men who were without a title. While noble and particularly affluent students were awarded the rank of Fellow-commoner or, slightly less, as a Commoner, usually the rank filled by members of the gentry, those whose parents were of a moderate income and rank, such as the sons of yeomen, were named Battelers. Plebian students and those unable to afford fully the now elevated costs of college residence compared to the economical halls which had rapidly fallen alongside the monasteries before the rise of the colleges, were referred to as Servitors, a status so named because they were fed and educated at the college's expense in return for catering to the needs and wants of their wealthier and nobler colleagues. As was reported of John

---

[36] Anthony Ashley Cooper, First Earl of Shaftesbury provides an example of how relationships could easily be formed betwixt students of differing ranks within a particular college under the exigencies of common experience or in the face of a common enemy. Threatened with an initiation ceremony which would have left him scarred, Cooper gathered about him a small army of students who feared the same and older students who were not friends of the reigning custom. A riot ensued which left Cooper in command and a force of loyal subordinates at his beck and call for the duration of his university career. As a man of wealth and privilege, he offered protection and benefit like a patron to those who followed him. In return, he was protected, admired, and respected. See Appendix VI. Anthony Ashley Cooper, "Life of Anthony Ashley Cooper," (c. 1680) in *Reminiscences of Oxford*, ed. Lillian M. Quiller Couch (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1892), 34-38.

Prideaux's experience as a lower order student at Oxford, he "lived in very mean Condition and… [made] his Livelyhood by doing servile offices in the kitchen; yet all this while he minded his Book, and what leisure he could obtain from the Business of the Scullery, he would improve it all in study."[37] For plebian and poor students, university life was a rigorous trial combining work, study, and subservience.

For the wealthy and the titled, the experience was wholly different. Their robes were more ornate than those of their plebian compatriots.[38] In addition to the servitors assigned to them, some chose to bring servants of their own or small retinues which would abide in the town. Horses, dogs, and hawks were also not uncommon accoutrements of the wealthy student who often was well supplied with arms dedicated to the hunt and, if need be, the duel or battle. Richard Ducie, a student at Oxford in 1667, had written to his uncle requesting that he be allowed to "…keep a man and a brace of geldings as some gentlemen of my quality here do…", adding that it "…tis both creditable and very much for my health."[39] With long hair, booted and spurred, their wealth was worn beneath their gowns and caps; the tip of their swords just visible enough to be noted, the jingle of their spurs just audible enough to draw attention and warrant comment from their professors and deference from their subordinates. Their rooms were often sizeable and sumptuous, their meals larger and richer, their leisure more frequent, their pastimes more overt and raucous. For all these additions and benefits, their

---

[37] Dr. John Prideaux (1578-1650) was later fellow and rector of Exeter College, cannon of Christ Church, and king's professor in Oxford: a meteoric rise from his humble beginnings. John Prince, "Worthies of Devon," in *The Oxford Book of Oxford*, (1701) ed. Jan Morris (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 70. See also Thomas Fuller's account of Prideaux. Fuller, *Worthies of England*, 137.

[38] V. H. H. Green, *A History of Oxford University* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1974), 79.

[39] As quoted in Stephen Proter, "University and Society," in *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. Nicholas Tyacke, 6 vols. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1997), iv. 71.

discipline was thought the less. Condemnation of this new Oxonian and Cambrian

scholar was rampant. In 1578 Cecil and declared as mandate of his proposed reforms:

> The restoring of the ancient modesty of students, scholars and all others that shall be accounted the same... but especially by suffering of sundry young men, being the children of gentlemen of wealth at their coming to the same university, contrary to the ancient and comely usage of the same...(which) shall become rather a storehouse or a staple of prodigal, wasteful, riotous, unlearned and insufficient persons to serve or rather to unserve the necessity of the realm both in church and civil policy.[40]

William Harrison's *Description of England*, written in 1577, provided a similar

denunciation of the new aristocratic element which was becoming prevalent at the

universities:

> ...most of them study little other than histories, tables, dice and trifles...Besides this, being for the most part either gentlemen or rich men's sons they oft bring the university into much slander. For standing upon their reputation and liberty, they ruffle and roist it out, exceeding in apparel and hunting riotous company, (which draweth them from their books into another trade) and for excuse they are charged with breach of one good order think it sufficient to say that they be gentlemen which grieveth many not a little.[41]

The importation of aristocratic and wealthy men's sons had changed the daily life of

Oxford and Cambridge, but it was a change not necessarily for the betterment of all. With

their arrival came problems which had previously been but paltry and occasional

annoyances for university administrators in the years before the mid-sixteenth century.

As the new demographic increased in numbers to the point of majority, so too did

concerns reach a stage of crisis.

---

[40] William Cecil, 1578 decree as quoted in Kenneth Charlton, *Education in Renaissance England*, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965), 140.
[41] William Harrison, *William Harrison's Description of England*, ed. F. J. Furnivall, (New Shakespeare Society, 1877), 77-78.

It was, in part, the perceived degradation of the universities which caused

Archbishop Laud to reform them so completely as he did in the 1630s upon his

acceptance of the chancellorship of Oxford. The Laudian Code, as it was later known,

was essentially a crackdown upon behavior commonly attributed to the sons of the well

to do, gentry and nobles alike. Its ordinances sought to expel from Oxford swordplay,

fanciful dress, drink, tobacco, sports, idling, whoring, gambling, and dancing as a

selection from the code displays (Appendix IV). Though the success of Laud's

impositions is doubtful, as later accounts of the universities would suggest, it is

significant that an attempt was being made to alter the fundamental structure of Oxford in

order to combat their decline: the problem was perceived to have grown as dire as that.

If the arrival of aristocratic and gentlemanly students was in part the result of the

Renaissance, so to was their misbehavior and those characteristic activities so virulently

railed against. The conception of the Renaissance gentleman or nobleman had most

assuredly added clerkly attributes to the list of requisite skills but, at the same time, it had

maintained a belief in the traditional values that had long been associated with men of

position, wealth, or title. Dancing, swordplay, riding, music, sport and hunting were all

actions thought fit for the upper echelons of society under Renaissance and classical

thought. The reigning English educational theory was not far from the ideal that a man

ought to be educated to perform tasks both martial and civil, chivalrous and clerkly.

Starkey, Elyot, and Sir Nicholas Bacon were among the many who suggested specially

designed academies for the training of noblemen and gentlemen which would include the

skills of a more chivalric and ancient order alongside the academic pursuits of the new.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert had gone so far in 1570 as to design a specific school whose name

was proposed as "Queene Elizabethes Academy" which would have students "study

matters of action meet for present practice, both of peace and war."[42] Under this system,

dancing, vaulting, sport and swordplay, indeed almost all that the college heads had toiled

against during this period, were to be nurtured as befitting men of rank and potential

position within the national administration. The divergence between his proposal and the

universities, however, was not particularly great beyond the inclusion of physical training

within the corpus of the overall curriculum. Men at such an academy were proposed also

to learn Latin, Greek, Hebrew, natural philosophy, mathematics, medicine, common and

civil law, and divinity.[43] What the Renaissance man entailed was the collaboration of the

physical with the mental, the martial and the clerkly.

Gilbert's academy was never established. It is possible the theories exceeded the

means to carry them out fully. It is equally possible that the demand was not so great as

theorists thought it ought to be. Much more likely, however, is the fact that the need,

indeed, existed as so many writings attest and that such schools and academies could

have been created if only the patrons of the universities had turned their eyes to less

commonplace projects as college endowment and patronage at Oxford or Cambridge.

Much more likely, indeed, is the suggestion that the needs perceived were already being

sufficiently fulfilled, that the patrons of the universities did not redirect their gaze

because they did not necessarily have to. Despite the howls of administrators, professors

and chancellors, the universities had become academies for the topmost strata of English

---

[42] Curtis, *Oxford and Cambridge in Transition*, 67-68.
[43] J. R. Hale, *Renaissance War Studies* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1983),227-228.

society, sites of promotion and polish, no longer solely dedicated to the production of

clerks and clergymen. Despite codes and statutes, punishments and reprimands, students

learned to ride, to hawk, to hunt, to fight, to dance betwixt the quads if not within them.

Two forms of education existed at Oxford and Cambridge in the seventeenth

century. The first was academic, couched in a rhetoric of loyalty and service to the state,

the church, and to the monarchy. It utilized examinations, debates, lectures and tutors to

spread an ethos that was at once rigorously intellectual and yet heavily controlled and

restricted. It held as its archetype the gowned and capped student: humble, dutiful,

learned and tireless in his study. There was, however, another learning conducted, an

instruction less surveyed and more feared. The blade, the hawk, the hound, the mischief

and the drinking, the smoking and dancing, all were behaviors which had to be taught,

had to be learned if a man was to fulfill a position at court, garner acclaim in the country,

to be counted a man well bred above and beyond being well born. What was occurring at

Oxford and Cambridge, however, was not a separation of the two spheres of learning.

The future clerk and clergyman did not flee in the face of the gentleman and noble, nor

were the newcomers adverse or unreceptive to the intellectual devices to which they were

intended to turn their hands and minds. Rather, the two were mated to produce a hybrid

of the academic and the chivalric, to produce a man not wholly unlike the Renaissance

ideal who was endowed with both skill sets. The man created by this process, however,

was distinctly an English manifestation of humanist ideals. As national institutions,

deeply rooted in the country they served and which supplied them with money, privilege,

and students, the universities sought to construct a national body from disparate parts.

Chapter III

"The Expectancy and Rose of the Fair State..."[1]:
The Academic Man, University Curriculum, and University Life

80C3

Conformity and uniformity were deemed crucial to the education of seventeenth century youth. By providing an early-imposed discipline designed to unite students and obviate the differences between them, the intention was to create an essentially singular body, inculcated with religiously and secularly orthodox knowledge and a base of reason held collectively. University administrators were establishing a future ruling elite virtually impenetrable to insurrection or nonconformist beliefs. If the health of the nation was dependant upon the moral and intellectual worth of its nobility, its gentry, and its administrators, those groups, though serving separate functions, had to work in concert under the headship of the king: should one falter, the whole could potentially suffer and the head topple. One body, one mind, one land, one king: it could only be thus according to early Stuart theorists. And yet, upon closer examination of the mechanics of Oxonian and Cambrian education, in practice the ideal ceased to function; indeed, it could not function due to the subjective reception and, most importantly, subjective transmission of the curriculum. The education offered at Oxford and Cambridge universities in the seventeenth century was one fraught with contradiction and riddled with inconsistency. Though intended to provide brief and cursory accounts of the liberal arts in common to

---

[1] William Shakespeare, Hamlet, in *The Complete Works of William Shakespeare* (New York: Avenel Books, 1975), III. i. 1089.

62

all undergraduate students, regardless of social origins or proposed vocation, the manner in which subject matter was presented and pursued varied greatly on an individual basis primarily because the pursuit of learning had become increasingly individual. To be certain, there existed a common experience of instruction, a gate through which all students had to pass, but beyond the rudiments of attending lectures, meals, and disputations, and the boundaries of the accepted curriculum, paths diverged.

The universities, however, were much more than merely receptacles of knowledge and books and their purpose exceeded the mere production of scholars and degree-carrying servants of the crown. Coupled with their academic function and their duty to the monarchy and church of England, was an uncodified mandate to instruct boys in a role which they would all share, regardless of what became of them following their departure from university: namely the business of being men. That the universities were increasingly educating the upper echelons of English society made them elitist. That this population was homosocial made them compounded that exclusivity. The process of sending a young boy away from the home and into a community composed entirely of other males and men dedicated to their improvement and growth meant that the curriculum and experience of university life played a crucial role in the development of their identity, the rudiments having been established at home. Academic thought was not solely what was learned at Oxford and Cambridge. On the contrary, manliness was the primary topic of instruction.

Neither Castiglione, Elyot, nor Starkey advocated attendance at university as befitting a man destined for court or office, nor for a gentleman intended for either local

or national administration and potential ennoblement.[2] All three and, indeed, many of their contemporaries suggested a personal and individual form of tutelage conducted on the part of a private tutor within the house of the student's parents. Castiglione's decision to exclude the universities from the upbringing of his perfect courtier is explicated by the dearth of suitable institutions in Italy during the period of his writing, save Pavia and Bologna which were far removed politically and geographically from the house of the Montefeltros and their renowned court at Urbino. For Elyot and Starkey, however, disregard for Oxford and Cambridge is much more curious, especially considering that despite their advocacy of other means, gentles, nobles, professionals and merchants sent many of their offspring to university regardless. On the surface it appears as though Starkey and Elyot had failed to apprehend the actual desires of their readership, that they had misgauged the receptivity of the English to Renaissance values concerning the education of the young and that, as such, the wealthy and titled had disavowed their dictates and sent their sons to the universities rather than school them at home. Upon closer examination of Elyot and Starkey's advocacy of tutors over institutions, however, it becomes apparent that their dictates were followed assiduously, not in spite of the universities but at them.

In part, what had caused the upper echelons of English society to send their sons to university was the fact that tutors had become a large part of the education offered there: the will of theorists that sons should be educated by a private tutor was thus

---

[2] Baldassare Castiglione, *The Book of The Courtier,* (1561) trans. Sir Thomas Hoby (London: J. M. Dent and Company, 1923). Sir Thomas Elyot, *The Boke Named the Governour* (1531) (London: J. M. Dent and Company, 1907). Thomas Starkey, "A Dialogue Between Cardinal Pole and Thomas Lupset," (1533) in *England in the Reign of King Henry the Eighth: Life and Letters and A Dialogue Between Cardinal Pole and Thomas Lupset by Thomas Starkey,* ed. Sidney J. Herrtage (Millwood: Kraus Reprint Company, 1878).

fulfilled but in a venue separate from the home. Furthermore, it was much cheaper to

place a son in the charge of a university tutor who maintained roughly twenty scholars as

opposed to two or three within a private home: cost was defrayed between multiple

parents rather than borne by a single family alone. The prevalence and significance of

tutors had experienced growth parallel to the rise of the colleges throughout the sixteenth

century, culminating in their acceptance as a prerequisite for study at both Oxford and

Cambridge with the initiation of the seventeenth century. Initially their position was one

of minor importance in the student experience. As officers of the various colleges, a

number of students were placed in their charge and it was the tutor's duty to collect the

monthly fees required to cover their room, board and tuition.[3] In addition, tutors were

presented with student allowances given to young scholars by parents and managed their

allotment over the term of their study.[4] This provided a particularly persuasive source of

authority for many tutors who were frequently below their pupils in social standing.

Misconduct or negligence of studies could result in a curtailing of the allowance on the

part of the tutor. Good behavior, on the other hand, could be particularly profitable.[5]

While this system was effective in a number of cases, as the seventeenth century

progressed purchasing on credit became an acceptable, if not a necessary, means of

---

[3] Mark H. Curtis, *Oxford and Cambridge in Transition, 1558-1642: An Essay on Changing Relations Between the English Universities and English Society* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1959), 78.

[4] John Evelyn, for example, was doled out his allowance for the first years of his education at Oxford by his tutor ere his father notified his mentor that it was time that John look after his own finances as he was now of sufficient maturity. John Evelyn, "The Diary of John Evelyn," in *Reminiscences of Oxford by Oxford Men, 1559-1850*, ed. Lilian M. Quiller Couch (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1892), 20.

[5] One such case (although concerning a professor rather than a tutor) is provided at Trinity College in Oxford where Dr. Kettel was noted to walk the halls of the college and look through the keyholes to check upon his students. Those whom he noted to be studying often found money on their windowsills shortly thereafter. For tutors, such a reward would have been easier to provide and potentially more frequent as the money was not their own but, rather, that of the student's parents. John Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, (1669) ed. Oliver Lawson Dick (London: Secker and Warburg, 1950), 183.

payment and it was detrimental to the financial authority tutors could wield over their

charges. A man's credit often reflected upon and exemplified his honour: to be denied

credit was to have one's virtue and reputation questioned, to be awarded credit elicited

the opposite reaction and acted as a symbol of a man's worth, the value of his word.[6] If

purchasing upon credit was a laudable behavior which also removed the restrictions on

students put in place by their tutors, it is not surprising that bills quickly mounted without

the tutor's knowledge. Sir Simonds D'Ewes was one such extravagant student whose

bills were forwarded to his tutor and from thence to his father who was ill pleased at

having to send his son's tutor more money to cover his expenses.[7] Despite the increased

use of purchasing on credit, however, tutor's reports home could be even more damning

than the removal of their allowance: the core of authority lay not with the tutor, but

resided within his relationship with the student's parents. D'Ewes feared his father would

remove him from Cambridge altogether as punishment for his indiscretion. In the case of

Sir Daniel Fleming, his father's commendation of his industrious study promised

continued support as it was for the highest of purposes. In 1651 Fleming's father wrote:

"so long as you deserve well in applying yourself to your studies…and in constant

endeavoring your own improvement and good… [I will] with my utmost powers assist

you in pursuance of your accomplishments to make you a man and indeed a gentleman."[8]

---

[6] Alexandra Shepard, "Manhood, Credit and Patriarchy in Early Modern England, c. 1580-1640," *Past and Present*, No. 167 (May, 2000), 87.

[7] Sir Simonds D'Ewes, *Autobiography and Correspondence of Sir Simonds D'Ewes During the Reign of James I and Charles I*, ed. J. O. Halliwell, 2 vols. (London: Richard Bentley, 1845), i. 118-119.

[8] J. R. Magrath, *The Flemings in Oxford*, ed. J. R. Magrath, 3 vols. (Oxford: Oxford Historical Society, 1904), i. 17-18.

Although most assuredly encouraging in his words, the potential consequences of not improving were particularly evident.

Tutors were not only academic accountants, however, and their role became increasingly complex throughout the early modern period. As guarantors of student finances, tutors came to extend their authority above and beyond the mere observance of fee payment to include obedience to all of the college statutes and to the curriculum taught. This effectively afforded tutors informal dominance over student discipline as a whole. Already, by 1570, Cambridge University statutes alluded to the moralizing and disciplinary function tutors had come to play, commanding that tutors: "shall teach their pupils diligently, shall correct them in proportion to their faults, and shall not allow them to wander idly in the town."[9] By 1600, every student entering Oxford or Cambridge was provided with a tutor, assuming that one had not already been selected by his parents, as a source of control closer to his charges than were upper level faculty.[10] By capitalizing on the close relationship between pupil and tutor and the disciplinary function already established as part and parcel of the office, the tutor's duty had evolved into one of financial, behavioral, and academic surveillance.

As with any position of authority, that of tutor was an intensely competitive one. Despite university demands that each student be equipped with a tutor, the choice of mentor was left to the good judgment of parents. Nor was the matter one to be considered lightly. Starkey, Elyot, Castiglione, Bacon, and other theorists had all praised the

---

[9] As quoted in Curtis, *Oxford and Cambridge in Transition*, 79.
[10] Lawrence Stone, "The Size and Composition of the Oxford Student Body, 1580-1909," in *The University in Society*, ed. Lawrence Stone, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), i. 26.

personal tutor not for his financial function, as this would have been a superfluous

requirement had their suggestion of home schooling been followed, but because of the

classical example which the Renaissance had reinvigorated. The tutor, in this sense, was

not merely an ardent school master intent on keeping students to their books. Rather, he

was a mentor designed to instruct, both literally and by example, his disciple in 'how to

be' in addition to 'what to know'. Parents were encouraged to:

> ...make diligent serche for suche a maister as is exellently lerned in both greke and latine, and therwithall is of sobre and vertuous disposition, specially chast of liuing, and of moche affabilite and patience: leste by any uncleane example the tender mynde of the childe may be infected, harde afterwarde to be recouered. For the natures of children be nat so moche or sone aduaunced by thinges well done or spoken, as they be hindered and corrupted by that whiche in actis or wordes is wantonly expressed...the most necessary thinges to be obserued by a master in his disciples or scholars...is shamfastness and praise.[11]

Just as Alexander the Great had been placed in the capable hands of Aristotle by the good

parentage of King Philip, so too would the sons of England's gentry and aristocracy be

capable of great things if only given superior tutelage during their formative years.[12] If

the tutor was a mentor in such a sense as Elyot and others recommended, it implied that

not only the academic qualifications of the master required scrutiny, but his person,

character, morality and virtue as well. In essence, the quality of man that the tutor was

would translate to the quality of man that the student would become and it was upon this

point of consideration that tutors built their reputations and garnered a reliable following

within a competitive market. The ideal tutor was one who inspired his charge to honour

---

[11] Elyot, *The Boke Named The Governour*, 32-33.
[12] Batista Guarino, "A Program of Learning and Teaching," in *Humanist Educational Treatises*, ed., trans. Craig W. Kallendorf (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), 265.

and who promoted diligent and loyal service to the state and to his gender.[13] Bishop

Edmund Sandys, for example, decided upon Richard Hooker as a tutor to his son upon

hearing good report of him from a friend. He wrote "I will have a tutor for my son…that

will teach him learning by instruction and virtue by example; and my greatest care shall

be of the last; and, God willing, this Richard Hooker shall be the man into whose hands I

will commit my Edwin."[14] What seventeenth century parents required of a tutor was thus

a mould into which they could pour their sons, not merely academically, but also in terms

of their virtue and manners as well: the tutor was not to make scholars, but men. As a St.

John's tutor reported to his student's father, Sir Hugh Smyth, in the 1620s, "I know it is

not your intent to have him earne his bread by his books. When you left him here I took

upon mee the charge of a gentleman, I shall blush to returne him a mere scholar."[15]

With this mandate in mind, the tutor became one of the most important figures in

the student experience of university life. Generally students met daily with their tutors to

go over reading assignments. At times the tutor would read to the student, explaining as

he went and asking pertinent questions. It was the tutor who kept students within the

acceptable bounds of the curriculum and prevented their divergence from it. It was

likewise the tutor who monitored their extracurricular activity, with whom they spent

their time, and who surveyed their attendance at lectures and disputations. As William

Trumbull of Magdalen College wrote of his university years beginning in 1622, his

academic training was particularly rigorous, leaving little time for leisure. To be certain,

---

[13] Mordechai Feingold, "The Humanities," in *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. Nicholas Tyacke, 6 vols. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1997), iv. 223.
[14] As quoted in Curtis, *Oxford and Cambridge in Transition*, 80-81.
[15] As quoted in Stephen Porter, "University and Society," in *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. Nicholas Tyacke, 6 vols. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1997), iv. 68.

this would have been the case for those students either closely monitored or highly motivated. At between five and six o'clock every morning Trumbull awoke, read a chapter in the Bible, and worked upon his logic exercises. At eight o'clock he visited his tutor for roughly an hour, enjoyed a short break thereafter, and made his way under his tutor's direction to disputations until eleven o'clock. After lunch, he studied various subjects set out by his tutor at their earlier meeting, worked upon assignments given to him by the same, and reviewed the day's progress ere he retired at around ten o'clock. [16] At all steps, the tutor was master, responsible for the behavior and diligence of his pupils. He was accountable to the college that employed him, to the parents of his charges who paid him, often in addition to the wage awarded by the college, and he was dependant upon his good report and reputation for continued success; if the tutor sought complete, or nearly complete, control over his pupils, it was because he was himself indebted to too many to deviate or falter.

Reality so often varies from the ideal that it is intended to fulfill, so in treating the tutorial system we must not neglect the human element involved at every level. In the first, college administrators or benefactors undoubtedly had a voice in who fulfilled the positions available for tutors: the process was one of selection and preferment and it was dependant upon the proclivities of those vested with the authority of making that choice. Parents as well had different motivations and inclinations, religious, political or otherwise, and this affected their deliberations on a suitable mentor. Although religious

---

[16] Stephen Porter provides a number of examples of student timetables of similar rigor. Porter, "University and Society,", iv. 69. See also, Richard Holdsworth, "Directions for a Student of the University," in *Education in Tudor and Stuart England: Documents of Modern History*, (1640) ed. David Cressy (London: Edward Arnold, 1975), 132-135.

dissent was by no means endemic at either university during this period, elements of

Catholicism and radical Protestantism did find some purchase. A Catholic gentleman

could hardly be expected to send his son to a notably Puritan tutor. For tutors as well,

their own motivations must have come into play in the transmission of knowledge and in

the examples they provided. While it was suggested previously that it was the tutor's

employment to keep the student within the boundaries of the curriculum, the accepted

rubric of study was relatively broad and two students enrolled for four years could

certainly spend their time on a number separate texts without overstepping the limits of

the university program and with little overlap. Finally, student receptivity and subjective

ingestion of materials further complicates the propensity for uniform inculcation.

In addition, it would be wise not look upon the relationship between tutors and

students as a hierarchy devoid of attachment and sentimentality. Students usually spent

their entire stay at university under the tutelage of a single individual and friendships

involving mentor and pupil were not unknown. Sir Simonds D'Ewes brought his tutor

home with him for the holidays.[17] James Fleming, Sir Daniel's son, was spared removal

from Oxford by his irate father when his tutor covered his arrears at the local tavern and

failed to mention James' indiscretions.[18] Indeed, friendship and respect were part of the

plan: why else would the student adopt the characteristics of his mentor if it were not so?

The majority of tutors during the seventeenth century were roughly twenty-five years old

while students commonly entered a college at between sixteen and eighteen years of

---

[17] Curtis, *Oxford and Cambridge in Transition*, 80.
[18] Magrath, *The Flemings in Oxford*, iii. 169.

71

age.[19] Thomas Hobbes reported of his lessons conducted by his tutor that "Myself to Logick first did then apply, and sedulously my Tutor heard, Who gravely Read, althou' he had no Beard."[20] With but a few years betwixt the two, tutors were capable of empathy. They could warn students away from the usual disasters, guiding and directing as friends rather than commanding their charges by authority.[21]

Finally, a reconsideration of the experience of William Trumbull elucidates the limits of tutorial supervision. Of all the hours with which his days were reportedly consumed by study, all but one was spent in direct contact with his tutor. While tutors were indeed the members of the faculty closest to the student population in the university community, it should not be forgotten that they had, on average, twenty or more students each, implying that they could not account for all of them at each moment of the day.[22] Much of Trumbull's time was spent in private study. This was not neglect but, on the contrary, a viable tool employed in education and it was growing increasingly prevalent among men in English society as a whole during this period; self-discipline was a skill paramount in the formation of a man. Boys were supervised; men on the other hand, acted of their own volition and did so out of an innate sense of what was best be done. In order to internalize his lessons, the student was required to approach them upon his own

---

[19] Porter, "University and Society,", for students iv. 56-57, for tutors iv. 65.

[20] Thomas Hobbes, "The Life of Mr. Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury," (1680) in *Reminiscences of Oxford by Oxford Men*, ed. Lilian M. Quiller Couch (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1892), 15.

[21] John Evelyn, for example, reported in 1637 of his second tutor, Mr. Thicknesse, that he was "…then a young man of the Foundation, afterwards Fellow of the House…by whose learned and friendly conversation I received great advantage." Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, 18-19.

[22] Nor was neglect necessarily uncommon. Before John Evelyn's close association with Mr. Thicknesse, he had been under the tutelage of a "…tutor [who] had parts enough, but as his ambition made him much suspected of the College, so his grudge to Dr. Lawrence, the governor of it (whom he afterwards supplanted) tooke up so much of his tyme, that he seldom or never had the opportunity to discharge his duty to his scholars." Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, 19.

terms. Granted, those terms were to be constructed and corrected, but learning had become an increasingly personal endeavour rather than a collective one as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries progressed.[23] Once again, it was the tutor's duty to guide rather than dictate. Already in grammar school students had learned well how to cope with the rigours of scholarship, long hours of study, and arduous, at times constant, discipline. There their lessons were commands that, if not swallowed, were force-fed in the shadow of corporal punishment.[24] University life was, by contrast, intended as a fundamental step in the maturational process which caused students to rely much more upon their personal industry than the disciplinary force of their instructors.[25] It was a rite of passage that the student pursue knowledge for his own edification and out of his own diligence: he could not be forced into manhood but, rather, had to come to it of his own will.

Essentially the central purpose of university life was intended to make of boys proper men, and it is for this very reason that sending a young gentleman or aristocrat to a university tutor was taking precedence over hiring a tutor for education in the home. The concept of gendered spheres is one of overlapping authority: the home was not the woman's sphere, it was a male sphere in which the woman operated under a prescribed set of rules which, alter as she may, were officially determined by the male in most cases.[26] If it was the male, however, who established the basic function of the household, it was the female who carried out that will, most especially concerning children, and this

---

[23] Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England, 1500-1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 144.
[24] Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination,* 300-301.
[25] Feingold, "The Humanities,", iv. 319-320.
[26] Robert B. Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society, 1650-1850: The Emergence of Separate Spheres?* (London: Addison Wesley Longman, 1998), 30.

provided a source of threat to the development of young boys. During early childhood, boys spent the majority of their time with either their mother or nurses and fears ran rampant that without a solid male influence, effeminate traits would surely develop. Nor could fathers necessarily remedy the situation by lending their attentions to their offspring. Men who played with or directly raised their children, even their sons, during the early modern period were engaging in behaviors seen as effeminate by most commentators.[27] To bring in a tutor was one possible solution yet, even so, mothers were noted to be intrusive elements in the education of their sons. In particular, the discipline conducted on the part of tutors was thought too severe by many mothers. This tenderness ran contrary to the belief that physical punishment was a crucial step in the educative process.[28] One of the most effective cures, it seems, was the complete removal of the male child from the home and his enrollment in a society that prided itself on its exclusive inculcation of masculine values and an all male community. Within such a setting the mother could be removed from possible interference. Once removed, the child could be governed and guided by his father at an acceptable and socially safe distance. In such a community a boy could learn the trade of manliness from the examples of men whose job it was to provide them and, most importantly, from other boys without female siblings or feminine influence of any sort. This was not the only solution, but it was an easy one for those who had the means to pursue it.

---

[27] Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*, 86.
[28] William Gouge, *Of Domestical Duties: Eight Ttreatises* (1622), 565-566. Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*, 305.

The transition from boyhood to manhood, the separation from mothers, nurses,

and female siblings, was a difficult one for many sons. It was, however, intended to be

so; the endurance of hardship was part of the process and central to the purpose. J.

Gailhard wrote of youth in 1678 in his work *The Compleat Gentleman* that:

> It is not only convenient but also necessary to use children to hardships if
> their strength and constitution will bear it, for thereby not only they will
> take exercise which is necessary to dissipate bad humours and to use their
> joints whereby they will be more nimble and stronger and which also will
> make them grow, but also they will use themselves to labour and make it
> natural to them; it is a great matter when they are hardened from their
> childhood for it makes their constitution strong and lusty.[29]

Young life had to be hard; it required pain if a man was to be forged by the experience.

Life at home, under the jurisdiction of the female, was thought soft, easy, and apt to

produce weak, flaccid and impotent traits.[30] Indeed, these were the characteristics of

boyhood ere he donned breaches in a ritualized ceremony which was virtually of similar

importance to a christening for many early modern fathers and the boy began to adopt

those attributes symbolic of manhood: virility, hardness, resilience, courage, and strength.

Before the breaching of a boy, his penis was but an assortment of dangly bits between his

legs which did not define his sex; it suggested only how he ought to be raised.[31] Hardship

would give those bits utility, they would imbue them with significance the moment he

was removed from the soft life of early childhood. The penis was most assuredly a

---

[29] J. Gailhard, *The Compleat Gentleman: or Directions for the Education of Youth as to Their Breeding at Home and Traveling Abroad* (1678), 79-80.

[30] Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*, 304-306.

[31] This was in part the result of Galenic theory which was largely accepted during the sixteenth, and first half of the seventeenth, centuries: women were but introverted forms of men, essentially the same though their genitals were internal rather than external. As such, the emphasis was placed upon 'creating' men and women socially as biology provided too little a source of differentiation save in terms of strength and reason.

symbol of manhood, but that symbol had to be earned. Mere possession did not warrant

the title of man, only of male. By the seventeenth century, the codpiece had all but

disappeared from acceptable male fashion. Instead the penis was hidden by trousers,

implied, but not promoted, as the only signifier of a man's quality. Manhood was

something else, a characteristic and mode of behavior: the breaching ceremony

introduced the child, a sexless classification, to boyhood and it was his departure from the

home that began his transition into manhood.

University was not the only avenue along which a young boy could travel to

manhood, it was simply one of many external facilities in which to acquire manly

attributes away from female examples which were apt to corrupt the process. Many

young men were sent to the Inns of Court, although most attended only after a stint at

Oxford or Cambridge, or were sent abroad with male companions to travel or to attend

university on the continent. Education, however, was common to all of these options.

Manhood was not achieved with age, nor was it dependent upon the physical apparatus

apparent at birth: it had to be learned. In part, the process required the removal of women,

yet it was also in order to be *with* women that separation and education had to occur.

Learning was a desirable quality at court and was fundamental to the courting of the

female. The study of poetry and of authors noted for their grace and eloquence was

pursued primarily due to the delight that such knowledge afforded possible mates whose

sensibilities were well inclined to passionate and flirtatious displays of intellectual

ability.[32] But there was a much more grim purpose in relation to women which education

---

[32] Feingold, "The Humanities," iv. 252.

sought to fulfill: namely that women and the love of them was apt to sow the seeds of a

man's destruction. In order to engage with women, men had to erect defenses which were

capable of withstanding the test of their charms: by receiving an education, men were

equipped with the faculty of reason and, as such, the ability to deny and control their

passions.[33]

Love was not unlike a disease to the eyes of early modern man. Once infected, it

quickly turned him from reason, played upon his passions, caused him to lose control of

them and, finally lose all reason.[34] What made this process of particular importance was

that the primary division between men and women resided in two specific areas

according to Galenic thought: in the superior strength of men and in their greater capacity

for reason. Thus we may potentially extend our definition of the dangers of love: that it

not only removed inhibitions and let loose passions, but that it destroyed a key aspect of

manliness. In effect, love of women could effeminize men if he were not sufficiently

rational.[35] In Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet,* Romeo states in desperation "O sweet

Juliet, / Thy beauty hath made me effeminate, / And in my temper soften'd valour's

steel."[36] After a similar fashion, sardonic Benedick states of his love-bound friend

Claudio in *Much Ado About Nothing* that:

> I do much wonder that one man, seeing how much another man is a fool
> when he dedicates his behaviours to love, will, after he hath laughed at
> such shallow follies in others, become the argument of his own scorn by

---

[33] John Locke, *The Educational Writings of John Locke*, ed. James L. Axtell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 138.

[34] Elizabeth A. Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England: Honour, Sex and Marriage* (Harlow: Addison Wesley Longman, 1999), 55-57.

[35] Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*, 29.

[36] William Shakespeare, "Romeo and Juliet," in *The Complete Works of William Shakespeare* (New York: Avenel Books, 1975), III. i. 1027.

> falling in love...I have known when there was no music with him but the drum and the fife; and now had he rather hear the tabor and the pipe; I have known when he would have walked ten mile afoot to see a good armour; and now will he lie ten nights awake carving the fashion of a new doublet.[37]

With so much danger at hand to claim a man's being, it was crucial that boys be well trained in reason that they might better control the passions which could so easily lead to its demolition. John Locke stated of the inculcation of reason that, "The great principle and foundation of all vertue and worth, is placed in this, that a man is able to deny himself his own desires, cross his own inclinations, and purely follow what reason directs as best, tho' the appetite lean the other way."[38] As manhood required instruction and rested heavily upon the foundational stones of strength and reason, so too did the acquisition of reason require apt training and to this the universities were well suited; much as the penis required utility before it became a symbol of the man rather than a male, so too did reason require maturation before it was counted a masculine symbol and this was accomplished primarily by the study of logic and ethics. Thomas Smith's tutor at Magdalen College, Oxford, reported to the mother of his charge in the mid seventeenth century that "It was highly necessary to teach him a little logic, that he might understand the sure and strict laws of arguing and find out the defects of an ill consequence, and not be imposed upon by slights and plausibilities, and mere shows of reason."[39] If men were to succeed with women and as men, they required a solid basis in reason both as a defense against the latter and as a display of the former. In order to become men, boys

---

[37] William Shakespeare, "Much Ado About Nothing," in *The Complete Works of William Shakespeare* (New York: Avenel Books, 1975), II. iii., 134.
[38] Locke, *The Educational Writings*, 138.
[39] As quoted in Feingold, "The Humanities,", iv. 286.

had to be removed from womanly influence. In order to remain men, they had to learn how to control their passions. The universities of England provided an opportunity to fulfill both of these requirements.

With so broad a mandate of instructing the male to manhood, it is not surprising that the education offered at Oxford and Cambridge was intended to be common to all undergraduates and, indeed, so it was in theory. Proposed was a uniform course of study which would inject the same information, examples, morals, values, and reason into the undergraduate student population, regardless of their social standing, local origin, or proposed occupation upon graduation.[40] In part, praise for general studies had been initiated by the Renaissance conception of the ideal man who was well rounded in both knowledge and abilities: he who knew of but a singular topic was automatically limited to it, while the man who held at least a cursory account of all available disciplines was capable of elaborating upon any one of them. Only upon a broad foundation of knowledge, even if it was only elementary, could a man be expected to develop wholly. The two examples of courses of study provided as Appendix V present an inkling of the breadth of enquiry available to students as well as the differences which could exist within the curriculum between individual experiences. Specialization did not impart reason; the very point of reason was its applicability in any situation. Thomas Fuller defended a general educational enquiry in the following terms, highlighting its propensity to beget greater understanding:

---

[40] As Mordechai Feingold's research has suggested, it was only in the pursuit of graduate studies that students began to engage in more specialized fields of research and analysis. Feingold, "The Humanities," iv. 212.

> I know the general cavil against general learning is this, that *aliquis in omnibus est nullus in singulis;* he who sips of many arts, drinks of none. However, we must know that all learning, which is but one grand science, hath so homogeneal a body, that the parts thereof do with a mutual service relate to, and communicate strength and muster each to other.[41]

The benefits of education, as such, were exponential if time was spent between disciplines: each topic of study advancing the knowledge of other subjects. Ben Johnson, in his *Epistle to Master John Selden*, praised John Selden for his general learning, suggesting that his work and wisdom were the greater for the breadth of his enquiry:

> Stand forth my object, then, you have that beene
> Ever at home: yet, have all countries seene;
> And like a compasse keeping one foot still
> Upon your center, doe your circle fill
> Of general knowledge; watch'd men, manners too,
> Heard what times past have said, seene what ours do.[42]

Thomas Hobbes likewise informs us at length, in his poetic autobiography, of the scope of his learning and the reading he attained at Magdalen College in Oxford.[43] A general education was highly admired and pursued during the seventeenth century and it was to this trend that the universities catered.

While the availability of texts and the breadth of the curriculum may have provided for subjective interpretations and modes of transmission to students and tutors alike, a number of factors contributed to a collective understanding and a uniformity of reception. First, although individual study and personal tutelage were commended by theorists, scholars, and parents alike as crucial for the development of a young man, care is required not to divorce these trends from the context of the university community.

---

[41] Thomas Fuller, *The Holy and Profane State* (1642) (Boston: 1864), 110.
[42] Ben Johnson, "An Epistle to Master John Selden," in *Ben Johnson and the Cavalier Poets,* (1614) ed. Hugh Maclean (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1974), 60.
[43] Hobbes, "The Life of Mr. Thomas Hobbes," 15-17.

Oxford and Cambridge were social institutions and divergent beliefs and practices were quickly noted and condemned by administrators and fellow students. The academic system established during the sixteenth century had, by the seventeenth century, a series of effectively functioning safeguards based upon a hierarchy of accountability. Tutors, for example, answered not only to their superiors in the college, but to the parents of their charges and to their own reputation which, if sullied, could result in a decline in their fortunes if not their termination. Non-conformity was accompanied by a heavy price of either expulsion for students or ejection for tutors and lecturers from the college society. Coupled with this was the duty of colleges and the universities as a whole to their burgeoning ranks of benefactors and, most especially, the monarchy. When Giles Thorne of Balliol College, Thomas Ford of Magdalen, and William Hodges of Exeter College were noted to preach sermons contrary to the accepted curriculum, Charles I consulted with the Bishop of London and with Chancellor William Laud at Woodstock before deciding that they be "…deprived of their places and banished from the University…" In this particular case, the proctors as well were to feel the weight of the king's displeasure along with other members of the upper administration. The proctors were told to "…resign because they had failed to carry out their duties effectively and [the king] reprimanded the two heads of houses, the Rector of Exeter and the Principal of Magdalen Hall, for their condonation of the offenders."[44] Though room existed for divergence from what was acceptable knowledge and enquiry, the deterrents were particularly effective,

---

[44] As reported by Thomas Crosfield in 1631 and quoted in V. H. H. Green, *Religion at Oxford and Cambridge* (London: SCM Press, 1964), 128. Archbishop Laud also provided similar relation of these proceedings. William Laud, *Work of the Most Reverend Father In God, William Laud, D. D., Sometime Lord Archbishop of Canterbury,* (1631) 7 vols. (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1853), v. 49-62.

severing two purposes: to punish the offenders, and secondly, to make examples of them as warning to others.

As members of collective organizations, students and faculty ate, slept, worked, and engaged in leisure in close proximity to one another within the college. Communication was constant if not at all times intentional. Within such a setting, gossip was crucial to young men at university as it generally is in small communities. Separated from their homes, friends, geographic origin and family, the lack of the familial and the familiar placed particular pressure upon young students to make new friends and form bonds upon which they could depend in addition to learn what they could of the new, foreign environment in which they now found themselves. Gossip proved the one of the most useful tools at a young man's disposal in this regard. By revealing information about themselves or, as was more likely due to the security it provided, about others, the divulgence of information implored trust from the listener and evoked a willingness to trust on the part of the speaker. The effect was made more potent when the data imparted and implored was suggested as secret or exclusive, raising the stakes of the transaction and extending the degree of trust and friendship involved in the relationship. Gossip was a practical and informal way in which one could make friends, denigrate or discredit foes, and gather useful knowledge.[45] Furthermore, it was an essential step in the establishment of individual identity within the collective. Across dining tables, with hushed voices in the halls, from the center of the quads to private student quarters, secrets were a luxury but briefly held and frequently traded at Oxford and Cambridge. Under such

---

[45] Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*, 58.

circumstances, nonconformity or dissent, although already deterred by a number of

factors, had little hope of going unnoticed for long.

In part, uniformity and conformity required physical display if they were to be

reinforced effectively in the minds and resultant behaviors of students. Archbishop Laud,

as one of the central tenets of his new statutes for Oxford, stressed the importance of

apparel for students, tutors, and professors.[46] Academic robes of sober black were to be

worn by all members of the university community, save doctors who wore scarlet, and

though this had been the practice for centuries preceding Laud, he pursued the

observance of uniform apparel with a vigor previously unknown. By selecting black,

Laud was following his predecessors: somber and dignified, far from flamboyant and a

symbol of clerkly pursuits and religious observance, black robes and a modest cap were

the traditional costume worn by scholars and had become synonymous with learning in

the early modern period.[47] Much more than a mere signifier of knowledge, however, the

wearing of academic robes held a degree of utility for the better discipline of students. In

the first place, to have students uniformed separated them from the civilian population

visibly, allowing for their easier recognition and surveillance on the part of

administrators. In another sense, however, as the population at the universities diversified

geographically, socially, and by the formation of individual colleges, differences had to

---

[46] Laud's extensions to Cambridge, although not wholly successful, caused Cambridge to reconsider a number of its statutes and to initiate reform along Laudian lines in order to prevent official visitation. A complete account of this process may be found in James Bass Mullinger, *The University of Cambridge*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911), iii. 98-134.

[47] Laud went so far as to determine the style of robes to be worn. He was particularly displeased with the wearing of the so-called "lawyer's gown" which was equipped with slits for the arms rather than wide sleeves. He admonished ominously to the vice-chancellor to "...chide the tailors that make them very severely, besides what you do to the scholars." Laud, *Works*, v. 216.

be obviated in the promotion of the overall peace of the institution. Uniform dress helped

to establish a common attribute betwixt attendees that would unite them rather than

amplify their differences. The cap and gown were, according to Laud, "the hedge and

fence of those things which are of far greater consequence."[48] Robes were representative

of discipline, of duty and of diligence. They were the embodiment of university order and

its mandate to educate. Should they fall into disuse, Laud suggested, so too would the

entire institution.

Dress was a fundamental signifier of the man encased within it during the

sixteenth century, but as the seventeenth century began and progressed, the meaning of

sartorial display was changing and these transitions helped to facilitate the regulations

imposed by Laud and other university administrators. In 1583, Philip Stubbes had

pitifully cried out for redress when the greater availability of finery and superior

materials began to threaten a fragile social order:

> It is very hard to know who is noble, who is worshipful, who is a gentleman, who is not: for you shall have those, which are neither of the nobility, gentility, nor yeomanry, no, not yet any magistrate or officer in the commonwealth, go daily in silks, velvets, satins, damasks, taffetas, and such like, notwithstanding that they be both base by birth, mean by estate, and servile by calling. This is a great confusion and a general disorder. God be merciful unto us.[49]

This ambiguity, which Stubbes had prayed for deliverance from a generation earlier,

Laud eagerly pursued: the disorder of not knowing a man's social standing could be

altered to promote order within the universities. By employing an academic uniform, he

---

[48] Laud, *Works*, v. 19. See also Kenneth Fincham's commentary upon Laud's injunctions. Kenneth Fincham, "Oxford and the Early Stuart Polity," in *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. Nicholas Tyacke, 6 vols. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1997), iv. 179-210.
[49] Philip Stubbes *The Anatomie of Abuses* (1583) (New York: Da Capo Press, 1972), 102.

was effectively removing an individual identity which could potentially cause friction

betwixt easily differentiated groups. Confusion prevented recognition and without

recognition, the theory ran, there followed little chance for solidarity within, or in the

face of, the university community. Dress was a claim to power: if sartorial individuality

was removed so too could the potential for establishing a series of hierarchies between

students which would likely struggle for dominance betwixt one another rather than

struggle for academic and moral enlightenment.[50]

Laud's achievement in the re-imposition of academic dress was superficial at best.

Inter-collegiate and interpersonal violence based upon social rank or geographic

background was lower in the seventeenth century than during the previous century at

both Oxford and Cambridge.[51] Black was black from a distance and the general effect

upon visitors was one of uniformity. In 1636, upon the visit of Charles I and his court to

Oxford, the scholars lined the streets in their caps and gowns to welcome him "all in their

formalities"[52] and Laud himself remarked upon how the scholars were "all in their forms

and habits very orderly."[53] And yet, this uniformity must be examined more closely if it

is to be fully understood. In the first place, even a modest display was a form of display

and Laud's prescription stated only that the robes be black, worn with caps, and of a

particular length and cut. What he did not stipulate was their quality and, indeed, it was

upon this point that the illusion of the uniformed student begins to crumble. Students of a

---

[50] Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*, 9. Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*, 7.
[51] Victor Morgan, "Cambridge University and "The Country": 1560-1640," in *The University in Society*, ed. Lawrence Stone, 2 vols. (London: Princeton University Press, 1975), i. 200-203.
[52] Quoted from Crosfield's Diary in Laud, *Works*, v. n. 149. Anthony Wood also provides account of the King's arrival. Anthony Wood, *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, Antiquary, of Oxford, 1632-1695, Described by Himself,* (1712) ed. Andrew Clark, 2 vols. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1891), ii. 46.
[53] Laud, *Works*, v. 150.

higher rank were capable of purchasing finer cloth replete with fur trim while those of the highest echelons of society, the sons of peers, were exempted from the cap and gown completely although their dress was still insisted upon as being formal and humble.[54] Furthermore, what students wore beneath their robes could be as telling of their class, origin, and character as the gown worn overtop (figure 3.1). Hair, one of Laud's many banes, proved similarly difficult to maintain; the cap could cover only so much. At the very least, robes were easily removed, hair let loose at a notice and by so simple an act, in the space of a moment, could hard won uniformity fall to the floor. From a distance, indeed, black was black and a cap a cap, but in the close quarters of daily life quality would most likely have been easily noted, deference quickly demanded, hierarchy firmly established; all defined by the length of one's hair, his walk, the quality of his cloth, and, most especially, the nature of his character.

Sartorial display was not the only outlet for students to differentiate themselves from their peers. What Philip Stubbes had complained of in 1583 was a trend becoming increasingly prevalent throughout England and which, by the end of the seventeenth century, would become a political issue as much as a social one.[55] Dress was decreasing in its importance as a viable reflection of a man's masculine qualities. A man's birth, his virtue and his morality were reflected increasingly in his actions and his character, not in the visible representation of those attributes as denoted by clothing. When, in 1666, Charles II resolved and enacted the regulation of sartorial dress for his court and the

---

[54] See Appendix IV under the headings "Personal Appearances" and "Unusual Fashions".
[55] David Kuchta, *The Three-Piece Suit and Modern Masculinity, England, 1550-1850* (Berkley: University of California Press, 2002), 2-4.
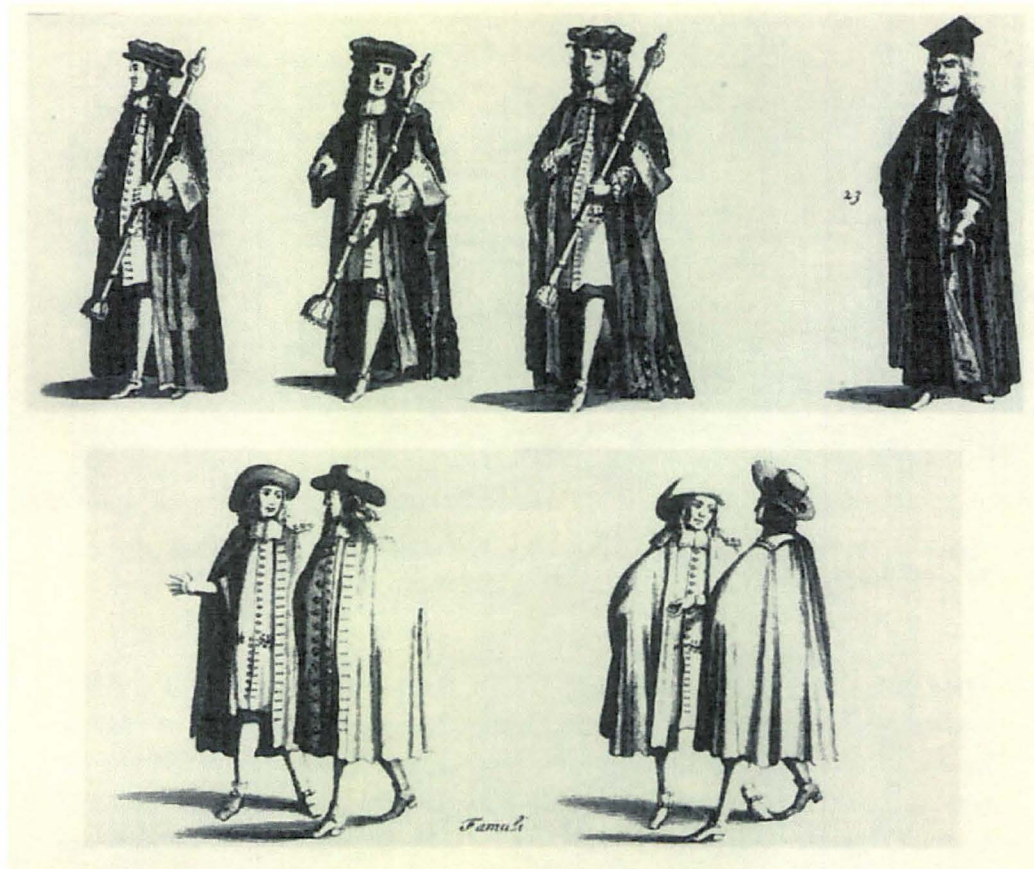
Figure 3.1
Student Dress at Cambridge, 1676

From David Loggan's *Cantabrigia Illustrata* (1676) as provided in
David Kuchta, *The Three-Piece Suit and Modern Masculinity: England, 1550-1850*
(Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 21.

nation at large, it was the culmination of this transition.[56] The removal of the codpiece

from fashion at the beginning of the seventeenth century meant that the penis, the symbol

of the male once it had attained utility, was not explicitly displayed visually, but rather,

implied by the character of the man himself. What a man *was,* was becoming internally

defined rather than solely externally and though the exterior continued to represent the

man in some cases, discussed in Chapter IV, the association was in a state of decline.

Laud's impositions were reactionary and their effectiveness, though relatively successful

for the first half of the century, would decline with the Restoration when subtlety became

a laudable achievement and a claim to power as much as splendor had been previously.

With greater focus placed upon behavior and character as the signifiers of an individual's

claim to manliness, dress ceased to be the crux of the issue and the robe ceased to

perform its controlling function: what had to be controlled by the eighteenth century were

much more mannerisms and actions, not the cut of the cloth.

Restrictions upon sartorial display were coupled with limitations upon the use of

language. Regional dialect and socially defining philological usage told as much about a

man's background and standing as did the quality of his robes and its restriction was yet

another attempt on the part of administrators to impose uniformity. Latin was a

prerequisite to study at either university and was learnt primarily in the setting of the

grammar school.[57] Upon entrance, however, it became more than mere knowledge

requisite for study; its significance extended to a tongue spoken, not occasionally, but at

all times as it was the primary mode of communication. As the Laudian statutes stated,

---

[56] Kuchta, *The Three-Piece Suit,* 2-4.
[57] Feingold, "The Humanities," iv. 243.

"...it is our will that no persons shall be admitted to the bachelorship of arts but those who can with consistency and readiness, ...with subtleness and aptitude express their thoughts in Latin on matters of daily occurrence."[58] Under the watchful eyes of tutors, the Latin imbued at grammar schools was refined, heightened to a state of mastery and elegance.[59] Motivation for such study on the part of students was particularly strong. At Cambridge, Richard Holdsworth emphatically suggested the threat to one's personal reputation a lack of language could result in:

> Without which all the other learning though never so eminent, is in a manner void and useless; without those you will be baffled in your disputes, disgraced and vilified in publicke examinations, laught at in speeches and declamations. You will never dare to appear in any act of credit in the university...The necessity of this studie above the rest is the cause that it is to be continued through all the four years in the after noons, wheras other studies have each a parcel of your time allotted to them.[60]

Basic proficiency in Latin was required for the study of other disciplines; mastery was required for base survival in the university community. Language was effectively the gateway to all learning and by it regional dialects, terms and sayings were repressed and conformity reinforced.[61]

Parents incessantly extolled training in Latin as one of the most important areas of knowledge that a young man was to accrue at university. While it was a necessity for study and communication in the university setting, most importantly when considering

---

[58] As quoted in Feingold, "The Humanities," iv. 215.

[59] John Evelyn, upon entering university was mortified to find the degree to which he was expected to know Latin, especially considering his lackluster performance in grammar school. He wrote "...I went to the Universitie rather out of shame of abiding longer at schoole, than for any fitnesse, as by sad experience I found, which put me to re-learne all that I had neglected, or but perfunctorily gain'd." Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, 18.

[60] As quoted in Feingold, "The Humanities," iv. 215.

[61] Victor Morgan, "Cambridge University and "The Country"," i. 217.

once more the role played by gossip in the university community, there was, however, a distinctly social and gendered value attached to its accrual. Speech was perceived as the foundation of assertiveness in the early modern period: it was the representation of thought, values and morals without which the reality of intention was void, useless.[62] At the same time, Latin was an exclusive form of communication, most especially at the level of erudition inculcated at the universities. It was a code, a secret language divulged to but a select percentage of the population. As an exclusive mode of communication, it held with it a degree of power over those not initiated to it and, most especially over women. It was a signifier of class, of education, and of gender.[63]

As language, like dress, was an exhibition of power, there existed few better venues for its display save the pulpit, the law court, and parliament, than Oxford and Cambridge. Historians of education have sought to place too early the fall of the scholastic method of instruction which had reigned in the universities since their establishment. In part, questions as to scholasticism's prevalence after 1600 look to the importation of Renaissance ideals as a force which effectively pushed the antiquated scholastics from the precincts of university life.[64] Others have focused instead upon John Locke's condemnation of scholastic method as the removal of its last vestiges. To be certain, scholasticism was on the decline during the seventeenth century. Disputations, rigorous lectures and a heavy focus upon rhetoric and erudition were not as ardently

---

[62] Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*, 14-15.

[63] Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*, 302-303.

[64] William T. Costello, for example, theorized that the persistence of the universities in maintaining their scholastic framework effectively retarded their development primarily because the scholastic system had grown too complicated to serve efficiently. William T. Costello, *The Scholastic Curriculum at Early Seventeenth-Century Cambridge* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958), 10-11.

promoted as the avenues to enlightenment that they had been the century prior. And yet

neither Renaissance ideals nor the rise of scientific method required the complete

removal of scholasticism: indeed, they were its children and were nursed by the ailing

order to maturity. All three could exist simultaneously, albeit at varying points in their

lifespan and with differing degrees of potency, and historians need not look for clean

demarcations of the ending of one mode of thought and the initiation of another; such a

search would prove fruitless, its conduct anachronistic. Prior to the Civil War,

scholasticism persisted at least in a muted form at both institutions and under its dictates,

disputation remained one of the most important aspects of the undergraduate experience.

Attendance of, and participation in debate at disputations was central to the

education of future statesmen, lawyers, and administrators. Erasmus had pointed out long

before the seventeenth century the importance of erudition, stating "…ideas are only

intelligible to us by means of the words which describe them."[65] Parents extolled the

value of learning logic, the basis of disputation, as a skill which their sons would utilize

for the duration of their lives. Robert Southwell wrote to his nephew as much, stating that

the purpose of logic was "to be powerful and ready in argumentation, to defend that

which is just and to persuade others to believe it, such will be the great business of your

life."[66] If a man was to display his masculinity by his physicality and his reason, evidence

of reason required its erudite communication to others. Not only arguing effectively, but

---

[65] William Harrison Woodward, *Desiderius Erasmus Concerning the Aim and Method of Education* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964), 162.
[66] As quoted in Feingold, "The Humanities," iv. 286.

communicating effectively was thought the outcome of the disputative process offered by the universities.

In essence, disputation was the staple of learning within the scholastic framework. By imploring students to argue their points as a reflection of their reason in front of onlookers, the lessons were proposed to be better learned and the study on the part of the student in preparation more likely to be diligent when his reputation and pride were at stake. The point was not to argue towards a new truth. Rather, it was to debate and, by so doing, justify old truths and thereby reinforce them.[67] Disputations were exciting to many students, the dread of others; as social occasions they drew large audiences as one student pitted his knowledge, courage, wit, and word against another in single combat. In 1654, John Webster wrote of the exhilaration and combative nature of the intellectual tilt yard: "...a civil war of words, a verbal contest, a combat of cunning craftiness, violence and altercation, wherein all verbal force, by impudence, insolence, opposition, contradiction, derision, diversion, trifling, jeering, humming hissing, brawling, quarreling, scolding, scandalizing, and the like, are equally allowed of..."[68] Obadiah Walker wrote of disputations what he considered to be the very core of their merit. Disputations were:

> Not that arguing and discoursing which a student useth with his own self to find out truth, but that which comprehendeth both this and the assistance also of others, publick and open argumentation pro and contra. This is it which brings a question to a point, and discovers the very center and knot of the difficulty. This warms and activates the spirit in search of truth, excites notions and, by replying and frequent beating upon it, cleanseth it from the ashes and make it shine and flame out the clearer. Besides it puts them upon a continual stretch of their wits to defend their

---

[67] William T. Costello provides a transcript of a debate held at Cambridge which suggests as much. Costello's work lends much to our current understanding of disputations, their form, function, and purpose. Costello, *The Scholastic Curriculum at Early Seventeenth Century Cambridge*, 14-31.
[68] As quoted in Feingold, "The Humanities," iv. 300.

cause, it makes them quick in replies, intentive upon their subject: where the opponent useth all means to drive his adversary from his hold, and the answerer defends himself sometimes with the force of truth, sometimes with the subtlety of his wit, and sometimes also he escapes in a mist of words and the doubles of a distinction, whilst he seeks all holes and recesses to shelter his persecuted opinion and reputation.[69]

Disputations provided a forum in which young men could gauge their strengths and weaknesses against one another. Martial valour, so long the signifier of masculinity at its highest and most arduously tested point, was here found upon the academic field. The language utilized to explain disputations was not unlike commentary upon a duel, defense, parry, attack, thrust, evade and counter attack, victor and defeated.[70] The usage of such terms suggested a degree of physicality in the academic debate and, indeed, physical violence could and often did ensue as the following chapter shall discuss.

With battle, even academic combat, came affronts to one's masculinity as much as praise of the wit and reason of a successful competitor. Honour was interconnected in the sense that the depreciation of a single attribute of a man's character could damage his reputation in other fields as well and loss in a debate easily translated to a loss of prestige socially within the university community.[71] It was within the collective matrix that disputations took on a particularly fundamental aspect to the formation of groups and the process of emulation between students. One's performance in a debate easily translated to one's qualities as a man and this placed particular emphasis on succeeding: it was an easy way to make or break friendships, to represent ones own abilities to others. As historian Elizabeth Foyster has pointed out: "Manhood in the early modern period was a status to

---

[69] Obadiah Walker, *Of Education, Especially of Young Gentlemen*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: 1673), 117-118.
[70] Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*, 129.
[71] Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*, 105.

be acquired and then asserted to others. It was concerned with a rejection of 'feminine'

qualities through the *display* of 'masculine' qualities of reason and strength."[72] This

assertion of manliness was crucial and it found vent in public debate where it was not

only made evident to fellow students and members of the faculty, but to potential patrons

in the court and gentry as well. Here the student both established and defended his

reputation within the university community and potentially laid the foundation for his

future career. Richard Lovelace, a student at Oxford in 1636, was given his M.A. at the

request of one of the queen's ladies who had taken a fancy to him during the royal visit

(figure 3.2). Anthony Wood reported that the catalyst for the lady's entreaty was most

likely the scene of a dispute in which, "…his conversation being made public, and

consequently his ingenuity and generous soul discovered…" He was only eighteen at the

time and had attended university for only two years.[73] A life at court awaited him shortly

thereafter.

From the perspective of administrators, student attendance at disputations initiated

a cycle of emulation of the victor on the part of student onlookers. Disputations offered

students with knowledge but, more importantly, examples of how that knowledge could

best be used and how reason was best expressed. Emulation, however, was not relegated

merely to academic examples as we have already seen with tutors, and other students

provided examples as much social as educational. As suggested earlier, it was

---

[72] Italics added, Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*, 31.
[73] Anthony Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, (1691/1692) ed. Philip Bliss, 4 vols. (London: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung Hildesheim, 1817), iii. 460-462.

Figure 3.2
Sir Richard Lovelace

Richard Lovelace, *The Poems of Richard Lovelace*,
ed. C. H. Wilkinson (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1953), Frontispiece.

imperative that students surround themselves with friends and acquaintances who could

prove useful in later life as the making of contacts was one of the primary functions of

university attendance. Of equal importance was that young men surround themselves

with good examples of manliness, diligence, morality, and honour. Henry Peacham,

master of arts at Trinity College, Cambridge, stated in his work entitled *The Complete*

Gentleman in 1622 that: "your first care, even before pulling off your boots, let be the

choice of your acquaintance and company. For as infection in the cities in a time of

sickness is taken by concourse and negligent running abroad...so it falleth out here in the

university."[74] A good example, particularly in the early years of youth, was a potent tool

of instruction in excess of merely lecturing students in proper modes of behavior though

this also made it particularly dangerous if the example utilized was poor, immoral, or

effeminate. Francis Osborne, in a letter to his son, provided a representative warning,

imploring him to "beware what company you keep, since example prevails more than

precept.[75]" Contemporaries were well aware of the potential which emulation possessed,

but this was as much frightening as it could be comforting. Within the quads the behavior

of students could be relatively regulated and shaped, but once students outside of those

precincts, administrative fears of bad examples, disorder, and degeneracy were

exponentially heightened. Disputations were, as such, foundational in the process of

providing a good example, not merely because they were conducted within the university,

[74] Henry Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman: Fashioning him Absolute in the most Necessary and Commendable Qualities Concerning Minde or Bodie that may be Required in a Noble Gentleman* (1621)(Ann Arbor: UMI, 1971), 50.
[75] Francis Osborne, *Twenty Precepts, or, Rules of Advice to a Son: by a Late Eminent Lawyer* (1682)(Ann Arbor: UMI, 1987) 34.

but because they would hopefully extend the virtues, skills, and reason displayed there to student conduct without.

Contained within the scholastic framework at Oxford and Cambridge was a heavy focus upon the classics and a curriculum dedicated to the study of the liberal arts for all undergraduates. Of primary importance was the study of logic, ethics, languages, primarily Latin and Greek (although by the end of the century Greek was replaced by French due to the increasing utility of the French language at court and in business, and history). Under these primary headings, students delved into mathematics, metaphysics, physics, natural science and literature.[76] Within this schema, logic was paramount and the rigorous and constant focus upon it throughout an undergraduate's time at university is suggestive of the primary academic goal of attendance at university. James Cleland, in 1605, stated that the importance of studying logic lay in the fact that it was required to be "imploied in other sciences, in disputing of vertue and vice, of natural and supernatural things: tending to shew good and evil, and what is true and false."[77] The purpose of logic was to accustom young men to the rudiments of reason. It was utilized to mould students' thinking rather than what they thought, to imbue them with a particular methodology for approaching various issues. With a solid grounding in logic, the undergraduate "would acquire a habit of mind regulating all thought."[78] Logic was not an easy discipline but it was a right of passage for academic men, required for all other studies, all actions, words, and ink to be spent thereafter. It was the foundation of reason and, as such, it was

---

[76] Appendix V. Feingold, "The Humanities," iv. 260, 273 and 214.
[77] James Cleland, *The Institution of a Young Noble Man* (1627), 89.
[78] Feingold, "The Humanities," iv. 282.

requisite for the transition to manhood: in essence, the 'art of arts' was intellectual

puberty.[79]

Ethics, by contrast, was a higher form of logic intended to instruct the morals and

virtue of the young man although it depended heavily upon the rudiments of thinking

which logic imparted. As Sir Francis Bacon (a Cambridge graduate of Trinity College)

stated, logic "...treats of the understanding and reason, and ethics of the will, appetite,

and affections; the one producing resolutions, the other actions."[80] Through ethics,

students were instructed in the importance of behaving well and remaining diligent in

their studies. Knowledge was equated to virtue, ignorance to heresy and, by extension,

the virtuous man was the religiously observant man making ethics a particularly crucial

study in a nation which still struggled for religious uniformity and stability.[81] The study

of ethics was the moralizing of the man, intended to tie his soul to the proper worship of

god and his actions to the betterment of the state.[82] Reason was the root of authority over

women and ethics informed how that authority was best asserted. As early modern

theorists suggested repeatedly, the functioning of the household was proof of the

authority of the king over his subjects and the dominion of the state.[83] Logic and ethics

thus informed the male in two ways: in the private and public sphere. The parallel

between a man's behavior at home and in his conduct in the public administration was

automatic for the seventeenth century man: by informing the male of his duty to the king

---

[79] Sir Francis Bacon *The Dignity and Advancement of Learning,* (1605)(New York: The Colonial Press, 1900), 134. Feingold, "The Humanities," iv. 306.
[80] Bacon, *The Dignity and Advancement of Learning,* 133.
[81] Feingold, "The Humanities," iv. 307, 312-314.
[82] Feingold, "The Humanities," iv. 313.
[83] Susan Kingsley Kent, *Gender and Power in Britain, 1640-1990* (London: Routledge, 1999), 19. Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England,* 3-4. Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination,* 293-296.

and to the church via the shaping of his actions to a degree of conformity, and by instructing him in how to make sense of his world, the universities were also inculcating behaviors and traits which would be extended to the home. Sir Daniel Fleming wrote to his son at Oxford in 1694 that he ought to "Be a good husband to your money, books and clothing and you'll reap the honour and benefit..."[84] According to Fleming, as in other letters he wrote along a similar vein, study in logic and ethics at the universities would inform not only service to the state, the garnering of preferment, and the increase of pleasure in later life; it would also make a man apt to succeed in all possible environments, including the home.

As we have seen, example reigned supreme as the primary mode of transmission and reception, for good or ill, at the universities, and the study of history at the universities attempted to capitalize upon the value of emulation. Unlike other forms of example, however, history was coupled with the benefit of being easily controlled and supervised by administrators and it is not surprising that its study, perhaps more than any other, was highly regulated and a point of much debate. The majority of history studied at the universities was ancient, allowing for the expression of ideals at a distance safe enough to be of little danger when poor examples played upon the pages, yet relevant enough to promote the ingestion of good examples.[85] Even so, Tacitus was restricted reading for many students due to his espousal of republican values, although he could be lectured upon by faculty and, to a lesser extent, tutors. A public lecture upon Tacitus at

---

[84] Magrath, *The Flemings in Oxford*, iii.

[85] As Mordechai Feingold has pointed out, it was modern history which was seen as the more apt to subvert pupils. As Sir Walter Ralegh wrote in his *History of the World*, "who so-ever in writing a moderne historie, shall follow truth too neare the heeles, it may happily strike out his teeth." Ancient history afforded a safe distance. As quoted in Feingold, "The Humanities," iv. 355-356.

Cambridge, for example, elicited broad discontent and unease in 1627 on the part of

ardent monarchists present, almost upon mere mention of the name alone.[86] In his stead,

undergraduates were provided with Florus whose endorsement of a basic approximation

of divine right monarchy was thought more fit reading.[87] Students were warned as well of

the study of modern history which was virtually prohibited as a viable subject of inquiry

as it was proposed to be too full of sedition, revolt, and nonconformity.[88] Erasmus further

suggested that students be guarded from examples such as that provided by Achilles,

stating that "I shall not deny that a great fund of wisdom may be gathered from reading

the historians, but you will also draw out the very essence of destruction from these same

sources unless you are forearmed and read with discretion."[89] Reason was required ere

students tackled examples of passion.

History could be utilized to defend the church and the monarchy and often was as

much as it provided a valuable tool in condemning Catholic practices and heretical

doctrines. Sir John Coke wrote to Fulke Grenville in 1615 to aid in Granville's

deliberations over accepting a proffered chair of history that "The chief use of this

profession is now the defence of one church, and therein of one state...the verie view of

times past wil so discover their [Catholics'] ambition, covetousness, oimpostures,

tyrannies, treacheries and al the depths of hel in that Roman gulph..."[90] The purpose of

---

[86] Thomas Fuller, *The History of the University of Cambridge, From the Conquest to the Year 1634*, (1655) ed. Marmaduke Prickett and Thomas Wright (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,1840), 313.

[87] Sir William Cornwallis, for example, believed Tacitus "more wise than safe." As quoted in Feingold, "The Humanities," iv. 355.

[88] Feingold, "The Humanities," iv. 355-356.

[89] Desiderius Erasmus, *The Education of a Christian Prince,* ed. L. K. Born (New York: Octagon Books, 1968), 201-202.

[90] As quoted in Mordechai Feingold, "The Humanities," iv. 346.

history was to verify that the institutions of the monarchy and the church were

preeminent and the result of a lengthy and virtuous past, further elucidated by examples.

Such a mandate was not hidden from students or from society but was openly avowed as

the primary function of historical inquiry. At the end of the seventeenth century, in 1694,

Henry Dodwell received a letter from William Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury,

which suggested what lectures Dodwell ought to present from the eminence of the

Camden Chair which Dodwell held. His words are worth relating at some length.

> In God's name boldly mount your chair...I cannot but think it more
> advisable for you too keep yourself within the strict terms of your
> foundation and to read publickly, and in your lectures too (for the same
> reason) not to interpret Irenaeus (as others advise; the counsel is good,
> but not now and here). No. But, if I might take upo[n] me to suggest to
> you proper argument for your lectures, I would wish that either fro[m] the
> first periocha of Tacitus's Annals, or rather (if it suits better with Mr
> Camden's rules) from the very last in Florus's History, you would take
> occasion to clear the revolution of the Roman government made in
> Augustus's age, and prove that the Roman power in our lord's time, and
> in the time of his 2 great apostles, were not merely *de-facto* and usurped
> powers (as all our revolutioners, and particularly the last most scandalous
> revolter pretend) but legal governments....Nor shall you need to
> endanger yourself, or the liberty at present allowed you, by descending to
> the modern hypothesis and by applying it to our present case. But scene
> your whole discourse still at Rome, and it will as effectually do our
> business; and all that hear you, whether well or otherwise-affected, will
> perfectly understand you, and thereby this former will be edified, and the
> others not know how to help themselves; and above all (which brought
> me first upon this thought) your fear of giving scandal will be utterly
> obviated and removed.[91]

Few greater exhortations of the importance of the proper study of appropriate histories

may be cited for this period: history at Oxford and Cambridge, indeed all official studies,

were transmitted as justification for the current order and to explicate the student's place

---

[91] As quoted in Mordechai Feingold, "The Humanities," iv. 357.

and duty within it. Benefactors, the monarchy, and the professors and tutors who held

their allegiance to them were guardians of this prescription.

The curriculum at Oxford and Cambridge universities, coupled with the manner in

which it was presented and the environment in which it was inculcated are instructive in

explaining both the purpose of university attendance and the ideal product which

attendance sought to elicit: men, albeit men of a particular type. The academic man was

intended to be diligent and to be so of his own volition. Reason was paramount to his

existence; it defined his gender and the shaping of it was intended to secure his claim to

power over women and other men. With a sound faculty of reason came morality, virtue,

honour, and observance of authority essentially constituting subservience to the current

order within society. Examples were supreme in this training but they were also its

greatest potential detriment and there existed a dualistic entreaty to students that they not

only follow good examples and provide them themselves, but that they avoid poor ones.

Paradoxically, however, within this structure the archetype of beneficial emulation was

one of conformity. The imposition of a curriculum itself was a means to curtail enquiry

within acceptable boundaries and it was similarly coupled by restrictions upon

communication, language, dress, and deportment. Control of undergraduates was central

to the peace of university life. It was thought crucial as well, to the peace of the nation in

totality and increasing attention on the part of the state, crown, gentry and aristocracy

seemed to safeguard the uniformity of student experience.

And yet, already cracks appear in the seemingly placid façade. Dress maintained

its differentiation based upon quality, hair could not be hidden beneath the cap nor boots,

nor spurs. Language could be as easily discarded and the reception of the dictates of the curriculum was innately subjective despite attempts to obviate differences in its transmission. To be certain, we ought not wholly discredit attempts at uniformity and conformity on the part of administrators: they had a role to play in university life and in the state in the years following 1636 as Chapter V shall discuss. Most especially, the inculcation of reason was the most common lesson learnt: it was fundamental for the development of a young man as a symbol of masculinity and its instruction, though hardly written in statute or regulated, was constant. The nuances, however, are essential. From a distance the academic robes appeared uniform and black as they appeared to Charles and Laud on the occasion of their visits. A step closer has shown some fabrics to be brocades, others velvet, some of broadcloth and many of a different cut. Should we lean in nearer still, it becomes apparent that the threads are not black at all, but of many colours tightly spun. It is this closer inspection which we embark upon now by turning our examination from what happened within the precincts of the universities, to what occurred beyond them.

Chapter IV

"The Glass of Fashion and the Mould of Form,"[1]:
The Educated Man, the Extra-Curricular, and University Life

ഇൗൽ

Oxford and Cambridge Universities faced a very serious problem in the

seventeenth century. Despite the best efforts of administrators to regulate, conform, and

make uniform the student body by providing examples of the virtuous and diligent, by

reinforcing academic dress, and by monitoring both the curriculum and their charges,

their powers went little further than the threshold of the quad which students seemed so

frequently to step beyond. Once in the streets, robes could be so quickly discarded, Latin

replaced by the vulgar, dispute replaced by duel, books by women, and reason washed

away with drink; all that the universities had attempted so diligently to ingrain, it was

feared, was each evening abandoned, if not completely reversed, in the gutters of the

towns that encircled the colleges. It was easy to blame these behaviors, this general

degeneration of student morality, upon aristocratic and gentlemen scholars. They had the

money, if not the credit, to be well accoutered with swords, spurs, beer and women and

indeed, many accounts cited these young men to be the root of degradation.[2] We must

---

[1] William Shakespeare, Hamlet, in *The Complete Works of William Shakespeare* (New York: Avenel Books, 1975), III. i. 1089.

[2] Sir Robert Cecil in 1602 had reported "…disorders in the universities, contrary to the statutes, and tending to the decay of learning, and other dissolute behaviour…scholars now go in their silks and velvets, liker to courtiers than scholars." As quoted in Mark H. Curtis, *Oxford and Cambridge in Transition, 1558-1642: An Essay on Changing Relations Between the English Universities and English Society* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1959), 55. Cecil's predecessor, Lord Burghley had made similar complaints of aristocratic and gentlemanly scholars. David Cressy, *Education in Tudor and Stuart England: Documents of Modern History* (London: Edward Arnold, 1975), 124-125. William Laud, *The Works of the Most Reverend Father*

not, however, be too quick to judge as administrators did. Were all of the elite students so corrupted? Were all of the poorer sort so virtuous that they should escape culpability? More particularly, why was this behavior occurring, why was it a source of such consternation for administrators, and how does this seemingly separate, extracurricular aspect of university life tie into the official course of study and contribute to the man produced? In the pursuit of answering these questions, four specific areas of student 'disobedience' shall be examined: exercise, violence, drinking and sex.

The inculcation of reason was one of the primary motivators for parents to send their sons to university. Reason, as we have seen, was perceived to be fundamental to the attainment, assertion, control, and maintenance of masculinity.[3] It was also a symbol of manhood, a prerequisite which, although males were judged naturally predisposed to reason by virtue of their gender, had to be instructed to a point of utility. Reason, however, was but half of the man, only one of two indications of his claim over women and other, lesser, men. As such, university training informed reason but was incapable of forming the man in totality if it did it did only this. The missing piece was the physical. As Sir Thomas Elyot stated:

> All thoughe I haue hitherto aduaunced the commendation of lernyng, specially in gentil men, yet it is to be considered that continuall studie without some maner of exercise, shortly exhausteth the spirites vitall, and hyndereth naturall decoction and digestion, wherby mannes body is the soner corrupted and brought in to diuers sickenessis, and finallye the life is therby made shorter: where contrayrye wise by exercise, whiche is a vehement motion (as Galene prince of phisitions defineth) the helthe of man is preserued, and his strength increased: for as moche the members

---

in God, William Laud, D. D., Sometime Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, (1639) 7 vols. (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1853), 259-260.

[3] See above, pages 77-78, 89-92, 98-99.

by meuyng and mutual touching, do waxe more harde, and naturall heate in all the body is therby augmented. More ouer, it maketh the spirites of a man more stronge and valiant, so that, by the hardnesse of the members, all labours be more tolerable...[4]

Roger Ascham similarly extolled the practice of shooting as an acceptable pastime for scholars especially, stating that "...as temporall men of necessitie are compelled to take somewhat of learning to do their office the better withal: so scholars maye the boldlyer borowe somewhat of laye mennes pastimes, to maynteyne their health in study withal."[5] Reason and physicality could not exist separate from one another; their relationship was one of symbiosis, each serving to feed and reflect the other.[6] Students either had to fulfill both requirements at the universities or make use of some other venue external to them and it is within this context that student 'misbehavior' may best be understood. The satirical portrait John Earle provided in his work, presented as Appendix VI, and entitled *Micro-Cosmographie,* stated the deficit which both the honest and diligent scholar and the dullard-scholar were likely to suffer from: they had neither an aptitude for social settings nor a physicality worthy of the title of a man. According to Earle, the academic man had an education which was incomplete, which required supplementation.[7] Thus, those actions noted by university administrators as ill-disciplined, though they most

---

[4] Sir Thomas Elyot, *The Boke Named the Governour* (1531)(London: J. M. Dent and Company, 1907), 72. See also, Roger Ascham, *Toxophilius,* (1544) ed. Edward Arber (Birmingham: 1868), 17. Baldassare Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier,* (1561) trans. Sir Thomas Hoby (J. M. Dent and Sons, 1923), 44-45.

[5] Roger Ascham went on to suggest that the study of shooting and martial arts was the duty of scholars especially as it was their duty to serve the king and state. Ascham, *Toxophilius,* 37-38. A large number of Italian humanists also suggested the combination of liberal studies with physical education, both of which were intended to prepare young men for war and public positions. Pier Paolo Vergerio, "The Character of Studies Befitting a Free-Born Youth," in *Humanist Educational Treatises,* ed., trans., Craig W. Kallendorf (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), 75-81.

[6] Sir Francis Bacon, "Of the Regiment of Health," in *Francis Bacon, A Critical Edition of the Major Works,* (1625) ed. Brian Vickers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 403-405.

[7] John Earle was a student of Merton College, Oxford. John Earle, *Micro-Cosmographie,* (1633) ed. Edward Arber (Westminster: A. Constable and Company, 1904), 40-42.

assuredly contradicted the university statutes, did not reverse the values learnt in the

tutor's room, the lecture hall, or at disputations, but rather supplemented those lessons

and, on occasion, reinforced and reflected them. Disobedience and disorders

contravening the dictates of Oxford and Cambridge universities' codes and regulations

were essentially obedience to the dictates of early modern manliness conducted, not in

spite of the curriculum, but in addition to it and this physical and socializing process was

as much a part of a young man's education as was the time spent under the watchful eyes

of tutors, professors, and parents.

What made extra-curricular behavior ill-disciplined was partially the result of a

general disinclination on the part of both the university of Oxford and Cambridge to

establish, or even countenance, acceptable and controlled venues for the development of

the physical self on the part of students. Like reason, health and virility required training

and diligence ere they matured and manliness was successfully attained; again, hardness

had to be earned and the result of ceaseless toil in order to remove the vestiges of

childhood and womanly softness. This training, according to Elyot, was crucial from the

age of fourteen to the mid twenties, a period which encompassed the years most young

men spent at university.[8] It was not that attempts to establish specific schools devoted to

physical training such as riding, vaulting, dancing and fencing were not present, only that

they were, for the most part, successively blocked at Oxford and Cambridge.[9] When, for

example, a man referred to only as Mr. Crofts arrived at Oxford with the intent to

---

[8] Elyot, *The Boke Named the Governour*, 72.
[9] It is particularly interesting to note that fencing masters were commonly referred to as 'professors' in early modern England and that James I, though an adversary to the act of dueling, believed the exercise it afforded to be particularly beneficial to young men. J. R. Hale, *Renaissance War Studies* (Gloucester: The Hambledon Press, 1983), 235-236.

establish a riding school in the summer of 1637, Chancellor Laud immediately wrote to

the vice-chancellor, stating in no uncertain terms what he thought of the matter. "For Mr.

Crofts and his great horses, he may carry them back if he please, as he brought them."

Laud was not displeased with the prospect of physically educating the scholarly

population and he believed that the exercise such diversion proposed to provide would be

"exceeding commendable", but this was not what was at issue as he later elaborated:

"Where ever this place of riding shall be, where one scholar learns, you shall have twenty

or forty to look on, and there lose their time, so that upon the whole matter, that place

shall be fuller of scholars, than either schools or libraries." Coupled with this was Laud's

ancient bane, that scholars would "fall into the old humour of going up and down in boots

and spurs and then have their excuse ready."[10] What Laud and other university

administrators feared above all was that the provision of schools devoted to physical

training would result in a decline in the academic fields of study.

Such anxiety was paralleled already in the official curriculum. Poetry and military

history in particular were censored due to the tendency of students who studied only

"great armies, bloody battles, and many thousands slain at once" rather than focus upon

the politics and art of governing the states that employed those armies.[11] The cult of

poetry in particular at both institutions was thought to lead students to drink,

lasciviousness, and distraction.[12] The universities perceived themselves to be in

competition for the attention of their students. By allowing the establishment of schools

---

[10] Laud, *Works*, v. 173-174.
[11] Thomas Hobbes, *Thucydides*, ed. Richard Schlatter (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1975), 8.
[12] Mordechai Feingold, "The Humanities," in *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. Nicholas Tyacke, 6 vols. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1997), iv. 254-256.

devoted to dancing, riding, fencing, and vaulting, they would have invited the enemy

within their gates. John Earle played upon the gentlemanly pursuits of students in his

description of various types of Englishmen. He defined the gentleman student as:

> one that comes there to weare a gown, and to say hereafter, he has been
> at the University. His Father sent him thither, because he heard there
> were the best Fencing and Dancing schooles. His main loitering is at the
> Library, where he studies Armes and Bookes of Honour, and turnes a
> Gentleman-Critick in Pedigrees. Of all things hee endures not to bee
> mistaken for a Scholler, and hates a black suit though it bee of Satin.[13]

Boots and spurs, though seemingly a preoccupation for Laud, were the least of the

potential evils which university faculty faced; it was the behaviors such dress implied

which were the crux of the issue. Attendance at a riding hall, or at any other school not

devoted to the academic curriculum meant a decline in attendance at lectures,

disputations, and tutorials. In essence they were the breeding ground of ignorance, the

death of reason and, by extension, of the good governance of England.

Despite the best efforts of the universities, some schools were created in the

shadow of the college edifces. John Evelyn, figure 4.1, recorded in his diary that he

attended a dancing and vaulting school under the direction of Master Stokes and learned

the rudiments of music.[14] Similarly, Anthony Wood spent much of his time learning

---

[13] A full account of Earle's definition of the gentleman student is provided in Appendix VI. Earle, *Micro-Cosmographie*, 23.

[14] John Evelyn, "The Diary of John Evelyn," in *Reminiscences of Oxford by Oxford Men, 1559-1850*, ed. Lilian M. Quiller Couch (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1892), 20. Music is included here as a physical study primarily due to its perceived lessons for grace, courage, and temperance on the part of contemporary theorists and ancients alike. Elyot, *The Boke Named the Governour*, 25-28.

Figure 4.1
John Evelyn

Portrait by Robert Nanteuil, 1650
John Evelyn, *John Evelyn's Diary*, ed. Philip Francis
(London: The Folio Society, 1963), Frontispiece.

music, at first teaching himself the violin ere he took lessons at Oxford.[15] In many cases,

the schools at which students were educated in these arts were privately run out of

individual homes. Wood began to attend weekly meetings in the house of William Ellis

during his university years, once organist of St. John's College. Wood enumerated the

company that he met with in his diary on these occasions, some of who, he suggests,

went under aliases, others whom he declines to name at all. In total, he listed sixteen

members.[16] Though relations of such 'schools' are scarce, part of the deficit of records

may be the result of their unofficial or underground nature. The popularity of teachers or

sites of such studies may very well have depended upon the security and secrecy they

implored of their students and their ability to remain hidden from administrative eyes. By

the end of the seventeenth century, however, official outlets for student training in the

physical were in the process of being established as colleges increasingly incorporated

tennis courts and designated areas for the playing of bowls within their precincts along

with curricular classes in music.[17] The attraction of physical activity for young men was

too strong to stamp out sufficiently and rather than fight the process, the adoption of it

within college space was a way in which to control and monitor its conduct.

Physical culture was seen as a distraction from the pursuit of more academic

studies though it was a fundamental part of the proper raising of a man in the early

modern period and this paradox effectively crippled the ability of the universities to

supply adequate facilities and instruction required for the development of the male's

---

[15] Anthony Wood, *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, Antiquary of Oxford, 1632-1695, Described by Himself*, (1712) ed. Andrew Clark, 2 vols. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1891), i. 173, 178, 181, 212.
[16] Wood, *Life and Times*, i. 204-206.
[17] Nicholas Tyacke, "Introduction," in *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. Nicholas Tyacke, 6 vols. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1997), iv. 19.

physical self prior to the Restoration. If the universities were unwilling to accommodate this need, however, it had to be fulfilled elsewhere and the moment students crossed the threshold of the quad options abounded. Already, colleges had erected defenses against that very act of leaving. University architecture was akin to that of a fortified compound and though the mode of ornamentation differed throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the basic structure remained the same. Guarded by a sturdy gatehouse with small windows upon the exterior walls, the colleges offered an interior court for walks and had attached, albeit enclosed, pleasure gardens in order to facilitate acceptable exercise within a controlled setting. The point was not to keep intruders out, but rather, to keep students within. Figures 1.1, above page 21, and 4.2 provide examples of college architecture and the enclosed, seemingly fortified design which they commonly subscribed to. At nine o'clock in Oxford, eight o'clock in Cambridge, students were called back to their residences, usually by the toning of a bell with fines imposed upon those who did not return by the last tone.[18] If students wanted to walk, they had the quads, to relax they had gardens, to study they were provided with college libraries, to socialize they had their rooms, to eat they had their meals provided. John Aubrey reported of Dr. Kettell of Trinity College, Oxford, that "he observed that the howses that had the smallest beer had most drunkards, for it forced them to goe into the town to comfort their stomachs; whefore Dr Kettle always had in his College excellent beer, not better to be had in Oxon."[19] This was not benevolence towards students but a defensive

---

[18] John Newman, "The Architectural Setting," in *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. Nicholas Tyacke, 6 vols. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1997), iv. 177. James Bass Mullinger, *The University of Cambridge*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911), iii. 107.

[19] John Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, (1669) ed. Oliver Lawson Dick (London: Secker and Warburg, 1950), 183.
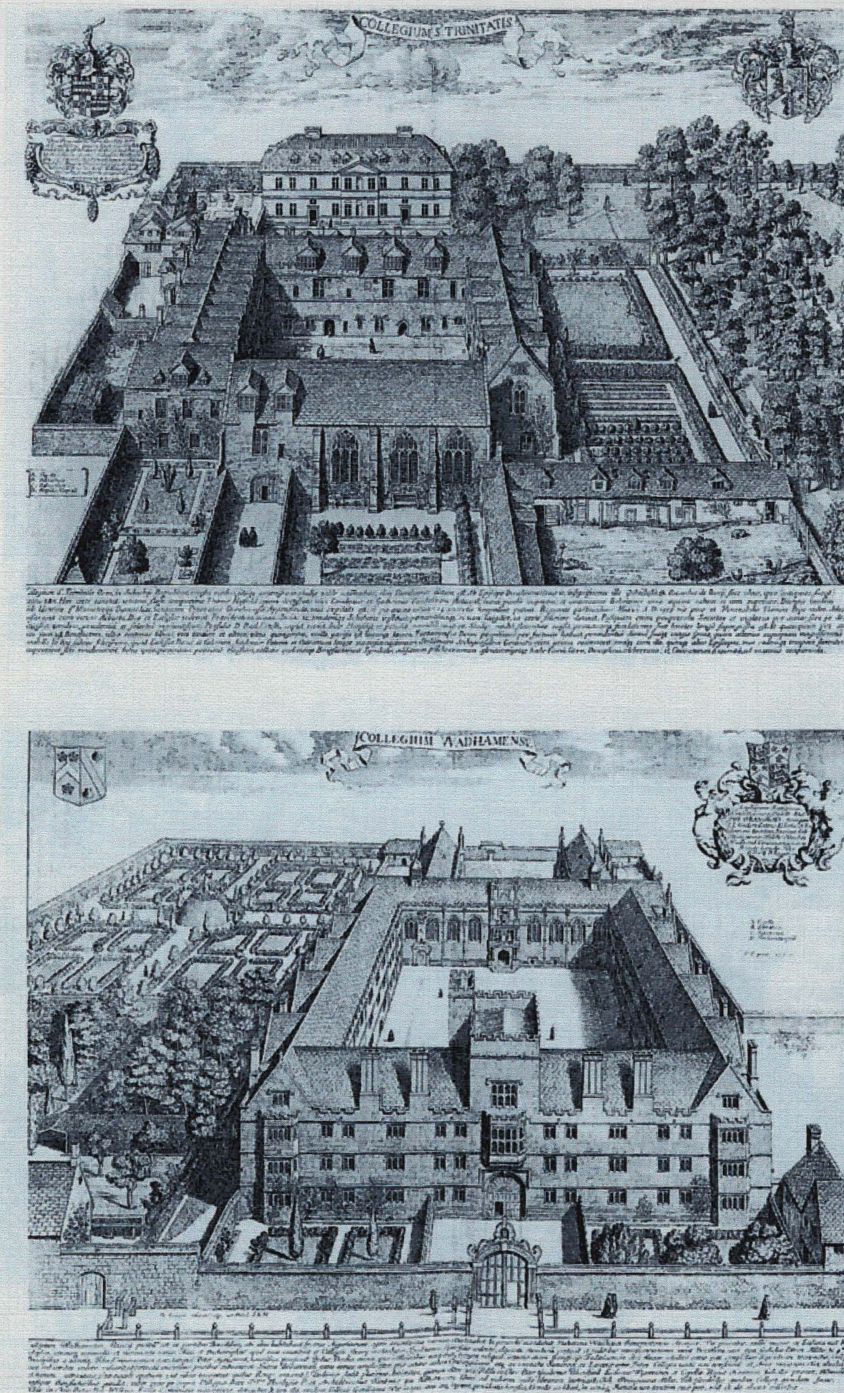
Figure 4. 2
Trinity and Wadham Colleges, Oxford

Nicholas Tyacke et. Al. *The History of the University of Oxford*,
ed. Nicholas Tyacke, 6 vols. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, iv. Plates 7 and 8.

posture intended to keep scholars satisfied within and obviate any potential requirements or excuses for their departure from the controlled environment of the college. Indeed, the only acceptable reason to be found outside of the college property was in order to attend disputations or visit tutors and these would be conducted during the day, before the bell sounded and the gate was closed. College life was intended to be all-inclusive; there was little reason to wander about the town if all of the amenities were provided within the closed setting of the quad.

A great many facilities, however, were not available within the colleges according to theorists and students alike. Here were neither horses, nor hounds, nor hawks, dice nor games. There resided within the silent halls no venues in which to display physical prowess or to test it against other young men, actions so very crucial to the identity of burgeoning youth. In order to form or confirm a definition of self, identity needed to be tested against other examples if one were to gauge its effectiveness, develop and refine it. Along with the accoutrements of leisure and sport, the usual suspects of young life were absent as well: beer, in sufficient quantity to student tastes rather than administrative prescriptions, tobacco and women. What was yet more crippling was what *was* present within the college environment, indeed, that which was omnipresent: authority. How could a young man hope to assert his manhood, exhibit his own claim to power if he was at all times surrounded by an authority greater than his own, automatically making mockery of his declaration? But two options were available for young men within such a predicament: escape during the day, or at night. For many, the answer was both.

During the daylight hours, students were much more at liberty to shirk their academic duties than they were at night. As William Trumbull's example has suggested, students spent but a few hours of the day under the direction of their tutor or in attending disputations and lectures, the rest of their time being intended for personal study.[20] With such freedom available in the afternoon hours, it is questionable whether students fulfilled their academic calling as diligently as instructors would have liked and, at any rate, the schedule was innately flexible. Students were not tied to study, merely implored to discipline themselves towards such ends. Nor was the attendance at lectures or disputations necessarily observed whole-heartedly. College heads and officers of the university were incessant in their complaints of truancy: it was very simple for students not to attend.[21] In the late sixteenth century, Cambridge had erected a number of safeguards to ensure student attendance at lectures including the employment of monitors intended to report missing students and officers who would exact fines for absentees. These endeavors, however, had rarely been enforced, perhaps due to expense or inefficiency in the reporting of and collection of fines, and they were virtually discarded during the seventeenth century.[22] The word 'diligence', so commonly referred to as a critical attribute by parents, tutors, and professors in young men, carried with it an implied need to attend lectures and the fact that it was so commonly implored suggests

---

[20] Above, page 69.

[21] Wood, *Life and Times*, i. 149. Laud, *Works*, v. 48, 163. Nicholas Amhurst, "Terrae Filius," (1754) in *Reminiscences of Oxford by Oxford Men, 1559-1850*, ed. Lilian M. Quiller Couch (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1892), 71-72.

[22] Curtis, *Oxford and Cambridge in Transition*, n. 285, 97. Oxford as well had a number of fines which could be imposed for non-attendance. Their effectiveness and enforcement, however, must also be approached with a degree of circumspection. Charles Edward Mallet, *A History of the University of Oxford*, 3 vols. (London: Methuen and Company, 1924), ii. 321-324.

that these pleas were apt to be ignored if they instructors failed to incessantly reinforce them. At mid century, Sir Justinian Isham wrote to Dean John Fell of Christ Church that he expected discipline from his son and corroboration from his professors to "be constant at lectures and perform such exercises as shall be required."[23] These were not idle words, but the result of a serious concern that young men, when left to their own devices, would quickly forget duty and discipline.

When the bell tolled and the sun descended, the liberty daylight afforded likewise dwindled, punctuated by the closing of the college gate. Documentation has yet to be uncovered as to how exactly students would have made their exit from the colleges at night but that many of them did so is a point of little question. It is possible that the warden was paid to turn a blind eye to passing students or that friendships had evolved there as well as they were apt to with tutors which caused him not to report. Perhaps a key was left in a door at a particular time in response to a bribe. Just as likely would be the scaling of garden walls or access to the college rooftop which may have allowed students to climb down to the street below. Perhaps they endured the fine or simply did not return that night at all. Though the means are not recorded, the result is particularly evident by the preoccupation of university officials with noctivigation, a term which referred to walking about at night after curfew. Student behavior at night was seen as much more threatening than that conducted during the day, in part because it was less apt to be noted and was, as such, much more to be feared. In a 1637 letter to the vice-chancellor, Laud elucidated the consequences of student activities at night, stating "you

---

[23] As quoted in Feingold, "The Humanities," iv. 231.

shall do well to have a care of noctivagation, and other disorders, else you will quickly

have the distempers of the night break out in the day."[24] Similarly, Cambridge established

a series of injunctions issued in 1636 which expressly forbade "absence without college

walls after eight of the clock at night...[or] at any time to go to range abroad out of their

colleges into the town or any other places in the country..."[25] Measures had been taken to

prevent nocturnal carousing within the town on the part of students but the issue was

fraught with problems, most particularly due to contested privileges between the

university and the civic administration. While the university maintained the right to patrol

the town in search of recalcitrant scholars, townsmen believed the duty to be their own

and these questions of jurisdiction made for holes in the enforcement of regulations. The

crux of the issue rested upon the university's claim to imprison and fine not only scholars

discovered in the town after the college gates had been shut, but citizens as well.

Offenders, thanks to the privileges of the university granted by the crown, were tried and

questioned by the vice-chancellor, not civic authorities, and this was a cause for severe

civic discontent and a large number of failed petitions to parliament for redress.[26] The

retort on the part of the universities to civilian grievances stated plainly the problem, and

the reason for their maintenance of superior authority over and above the townsmen,

claiming the right to monitor and punish noctivagation because it was "so absolutely

necessary for the good government of the Vniversity, (especially for securing younger

Scholars against the many temptations to lewdness and loosness, which they ordinarily

---

[24] Laud, *Works*, v. 164.
[25] As quoted in Mullinger, *The University of Cambridge*, iii. 107.
[26] Gerard Langbaine, the Elder, *The Ansvver of the Chancellor, Masters and Scholars of the University of Oxford, to The Petition, Articles of Grievance, and Reasons of the City of Oxon* (1649) (Oxford: 1678), 9.

are exposed to by means of such Townesmen as make their own advantages out of the others luxury and deboystness)..."[27] If the guilt of student noctivagation resided with the town, it followed that civic authorities were in no position to exert control as it was they who benefited most from the lack of it. Debate raged throughout the seventeenth century, the civilians appealing repeatedly to parliament, as to what authority exactly was vested in the university to patrol the town and as to whether or not the town could charge scholars as the university did townsmen. What resulted was stalemate, ambiguity, and a deficit of actual enforcement, a situation apt to be capitalized upon by scholars.

Be it night or day, students were leaving the precincts of the college environment. Their departure, however, was not the whole problem: it was what they were doing which was cause for distress. If their business within the town was scholarly, regimented, and controlled the issue would not have received the attention and concern that it did. But it was most assuredly devoid of control and, indeed, that was one of the primary motivators for student escapism and the catalyst for administrative concern. Without the discipline afforded by incessant surveillance, youth ran wild, or so anxious administrators believed.[28]

Daytime diversions are easier to gauge than are nocturnal ones and the greatest indication of what those activities potentially were may be gleaned by the manner in which students arrived at university, namely in the supplies which they brought with them. Coupled with this is an indication that gentleman and noble students were instigators of bad behavior, but that they were certainly not the only transgressors. In

---

[27] Langbaine, *The Answer of the Chancellor, Masters and Scholars*, 30.
[28] Feingold, "The Humanities," iv. 311.

1637, upon entering Exeter College at Oxford, Anthony Ashley Cooper began a career of

no little fame among his compatriots to the horror of the college faculty: "I kept both

horses and servants in Oxford, and was allowed what expense or recreation I

desired...".[29] In 1655, Sir William Roberts covered his son's college expenses which

included money for horses, lace, knives, leather chairs, a table, candlesticks, tongs,

bellowes, and a fireshovel, both for his exercise and comfortable entertaining.[30] Richard

Ducie asked his uncle for permission to "keep a man and a brace of geldings as some

gentlemen of my quality here do", he further argued that " 'tis both creditable and very

much for my health." Meanwhile George Radcliffe brought with him a bow and arrows

just as William Herrick asked to be furnished with a stone-bow for the shooting of fowl.

Dice, backgammon boards, chess, tennis racquets, shuttlecocks, and cards were also

common supplies.[31] Laud's statutes provide other examples of common student

accoutrements: hawks, ferrets, and balls (Appendix IV). Much more ominous in the eyes

of administrators were weapons of war. Swords, pistols, muskets, longbows, cuirasses,

daggers and even pikes were all reported as student possessions. When, on August 13,

1642 Charles I's declaration of war was read in the Oxford market, for example, students

rushed back to their college rooms and returned furnished with weapons enough to outfit

four full squadrons of foot, roughly 400 men, and a troop of heavily armoured and well

---

[29] Anthony Ashley Cooper, "The Life of Anthony Ashley Cooper, First Earl of Shaftsbury," in *Reminiscences of Oxford by Oxford Men, 1559-1850*, ed. Lilian M. Quiller Couch (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1892), 35.

[30] As quoted in Jan Morris, *The Oxford Book of Oxford*, ed. Jan Morris (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 94-95.

[31] As quoted in Stephen Porter, "University and Society," in *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. Nicholas Tyacke, 6 vols. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1997), iv. 71.

mounted horse, numbering around 50 men.[32] This was but the initial muster. Student

arms continued to show up as new units were formed throughout the war.[33] Although this

call to arms had been at the request of ardent royalist professors, one might wonder if the

faculty raised an eyebrow at the volume of martial hardware which was paraded before

them and which had as its source college residences. What these belongings suggest is a

culture which existed beneath the academic: one which focused upon the hunt, gaming,

competition, sport, and violence.

Though it was students of the upper echelons of society who possessed these

items, we must ask if it was they alone who enjoyed them or if, perhaps, the supplies

procured by their numbers was deliberately in excess of their needs. Upon returning to

the example of Anthony Ashley Cooper, it becomes clear that he was not merely making

sure that he was well accounted for among his peers, but that he was establishing a

dynasty and providing for a number of other young men as well. At the head of this

miniature empire stood Cooper, the patron. Below him, his social equals and inferiors, by

rank, age or charisma, who were often employed as a small army at his command.[34] His

horses and other items of leisure, combined with his elevated rank afforded him:

> The opportunity of obliging by entertainments the better sort and
> supporting divers of the activest of the lower rank with giving them leave

---

[32] Wood, *Life and Times*, i. 54. Christopher Hibbert, *Cavaliers and Roundheads, The English at War: 1642-1649* (London: Harper Collins, 1993), 50. John Cordy Jeaffreson, *Annals of Oxford*, 2 vols. (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1871), ii. 45.

[33] Gregory W. Stone, "Scholarly Soldiers: Student and Professorial Reactions and Contributions to the Royalist War Effort in Oxford, 1642-1646" (Calgary: Honours Thesis, the University of Calgary, 2003).

[34] Roger North likewise remembered his school days when he became part of a small hierarchy of boys. He wrote: "I was aspiring enough and would have been in the league with the capital boys, but had not a tour of address and confidence to be admitted, but kept in a middle order and had my equals and inferiors as well as my superiors." As cited in Bernard Capp, "English Youth Groups and 'The Pinder of Wakefield"," in *Rebellion, Popular Protest and Social Order in Early Modern England*, ed. Paul Slack (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 213.

to eat when in distress upon my expense, it being no small honour amongst those sort of men, that my name in the buttery book willingly owned twice the expense of any in the University. This expense, my quality, proficiency in learning, and natural affability easily not only obtained the good-will of the wiser and older sort, but made me a leader even of all the rough young men of that college, famous for the courage and strength...[35]

It is possible that Cooper's recollections of his time at university were elaborated upon in retrospect and not without the occasional boast, but an examination of early modern conceptions of honour and university life suggest that his account is not without accuracy in its depiction of processes existent. The early modern period, for example, placed significant value in hospitality as indicative of personal honour and manliness of character and Cooper's benevolence to peers and inferiors alike certainly fulfills this particular prescription.[36] During his university years, Anthony Wood was invited riding by Thomas Williams who lent him a horse for such purposes: the sharing of wealth was a demonstration of status and a way in which to garner friendship.[37] Sir Richard Grosvenor advised his son to be kind to his inferiors and to support them as "they may be diligent to be commanded by you and be useful to you...they are planted under you not to be tyrannized over but to be protected."[38] By providing hospitality in any form, young men were displaying their virtue via their actions: the generous man was the virtuous man. The endowment of colleges had been as much a part of this process as the forever open doors were at a gentleman's country house or invitations to spend a pleasant evening

---

[35] Cooper, "The Life of Anthony Ashley Cooper," 34-35.

[36] Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England, 1500-1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 140-141.

[37] In this particular case, the horse lent to Wood threw him and he suffered some injury which negatively tinctured his appraisal of Thomas Williams long after. Wood, *Life and Times*, i. 174.

[38] As quoted in Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*, 142.

around the fire in a student's private rooms. Philanthropy was a claim to honour and a symbol of social standing, most especially when provided to others freely. Placed within the university setting, students reflected this particular ideal. The obligation awarded in return was codified only in the honour of the recipient to repay it in support, loyalty and friendship if not in kind.

For poorer students in need of aid, such help would have been welcomed not merely because it was beneficial financially, but socially as well. By accepting the gifts and the inclusion they implied offered by a member of the social elite, students lower in the social scale entered into a contract of mutual benefit which could potentially, it was hoped, be maintained long after university days were left behind. And yet there was much more involved in the formation of friendships than the establishment of potentially beneficial relationships alone. On the contrary, personal reputation was at stake. For the noble or gentle student, the establishment of a devoted following was a visual manifestation of rank and, much more importantly, of their quality...their masculinity. Though no evidence exists that John Evelyn formed his own band of retainers at university, his diary suggests a deep-seated respect for such displays of power. When his father was made sheriff, Evelyn remarked upon how well accompanied he was, "He had an hundred and sixteen servants in liveries, every one liveried in green satin doublets. Divers gentlemen and persons of quality besides waited on him with the same garb and habit...at a time when thirty or forty was the usual retinue of the High Sheriff..."[39] Manhood had to be asserted over others and perhaps one of the most effective ways of

---

[39] John Evelyn, *John Evelyn's Diary*, ed. Philip Francis, (London: The Folio Society, 1963), 6-7.

doing so was in the literal display that assertion's success; an exhibition of one's

followers who were in support of that particular brand of masculinity.[40] Likewise,

membership within a particularly prestigious social group was a ladder for lesser

students: by becoming part of an association they were essentially adopting the attributes

and values of its leader or patron. Once again, students had left behind their families, that

group of kin that had defined them previously, and part of the point of university

attendance was to form one's own identity under careful direction. The identity most

easily adopted was a corporate one, represented by a powerful patron and reinforced by a

large number of subscribers, what we shall refer to hereafter as 'hierarchies.'[41] Time and

again Cooper's little collective defended him physically just as he utilized his influence

and money to advance their fortunes within the university community (a full copy of

Cooper's college reminiscences is provided as Appendix VII).

Again let us turn to what students brought with them to university. Cards, dice,

horses, footballs: each of these was a reflective of a competitive pastime. Here students

could gauge one another's worth as opposed to their own. Gambling was much more than

merely an effective way to lose one's allowance: it was a test of a young man's strategy,

his reason, his courage, his daring and, at the end of the night, it could be as much a test

of his generosity or grace.[42] In the playing of sports and hunting, the stakes were

---

[40] Sir Francis Bacon, wrote: "Discreet Followers and Seruants helpe much to *Reputation. Omniw Fama á Domesticis emanat.*" (All fame proceeds from servants). Sir Francis Bacon, *A Harmony of the Essays Etc. of Francis Bacon, Viscount St. Alban, Baron Verulam, & c.*,(1597) ed. Edward Arber (London: 1871), 69.
[41] Julius R. Ruff, *Violence in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 161. Elizabeth A. Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England: Honour, Sex and Marriage* (London: Longman, 1999), 8.
[42] As Thomas Fuller reported of Cambrian efforts to restrict the playing of cards and dice, it was argued that god had created letters, but that it was the devil who "...found out the one and twenty pricks of the

heightened. Not only the mind, but also the body was tested, either against one another or against the forces of nature. All were forms of conquest over various elements. Competition implied the pitting of one or a group of qualities against another, the victor of such a contest being the stronger, the greater. When considering what attributes were put to the test in such antagonisms, reason and physicality, the implications become apparent for their true significance: victory, be it on the playing field or across the backgammon board, was the succession of one model or exemplar of masculinity above another. Corporate existence, thus, acted as a safety net for defeat in such scenarios. If a young man lost at cards or was outsmarted on a hunt by nature or by another hunter, his friends could be employed to uphold his honour by taking up the gauntlet: an affront to a member of one particular society was a challenge to them all to seek redress. The individual was spared personal ignominy by the protection and support of the collective in maintaining his claim to manhood even in the face of defeat. Similarly, in victory, the entire community could be elevated rather than the individual alone. Groups of friends had to defend their individual members: the individual was a reflection of the whole and the reverse of this relationship was equally so.

Reason and intellect were instructed for the good governance of the man and of men in times of peace. Acts such as hunting, riding, games and sports were training for the 'other' state of life: war. As Roger Ascham pointed out in his epistle upon the art of shooting, "...youth shoulde use it for the moost honest pastime, that men might handle it

---

die." Thomas Fuller, *The History of the University of Cambridge, From the Conquest to the Year 1634*, (1655) ed. Marmaduke Prickett and Thomas Wright (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1840), 130.

as a mooste sure weapon in warre."[43] While logic, ethics, and history instructed the

student how to think in a particular way, the playing of games and sport put that

conditioning into practice and explicated the utility of what was learned in the lecture

hall. Victory and defeat were crucial to this process, it was for this very reason that young

boys were sent from home to be educated in the first place. As John Aubrey wrote in the

1670s:

> It is now that he is entered to be of the world, to come from his innocent
> life, tender care, and indulgence of his parents, to be beaten by his school
> fellows, to be falsely accused, …'Tis here he begins to understand the
> world, the misery, falseness and deceitfulness of it: 'tis here he begins to
> understand himself, that he finds others to be his equals and superiors in
> honour, estate, wit and strength.[44]

A very real part of the external world for seventeenth century man was war, the ultimate

of contests in which life as well as honour were placed upon the table as ante. The first

half of the seventeenth century in England witnessed constant reminders of the horrors

and tests of war as seen upon the continent, the second half saw the threat crash down

upon their own shores. Elyot had written, "In huntynge may be an imitacion of

batayle…"[45] The musket, sword, lance, bow and horse utilized in the hunt tools similar to

those utilized upon the field of battle and skill in the first suggested potential aptitude for

the later. In backgammon or chess, the player made show of his eye for strategy,

proclaiming himself not only capable of soldiery, but of command. Sports such as

football or 'hurling' were essentially recreations of the battlefield where young men

struggled against one another for glory and honour, led each other with strategy and

---

[43] Ascham, *Toxophilius*, 16. Hale, *Renaissance War Studies*, 234.
[44] John Aubrey, *Aubrey on Education: A Hitherto Unpublished Manuscript by the Author of Brief Lives*, ed. J. E. Stephens (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), 60.
[45] Elyot, *The Boke Named The Governour*, 79.

cunning to outwit their opponents, and physically tested the merits of their association or group against those of another.[46] Martial behavior and training were crucial to manliness as they, along with politics, were the preserve of men alone.[47] The acid test of personal masculinity and corporate representations of masculinity was whether or not they could be sustained under the rigors of battle, be it literally or figuratively. Within this schema fits the formation of hierarchies and separate groups at university among students: command and involvement in a troop of friends was akin to the practice of taking, giving, and following orders; the greatest proof of which comes from the propensity for separate associations to come into conflict politically and violently.

The formation of hierarchies acted as a source of friction within university society. In part, violent outbreaks had developed from the foundations of the sixteenth century collegiate system. Although the creation of colleges had removed a number of causes for violent outbreaks by dispersing geographically diverse students evenly throughout the universities, the establishment of colleges created new alliances by society enrollment rather than based upon regional origin.[48] Upon entrance to university, students subscribed both to the university as a whole and to a particular college, the number of

[46] Christina Hole, *English Sports and Pastimes*, New York: Books For Libraries Press, 1949), 50-51.

[47] Elizabeth I had very nearly blown a great many traditions to bits in the sixteenth century: she wore armour at Tilbury, she was an effective politician, and she was a woman. Though this would seem to hold the potential to shake interpretations of these behaviors as distinctly 'manly', these anomalies were easily explained away. Elizabeth was a great politician thanks to her male advisors, she was able to wear armour because she was god's chosen representative: she was deified and as such, sexless, hermaphroditic. Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*, 80.

[48] As mentioned earlier, large-scale violence had decreased from its earlier manifestations prior to the beginning of the sixteenth century, due primarily to the utilization of litigation to solve town and gown disputes rather than outright riots, and due to the removal of north/south divisions within the universities. Victor Morgan, "Cambridge University and "The Country", 1560-1640," in *The University in Society*, ed. Lawrence Stone, 2 vols. (London: Princeton University Press, 1975), i. 198. Alan Crossley, "City and University," in *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. Nicholas Tyacke, VI vols. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1997), iv. 109.

which had proliferated greatly throughout this period. This was an innately divisive

process. By becoming part of a college, students were tying their reputation to it and

incorporating it into their personal definition of themselves.[49] As such, it was important

to promote their particular society over and above others by way of furthering their own

status within the university community. Inter-collegiate disputations were, as such, often

heated and passionate affirmations of superiority and it is not surprising that jealousies

and dissatisfaction remained long after the debate had officially ended. A 1637

disputation between Christ Church and Exeter Colleges at Oxford, for example, resulted

in a large-scale skirmish shortly thereafter, the masters of each college verbally battling

each other within the lecture hall as the students physically abused one another in the

streets.[50] What was at stake was corporate as well as individual honour, that of the later

appropriated by the former.

University discipline in this regard was particularly harsh but relatively

ineffective. In 1652, after a disputation which resulted in brawling throughout the

university, Vice-Chancellor Greenwood called in the army to suppress the unruly

scholars. Five years later Vice-Chancellor John Owen, Greenwood's successor, attempted

to curb violent demonstrations and disorders conducted within the disputation hall which

often led to such outbreaks with a number of injunctions. He stated: "He [the disputant]

should have liberty to say what he pleased, provided that he would avoid profaneness and

---

[49] Steven R. Smith has suggested that such a process was central to youth in early modern England. Though his work has focused upon the corporate identity of apprentices, their experience is not unlike that of university scholars. Stephen R. Smith, "The London Apprentices as Seventeenth-Century Adolescents," in *Rebellion, Popular Protest and the Social Order in Early Modern England,* ed. Paul Slack (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 219-221, 230-231.

[50] Laud, *Works,* v. 191.

obscenity and not to go into any personal reflections."[51] Despite such admonitions, a

dispute which saw one student verbally abuse his opponents resulted in the following

debacle: "At length the doctor, seeing him obstinate, sent in his beadles to pull him down,

upon which the scholars interposed and would not suffer them to come near him. Then

the doctor resolved to pull him down himself; his friends dissuaded him for fear the

scholars should do him mischief."[52] Disputations conducted during Lent were particularly

susceptible to violence and each year at both universities administrators prepared

themselves for the disorders certain to follow, in part because the Lent disputations were

carried out not only between colleges, but between representative student groups from

Oxford and Cambridge as well.[53] Corporate identity led to university infighting based

upon personal and collective conceptions of honour and the interpretation of both as

sources of identity.

Interpersonal violence on the individual level, by contrast, appears to have been

relatively uncommon at both universities. Little evidence exists that duels were

conducted between scholars although complaints pertaining to the wearing of swords on

the part of students were relatively frequent.[54] Only one public fencing display was

recorded during the later sixteenth century through to 1660 at Oxford and this was

conducted on the part of a London-based fence school in the hopes of garnering more

students to attend classes in the 1580s. Happily for administrators, the fence school was

---

[51] Wood, *Life and Times*, i. 175.
[52] Wood, *Life and Times*, i. 175.
[53] Laud, *Works*, v. 191. Wood, *Life and Times*, i. 149-150.
[54] Wood, *Life and Times*, i. 423.

located in London rather than at Oxford itself.[55] The pervasiveness of swords and daggers

and the lack of their use in personal combat is interesting. Clearly the display of a sword

was important to scholars and this may be attributed to the rank which it implied.[56] While

knowledge of the proper use of a sword was highly praised by men such as Elyot and

Castiglione, its use in personal combat was increasingly denigrated as a loss of reason

rather than as the reasonable extension of honour. An anonymous writer in 1616

explained that dueling was the result of a man who "hath thrust out reason, and

possesseth the rule of the soul" to which he added most tellingly that such a crisis "doth

altogether carry away the man, and suffereth him not to be any more a man."[57] Thus,

personal violence was difficult to justify; it was submission to the passions and to vanity

and this held negative connotations for masculinity. Collective violence within the

university setting, on the other hand, was conducted in the aims of furthering something

greater than the self. The point of fighting and brawling, like sport and games, was to test

manhood and thereby assert it via demonstration. Because martial ability was thought

synonymous with the nobly or gently born, the wearing of a sword automatically implied

the ability of the bearer: display was proof enough, making the duel superfluous to such

---

[55] The Masters of Defence of London, *The Noble Science, A Study and Transcription of Sloane Ms. 2530, Papers of the Masters of Defence of London, Temp. Henry VIII to 1590*, ed. Helen Berry (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1991), 5.
[56] Hale, *Renaissance War Studies*, 235-236.
[57] Anonymous, *The Office of Christian Parents: Shewing how Children are to be Gouerned Throughout all ages and Times of Their Life* (1616), 178-192. Lawrence Stone's work on the duel has suggested a general decline of their occurrence and relation in news-letters, private correspondence and official reports in the English peerage throughout the seventeenth century, the sixteenth century numbers being cut in half by the mid seventeenth. Although this is but an examination of reported or public incidences, the trend remains instructive: whether the upper class was fighting less duels during this period, or whether they were simply not making them public suggests a decline in the prestige of such behavior. Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1965), 770.

an end.[58] Thus we must look to the large number of student arms as merely a show of

rank and a last resort in cases of emergency or self-defense rather than as an indicator of

violent behavior. The carrying of weapons does indeed suggest that violence was a part

of early-modern masculinity, the potential for which may have acted as a symbol of

manhood, but the physical act of inflicting violence upon another individual was a sign of

faulty reason, a defective form of manliness. Violence was not endemic at the universities

though the display of violent potential was.

Not all violence was detrimental to a man's honour, only that violence which was

perceived to be needlessly destructive. Violent behavior was acceptable as long as its aim

was to create or to preserve, what René Girard has labeled generative violence.[59] The

nature of this concept is essentially one of paradox. A duel, for example, involved the

destructive process of taking a life though its cause may have been the preservation of

honour. As such, if the violent act was to be justified, what it preserved needed to be

socially accepted as more valuable than that which was destroyed. Violence could be

justifiable.[60] War, for example, allowed for participation in the name of a cause and the

conflict was often couched in terms which promoted the rectitude of participants. In the

Bishops War, for example, the universities validated their support of the king's war by

utilizing terms such as "preserve and defend" (below, page 109).[61] To crush an enemy

was not honourable; to defend a cause or fight for the establishment of peace, however,

most certainly was. To return to interpersonal violence, there was an alternative to the

---

[58] Curtis, *Oxford and Cambridge in Transition*, 72-73.
[59] Michael Lieb, *Milton and the Culture of Violence* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), 14.
[60] Hale, *Renaissance War Studies*, 235.
[61] Robert Sanderson, *Reasons of the Present Judgement of the University of Oxford Concerning the Solemne League and Covenant* (London: 1647), 1.

130

duel, namely violent acts which did not take life or engage in large-scale destruction but which were, rather, either defined or represented as generative and as subscribing to a concept which justified the action. This system was, furthermore, highly regulated by the community. Those who overstepped the boundaries of what was socially acceptable faced retribution or disgrace, either officially through the authorities or unofficially via community disapproval or retributive action.[62]

Violent acts were more apt to be perpetrated between groups rather than singular personages within the university setting. A significant degree of importance was placed upon collective identity over and above individual definitions, at least at this stage in a young man's life.[63] When an Oxford student was caught stealing geese from a local farm and was placed in the stocks in his gown, for example, a collection of forty scholars rescued him after a brief scuffle with authorities. The scholarly troop proceeded to steal yet another goose which they impaled upon a pike and marched defiantly through the town.[64] The actions of the individual were appropriated by the community of which he was a member and his dishonour turned to a symbol of defiance on the part of the whole. By behaving violently in a group, students reduced the potential for expulsion and disciplinary action while, at the same time, they exploded seemingly insignificant events into large-scale declarations of solidarity, thereby validating their actions.[65] In another example from the 1690's, a riot initiated by students of Hart Hall, later Hertford College, in response to the changing of a lecture's time from two o'clock to four o'clock resulted

---

[62] Capp, "English Youth Groups," 216.
[63] Capp, "English Youth Groups," 212.
[64] Wood, *Life and Times*, i. 457.
[65] Capp, "English Youth Groups," 215.

in the perpetration of violence against a completely different college, Exeter, and resulted

in a long standing animosity between the two. The changing of the hour was but a

catalyst for much more serious student discontent.[66] In the civil war, student abuse of

townspeople became an ideological statement extending well beyond the antagonism

which had existed betwixt the two corporations prior to that point.[67] The authority of

university administrators, the animosity of the townspeople towards unruly scholars, and

the challenges afforded by other hierarchies and colleges all served to forge groups into

tightly knit organizations whose behavior was reinforced by the asylum and relative

successes with which they met. Returning to the example of Anthony Ashley Cooper,

when faced with painful initiation ceremonies at Exeter College, Cooper and his

compatriots brawled with older students and severely beat a number of them, a plan

which had been developed earlier between Cooper and his followers. Report of these

events to the Rector of the college resulted in a response which is quite surprising. "Dr.

Prideaux being called out to suppress the mutiny, the old Doctor, always favourable to

youth offending out of courage, wishing with the fears of those we had within [for they

had made hostages of a number of older students in this act], gave us articles of pardon

for what had passed, and an utter abolition in that college of that foolish custom..."[68]

Prideaux's reaction suggests again that violence functioned within a specific code which,

---

[66]Richard Newton, "University Education," (1726) in *Reminiscences of Oxford* by Oxford Men, 1559-1850, ed. Lilian M. Quiller Couch (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1892), 57-58. Student mischief was likewise appropriated within larger issues. A particularly humorous account of a group of students trying to frighten rival fellows by convincing them of the existence of ghosts within the college (enacted by costumed students) ended up fooling not only their marks but the Dean and President of Trinity College. The simple prank soon became an outright mockery of the college administration. Jan Morris, *The Oxford Book of Oxford*, 111-112.

[67] David Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion: Popular Politics in Culture in England, 1603-1660* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1985), 178.

[68] Cooper, "Life of Anthony Ashley Cooper," 38.

as long as it remained within the boundaries established by the authorities within a given community or was deemed justifiable by them, could be ignored if not condoned.[69] Even when the limits of acceptable behavior were contravened, collective behavior was proven time and again to be effective in the face of a superior form of defiance to individual insubordination. If students were initially surprised by these lessons, they were most assuredly not blind to them.

The interplay between reason and physicality requisite for the establishment and display of manhood was perhaps best manifested after dark within the setting of the tavern. Here young men were nightly reintegrated with the female sex, new friendships were formed, older alliances reinforced, their reason tested and their physicality expressed, at times sexually, under the auspices of drink and the absence of authority (figure 4.3). Drinking was particularly important to the development of hierarchies and the maintenance of reputation. To be drunk was to lose one's reason and to debilitate the capacity for physical prowess, to succumb to the passions of the mind and of the body.[70] As such, the act of drinking was an important test and a dangerous game. By drinking immoderately, young men proved two things. First, it suggested their tolerance, fortitude and resilience in the face of willingly accepted risk. Second, it displayed a man's true self when he slipped from the precipice of sobriety: if he was honest and good when drunk it was a true reflection of his civilized self. As Daniel Defoe wrote, "an honest drunken fellow is a character in man to praise."[71] Added to this was the removal of incessant

---

[69] Capp, "English Youth Groups," 218.
[70] Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*, 40-41.
[71] As quoted in Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*, 40.

Figure 4.3
Mother Warner's Alehouse, Oxford, 1720

authority within the tavern environment. The young man in the tavern or alehouse was capable of representing his true self, unimpeded by duty, responsibility, sobriety, or his guardians and masters. Within this setting he could speak his mind, he could utilize the vulgar to do so and he could dress as he pleased. The tavern offered freedom of association, of conscience and assertion.

Though student accounts of drinking matches and throbbing heads the following morning were frequent, such behavior was exceptional in the sense that the consumption of alcohol was common to all men and women during the early modern period as a staple part of the diet.[72] Drinking was acceptable only so long as it was moderate and designated for the sustenance of the body. It was when drinking exceeded the level of utility that it became a point of concern both as a detraction from reason and physical well being, and as a diversion from academic pursuits. The tavern, however, was much more than a place to drink; it was a social setting which had its own distinct code of conduct. 'Pledging', or the drinking of another's health, for example, was an important way by which to solidify and acknowledge friendships or to bring quarrels to an end.[73] The raising of a glass to friend or foe was a symbol of respect or of supplication and if animosities were formed in the disputation hall or the sporting field during the day, it is possible that many of them were resolved at night in this fashion. Similarly, the sharing of drinks or the purchase of them for others could further affirm hierarchies and implore camaraderie. In the case of James Fleming's outrageous charges at the local tavern, it is highly probable that not all

---

[72] Porter, "The Univeristy and Society, " iv. 73. George Macaulay Trevelyan, *England Under the Stuarts* (London: The Folio Society, 1996 (1946)), 58.
[73] Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*, 120.

of the alcohol purchased was necessarily consumed by him alone, but that it was most

likely shared among a selection of his friends.[74] Such gifts, though small, were a symbol

of trust and the maintenance of friendly relations. The tavern was a site of friendship and

a space significant to the creation and representation of corporate identity, most

especially as individual taverns were usually claimed by particular societies as their

personal preserves.[75]

The number of university injunctions against taverns was prodigious just as the

number of taverns existent in the town sites of Oxford and Cambridge were many.

Scholars were good business. Upon enquiry of how many alehouses existed in Oxford in

1639 at that time, for example, the response of the survey was roughly 300 within a city

whose overall population, including academic members, was recorded at 10,000.[76]

Indeed, references to the universities as "places of debauchery, schools to learn to drink

in, which is the poison of education" were common throughout the seventeenth century.[77]

Dr. Prideaux reported of Balloil students in 1675,

> There is over against Baliol College, a dingy, horrid, scandalous
> alehouse, fit for none but draymen and tinkers, and such as by going there
> have made themselfes equally scandalous. Here the Baliol men
> continually ly, and by perpetuall bubbeing add cart to their natural
> stupidity to make themselfes perfect sots. The head, being informed of
> this, called them together, and in a grave speech informed them of
> mischiefs of that hellish liquor cold aile, that it destroyed both body and
> soul, and dvised them by noe means to have anything more to do with it;

---

[74] J. R. Magrath, *The Flemings in Oxford,* ed. J. R. Magrath, 3 vols. (Oxford: Oxford Historical Society, 1904), iii, 169.

[75] Humphrey Prideaux, "Letters to Dr. Ellis," (1675) in *The Oxford Book of Oxford,* ed. Jan Morris (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 104-105.

[76] Laud, *Works,* v. 245. Crossley, "City and University," iv. 106.

[77] Quoted of Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon in Lawrence Stone, "The Size and Composition of the Oxford Student Body, 1580-1909," in *The University and Society,* ed. Lawrence Stone, 2 vols. (London: Princeton University Press, 1975), i. 52.

> but one of them, not willing soe tamely to be preached out of his beloved liquor, made reply that the Vice-Chancelour's men dranke ale at the Split Crow, and why should not they too? The old man, being nonplusd with this rely...[78]

The concept of professors and administrators providing an ideal example, it seems, had here backfired upon the administration. Not only students, but faculty were frequenting the taverns; the importance of patronizing social space was not limited to younger men, but to all men. Vice-Chancellor Frewen admitted shamefacedly that even within the administration there was "I confess, too much good fellowship amongst us."[79] What Frewen referred to as "good fellowship" was exactly the point of the tavern setting, for professors and students alike, indeed, for men as a whole in the early modern period.

Competitive tests of manhood and their periodical violent manifestations were but part of the transitional process of becoming a man. As Anthony Fletcher has pointed out, "For a boy to establish himself as a man meant engaging fully in a youth culture where manhood was learnt by drinking, fighting and sex."[80] That moralists and university administrators so consistently portrayed this culture as a state of degradation, then as now, makes it too easy to view these behaviors as detrimental to the learning process. On the contrary, however, such behaviors were themselves educative in and of their own right and formed a fundamental stage in the development of a young man's identity in the seventeenth century. Brawling, competitive sport and games were not, however, tests of the physical alone but were also exemplars of a young man's reason as well as aids in the creation of his social skills. More than any other test or exhibition, however, it was a

---

[78] Humphrey Prideaux, "Letters to Dr. Ellis," 104-105.

[79] Copied from a letter written by Vice-Chancellor Frewen to Laud and quoted in William Laud, *Works*, v. 261.

[80] Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*, 92.

man's success or failure with women which acted as the basis for his relationship with other men. Only after his conquest of the female could a young man hope to exert authority over other men or even be accepted within their ranks: without supremacy over the 'other' he was no better than a woman himself.[81] Within the tavern setting and the town at large, access to women enabled young men to establish for themselves sexual reputations which would inform their placement within the setting of the all-male collective.

Student relationships with women are difficult to gauge save from the complaints of administrators, parents, and, in serious cases, the state or crown. Dearth of ample source material at the universities, however, affords an opportunity to combine what information is available with examples existent throughout England of young men and women, allowing for a comparison of experiences throughout the country with the situation of collegiate life within the context of youth in early modern England as a whole. Students left few accounts of their sexual encounters and part of the reason for this tendency may reside in the function of talking about sex. Sex, much like drinking, threatened to emasculate men if conducted improperly or without constant resort to the faculties of reason which were so quickly abandoned in such situations.[82] While the breaching ceremony initiated the child to boyhood, it was the act of sex that symbolized his entrance into manhood.[83] The importance of sex lay not necessarily in the act, however, but in the relation of it to others, regardless of whether it was real or not. Like

---

[81] Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*, 89.
[82] Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*, 97. Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*, 29.
[83] Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*, 59.

the wearing of a sword, talking about sex suggested a familiarity with it and, as such, incorporation within a particular definition of masculinity. It is not surprising that relating sexual experiences often led to outright boasting or bragging about particular experiences as a way in which to keep a given audience interested as well as to promote one's image and standing among friends. Once these stories left the precincts of a particular setting, however, the story ceased to be the property of the speaker and, thus, could become a point of embarrassment rather than of pride for both the man and the woman (or women) involved. What this implies is that certain reputations were valuable only within distinct settings, perhaps because boasts, once cross-referenced outside of a given environment, could so easily be turned against the teller if proven to be elaborations or simply untrue.[84] It was important that a man seem to be sexually potent, but it was equally imperative that this declaration went unchallenged as it was so central to the entire definition of the man. By leaving a written relation of sexual experiences, a young man was opening himself to potential defamation should the work fall into the wrong hands: if it was written, it was much more difficult to deny if the issue or the honour of those involved was pressed.

Sex and love, like drinking, were vicious games requiring a degree of skill.[85] If a man failed to satiate a woman, his reputation was sullied and his manliness questioned. In order to be a man, a male had to be capable of exerting complete control over women and failure to cater to female sexual desires implied that she would seek out recompense elsewhere and thus effectively deny the authority and denigrate the abilities of her

---

[84] Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*, 43-44.
[85] The concept of pursuing a woman was, indeed, often compared to the hunt with references to women commonly denoting them as prey or as pursued animals. Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*, 94.

original lover.[86] In a similar sense, if a man was rejected by a woman, his claim to

dominance was likewise removed and his desirability to the opposite sex made uncertain.

The equation was simple: if women wanted and lusted after men and a man was rebuked,

then he must not be fulfilling requisite attributes of a man.[87] To be a cuckold had much

the same implications. In order to command a woman, to possess her, men had to first

cater to her lust and thereby exert control over it. If a man was unable to do so, the assault

upon his honour and his inclusion within the brotherhood of men required immediate

defending. The root of defamation lay in the weighing of two or more individuals' stock

of honour: the individual perceived as the more virtuous, the more honourable and

trustworthy, essentially won the contest and the other was evicted from connection with

those titles. Thus, the greatest possible way for a man to defend himself was to either

prove his own capacity for honour (difficult to do if it was already questioned) or, what

was more likely, denigrate that of his antagonist.

What this implies for an examination of student sexual behavior based upon

official documents and reports written by persons in positions of power is that the

information with which authorities were working may have been inaccurate. A woman's

honour, virtue, and purity were closely connected to her sexual activities:[88] if a woman

was impure she could not be virtuous and if not virtuous how then could she possibly be

honourable. If a man were to call into question the word and honour of a woman,

essentially, her believability in a case of defamation, the easiest and most effective route

---

[86] Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*, 11-12.

[87] Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*, 44-45.

[88] Susan Kingsley Kent, *Gender and Power in Britain, 1640-1990* (London: Routledge, 1999), 11-12. Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*, 6-7.

was via an assault upon her sexual reputation. If a man was made a cuckold, if he was denied or if he had been unable to satisfy her, his condemnation of her as a whore or as a lascivious degenerate served two functions: it denied the worth of her account of events and it reduced the seriousness of his own personal loss in the issue regardless of its outcome.[89] It was broadly accepted in the early modern period that women were more apt to be consumed by their passions, that they were innately controlled by their lust rather than by reason: acceptance of such a claim would have taken but little convincing. Thus, incessant references to whores and women of ill-repute within the towns of Oxford and Cambridge may not actually reflect a serious problem with prostitution and we should be careful not to allow official reports to tincture our understanding of underlying realities. Frequent reports of women of ill repute may imply instead a high rate of dejected or antagonized scholars or perhaps students intent upon upholding the boasts made to friends or attempts on the part of administrators to lay blame upon the women of the town rather than their own scholars. What initially appears to be a large number of complaints pertaining to prostitution or women of ill repute on the part of authorities may very well have been due, in part, to young men and the universities themselves by way of attempting to maintain their sexual reputation and, thus, their status as men or as institutions dedicated to the formation of virtuous manhood.

In 1630, Charles I laid the following injunction upon Cambridge scholars in reference to their frequenting of women within the town. That the letter came from the king suggests the depth of the problem women afforded to the good governance of

---

[89] Robert B. Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society, 1650-1850: The Emergence of Separate Spheres?* (London: Longman, 1998. 72. Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*, 45.

university life in the eyes of administrators, but it also implies a separate issue altogether:

that scholars were not just fraternizing or having sex with women of the town, but that in

some cases they were marrying them:[90]

> Whereas we have been informed that of late many students of that our university, not regarding their own birth, degree and quality, have made divers contracts of marriage with women of mean estate and of no good fame in that town, to the great disparagement, the discontent of their parents and friends and to the dishonour of the government of our university; We will command you [the chancellor, vice-chancellors, and college heads] that at all times hereafter if any taverner, victualler or inn-holder, or any other inhabitant of that town or within the jurisdiction of that university, shall keep any daughter or other woman in his house to whom there shall resort any scholars of that university of what condition soever, to misspend their time or otherwise to misbehave themselves or engage themselves in marriage without the consent of those that have the guardiance and tuition of them, that upon notice thereof you do presently convent the said scholars and the said woman or women thus suspected before you, and upon due examination if that you find cause therefore, that you command the said woman or women (according to the form of your charter against women *de malo suspectas*) to remove out of the said university and four miles of the same.[91]

Sex was a problem only so far as it reduced a man's reason and that, if conducted too

much it could threaten his physical self or distract him from proper study.[92] The greater

fear, that which called down the authority of the king himself, was that it threatened to

pollute scholars who were the future of the state, most especially gentlemen's and

aristocrat's sons; that it would corrupt the blood that pumped in every organ of

government by infusing it with the values and morals of plebian women or prostitutes.

---

[90] Anthony Wood provides one such account of an underground marriage between a student and a woman of the town which he attended. Edmund Gregory, a Bachelor of Arts student, married a fifteen year old girl he had secreted away from her parents just outside of Oxford the night before. The newly weds left Oxford shortly after their wedding to escape pursuit. Wood, *Life and Times*, i. 232-233.

[91] Charles I, "Injunction to the University of Cambridge, 1630," in *Education in Tudor and Stuart England*, (1630) ed. David Cressy (London: Edward Arnold, 1975), 126-127.

[92] Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*, 56.

Those young men contravening this order, who married or were thought to engage in a relationship, were to be thrust from the university community along with their potential for acting as an example to others assuming they did not leave of their own volition. By marrying without parental or guardian consent, young men were proclaiming themselves graduated from their studies, declaring that they were ready for the lives for which they were being trained regardless of whether they were officially recognized as 'ready' by educators or parents.[93] Their married and public life thereafter would be the exemplar of all of the conditioning and instruction carried out by the universities up to and until that point. It was crucial, for the university, for the state, for English society as a whole that scholars be well trained ere they departed; so very much depended upon it. The intrusion of women into the carefully constructed edifice of male education at the universities incessantly threatened the entire process of training the male, even though women were such an integral part of the identity men were intended to form.

The structure of university and collegiate life had already provided foundations for the establishment of separate hierarchical groups, for student disorders and the establishment of the male's physical and social self despite impositions intended to minimize differences between students. Manhood had to be learned, but it also had to be displayed and while some students may have received a beneficial example from their academic betters through the attendance of disputations and lectures, emulation of social behavior and mannerisms was unavoidable beyond those venues. As Anthony Fletcher's research has displayed, not all men were 'men'; status defined who a man was in the

---

[93] Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*, 46.

143

early modern period.[94] The implications of this conclusion are heightened when placed in

the context of a distinctly male and youth-oriented setting. With women only as an

intermittent rather than a constant, male youth had to signify their masculinity and form

their identities in reference to one another and to the social groups which they

established: their existence was first corporate and only secondly was it defined

personally.[95] Despite incessant efforts to obviate differences betwixt students of varying

backgrounds, differences were a fundamental part of explaining one's identity. That

manliness was defined by one's status meant that an individual had to represent that

status to onlookers. Despite the imposition of Latin upon all speech in the universities,

accents would have been difficult to fully dispose of and the vernacular was not

obliterated from the student lexicon, only repressed within certain settings. Furthermore,

class was exhibited and reinforced by the ranking of attendees as Fellow-Commoners,

Batellers, or Servitors, by the quality of robes they wore or by the cut of the clothing

beneath those gowns. Coupled with this, was what students owned above and beyond

their books. When Laud complained of horses, boots, spurs, weapons, hawks and

attendants, he was criticizing but one of many groups. Rank and difference were

endemic, explicated by the way in which students spoke, the tutor they studied under, the

college they attended, and the moment they discarded their robes.

The curriculum was common, many experiences were common, many of the

student's purposes were common, but beyond this, difference reigned tyrannical. To

return to Fletcher's argument, it is important to point out that it was the upper echelons of

---

[94] Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*, 89.
[95] Ruff, *Violence in Early Modern Europe*, 161.

university society who were the ideal, the points of light upon which their peers and

subordinates collected greedily. Gender and status were inseparable in the early modern

period; manliness was defined by those in positions of authority and influence and the

only way to attain a similar position on the part of lower class students was to adopt the

behavior, or 'misbehavior', and example of masculinity which their betters provided.[96]

The fundamental point of attending university was to increase one's position or to at least

attain credential sufficient to maintain it: emulation had to look forever upwards,

regardless of what that example might mean in terms of virtue, behavior or diligence. If a

man was to advance within society, he had to adopt the definition of gender espoused by

the rank to which he aspired. Behind complaints of aristocrats behaving poorly or

immorally, pursuing their studies in a lackadaisical fashion or attending only for a couple

of years before leaving with only a partial education, there existed a fear that these

attributes would translate to students of lower social standing. Such fears were not

necessarily unwarranted. Within a system which played heavily upon corporate identity,

which promoted emulation as the greatest educative tool, and which acted as a site for the

formation of future connections and friendships which would aid students in later life, the

potential for students to seek acceptance through the adoption of the behaviors of their

betters was most assuredly a likelihood. Indeed, increasingly throughout the seventeenth

century and with the initiation of the eighteenth, the problem of student 'misbehavior'

along the lines discussed seem to have increased both in their severity and quantity.

---

[96] Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*, 325.

We must not be too hasty, however, to look upon the elaboration of differences, in spite of university administrative attempts to prevent such an occurrence, as wholly negative. That rank was recognized, displayed and emulated was not wholly divisive nor was the pursuit of physical and social culture and 'disorder' as a way in which to test and reflect manhood apt to segregate. Rather, they were part of a process of convergence. If a scholar studied in the morning, visited his tutor and disputed, in the afternoon played at tennis or engaged in a hunt, in the evening should he escape the stifling confines of the college, fight, drink with friends, and fraternize with women, he was engaging in a synthesis of the faculties of reason and the physical and social self: he was becoming educated in more senses than merely the academic. There was, furthermore, a uniformity to this process: the formation of friendships and hierarchies, drinking and gossiping at the local tavern, competition and violence all had highly regimented codes which shaped conduct by the authority of practice, peer pressure and tradition rather than the proctor or chancellor. Such behavior was engaged in not only by students, but by their parents, by the college heads, by the king himself. To a certain extent, the curricular and extra curricular were in conflict primarily due to the fear that they would detract from one another but such fears were not necessarily accurate reflections of reality. The two could coexist, they did coexist: the scholars of Oxford and Cambridge were being educated, not wholly as clerks nor as courtiers in the medieval and chivalric sense, but as the mating of the two, as men after the Renaissance model.

Chapter V

"The Observ'd of All Observers, —Quite, Quite Down!"[1]:
The Stuart University Man, His Influence, and His Life Cut Short

୫୦ଓଃ

The man created in the universities was intended for a position of power and

influence. His masculinity was evinced by his followers or through the patron to whom

he subscribed, it was proven by the constant tests it underwent across the chess board, in

the tennis court, or on the hunt, and it was at any moment capable of being defended by

the fist or sword, symbols of that potential. These were the foundations of the university

man's claim to power, the signifiers of his ability to lead and to follow loyally coupled

with his willingness to defend, when called upon, the order under which he thrived. In

the early 1640's that call was sounded by the exigencies of war; indeed, the loyalty,

reason, and physicality of the student population at both Oxford and Cambridge

universities was summoned to give proof of the training they had received. The war

elicited large-scale support from scholars and professors alike for Charles I and the

vivacity and immediacy of their response was a testament to the success of the structure

of university education prior to that point in establishing servants dedicated to the king

and the traditional order of English politics. Support of the royalist cause, however,

proved the undoing of Oxford and Cambridge. The moment Charles' head parted ways

with his body, the structure of the Stuart universities collapsed and the embittered eyes of

---

[1] William Shakespeare, "Hamlet," in *The Complete Works of William Shakespeare* (New York: Avenel Books, 1975), III. i. 1089.

147

the new order were fixated upon the colleges with a crippling intensity; retribution was swift, its effects lasting.

The English Civil War is both blessing and curse to the study of the English universities in the seventeenth century. By way of blessing, it provides analysts with a test whereby the question of whether or not the system of university education established during this period functioned as it was intended. In a secondary sense, it further highlights the significance of university men in English society during this period. With the declaration of war came a mad scramble on both sides to secure the nation's seats of learning. When the king was defeated, the effort exerted under Oliver Cromwell to control the universities in such a way that would promote the new order rather than the old, elucidates further how important they had become to the maintenance of the state and how influential the man produced there could potentially be to the nation at large. By way of curse, however, the Civil War cut short the development of the universities along the lines thus far discussed, effectively bringing to a halt the maturational process conceived in the days of Renaissance and Reformation and codified by Laud: the rigors of the experiment, though it proved successful, effectively destroyed the subject put to the test and removed the potential for its reconstruction or repetition. The uncertainty and upheaval which followed between Republic, Protectorate, Restored monarchy, the rise of scientific enquiry, the Glorious Revolution, and the birth of the Enlightenment, the rapid arrival of one upon the heels of its predecessor, made for an environment too quickly changing to allow for the complete resurrection of the university system which had taken so long to create. In the struggle to regain what had been lost with the death of Charles I,

the universities of Oxford and Cambridge failed to keep pace with the altered state of

England's government and intellectual firmament. When recovery falteringly began in

the eighteenth century, the complexion of the universities and the education they offered

was wholly different from that of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. But as

instructive as what changed throughout this period are those things which remained the

same: the continuities. The Laudian Code persisted as the primary set of governing

statutes for the universities unaltered until 1854.[2] Similarly, the collegiate system, the

rhetoric of loyalty to the state, and the addition of 'clerkly' training as a prerequisite for

the maintenance or pursuit of authority endured the tumultuous later half of the

seventeenth century. While the universities were irrevocably altered by the events of the

English Revolution, they had laid a foundation for later developments.

In reflecting upon the ravages and resultant uncertainties caused by the Civil War,

Thomas Hobbes laid much of the blame for insurrection against the king upon the

universities for their promotion of what he believed to be seditious doctrine. In his 1668

work *Behemoth, or the Long Parliament* he wrote:

> There were an exceeding great number of men of the better sort, that had
> been so educated, as that in their youth having read the books written by
> famous men of the ancient Grecian and Roman commonwealths
> concerning their polity and great actions; in which books the popular
> government was extolled by the glorious name of liberty, and monarchy
> disgraced by the name of tyranny; they became thereby in love with their
> forms of government. And out of these men were chosen the greatest part
> of the House of Commons, or if they were not the greatest part, yet, by
> advantage of their eloquence, were always able to sway the rest.[3]

---

[2] Arthur Engel, "Emerging Concepts of the Academic Profession at Oxford, 1800-1854," in *The University in Society*, ed. Lawrence Stone, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), i. 305.

[3] Thomas Hobbes, *Behemoth or the Long Parliament*, (1688) ed. Ferdinand Tönnies (London: Frank Cass and Company, 1969), 3.

The universities, according to Hobbes, had incited rebellion much more than the

conformity and uniformity that they had been intended to induce. They were, in his

words, "to this nation, as the wooden horse was to the Trojans."[4] His assumption was not

without merit. Charles I's dissenting parliament had been composed primarily of

university educated men including many of the most vocal members of the King's

opposition both within and without the House of Commons: John Pym (Broadgate Hall,

later Pembroke College, Oxford 1599), John Hampden (Magdalen College, Oxford,1610),

Sir Edward Coke (Trinity College, Cambridge), John Eliot (Exeter College, Oxford,

1607), Nathaniel Fiennes (New College, Oxford, 1624), William Prynne (Oriel College,

Oxford, 1616), and William Strode, (Exeter College, Oxford, 1617). In total, over half of

the Long Parliament, 280 of the total 552 members, had attended university in some

capacity.[5] As Hobbes suggested, on the surface it certainly appeared as though something

had gone terribly wrong within the colleges and halls that the majority of revolting

Parliamentary leaders were so largely composed of their graduates, by those men

presumed to be most loyal by that training. The system, it appears, had failed.

Much has been made of Hobbes' thesis. In the first, it affords an interesting

paradox: if the universities were educating men in a rhetoric of conformity and if such

education was becoming a prerequisite for patronage, power, and position, why then do

they appear as a connective tissue among vociferous dissenters? Mark H. Curtis,

examining the issue from another angle, has suggested that, indeed, the universities had

---

[4] Hobbes, *Behemoth*, 40.
[5] Mark H. Curtis, *Oxford and Cambridge in Transition, 1558-1642: An Essay on Changing Relations Between the English Universities and English Society* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1959), n. 269.

acted as a ladder for the lower classes, the gentry, and as a venue to maintain position on the part of the nobility, but such a system was only tenable so long as their were positions enough to be filled. English bureaucracy, although burgeoning throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was simply not sufficient enough to provide as many offices as scholars were seeking after university attendance, resulting in a small group of 'alienated intellectuals', embittered with the current order as no place within it could be afforded to them. Most especially, according to Curtis, this trend took place in the church. Without an official position within the system, these men formed their own dissenting congregations, preached in the streets, or in private homes and the doctrine which they espoused was far from congenial to the Stuart monarchy or the established church which had excluded their personal services.[6] It was the formation of a surplus of educated men, not a deficit, which formed the corpus of dissent and this further contributed to their effectiveness, creating opponents to the crown who were erudite, organized, and politically conscious.

Curtis's work is particularly interesting when considering the ramifications it suggests for the type of manhood constructed within the university sphere. Service to the state rather than upon the battlefield had become the lynchpin of honour for early modern men: it was the symbol of their authority and success, the basis for communal prestige.[7] Denial of this, in spite of training for such a position, would have been a serious affront to the honour of newly graduated student and most assuredly a source of disenchantment or at least a heightened propensity to find fault with the current order, regardless of

[6] Mark H. Curtis, "The Alienated Intellectuals of Early Stuart England," *Past and Present*, no. 23 (November, 1962).
[7] Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England, 1500-1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 95.

whether one sought position in the ecclesiastical or the secular administration. One complainant stated, "Oft Time the man of lower degree, yea sometimes the non-graduate, is preferred even before the bachelor of divinity."[8] Failure to attain recompense for the exertions of university life was not merely financially debilitating, it was an assault upon the honour and abilities of the man, a blatant disregard for his worth.

Such an explanation, however, accounts only for the potentiality of educated men without position throughout the country to voice their displeasure with the current order, a current order which included parliament as much as it did the king. It fails to fully explicate why so many men in parliament, men whose education had indeed resulted in a degree of authority and community recognition, chose to arm themselves in the cause of reform. It was not necessarily the fact that the universities had instructed defiance to authority, but rather that they had provided effective tools with which to challenge that authority: university education had not caused dissent, merely made it more effective. John Hampden's refusal to pay ship money was parallel to similar complaints on the part of a large number of justices of the peace, lord lieutenants and deputy lieutenants who also declined to pay, many of whom were university educated and who had gained their positions via the crown's patronage.[9] Speech was indeed the gateway to assertiveness: by providing that ability the universities indirectly funded the claims of parliament and dissent from the king with a form of effective rhetoric in which to frame complaints or

---

[8] As quoted in Curtis, "Alienated Intellectuals,", 37.
[9] Robert Ashton, *The English Civil War, Conservatism and Revolution, 1603-1649* (London: Phoenix, 1978), 49, 63-64.

opposition rather than an ideological platform. The reasons for dissent were their own,

learned by their experience of life after their college days, not necessarily during them.

The chronology of mid-century events serves to confuse an exploration of the

relative success or defects of the Stuart universities. While many of the members of

parliament who opposed Charles I were indeed university graduates, their age may be a

partial indicator of why they were so.[10] Most graduated in the last decade of the sixteenth

or the first decades of the seventeenth century, prior to the imposition of rigid controls

over students at both Oxford and Cambridge. Along with the Laudian Code came severe

persecution of non-conformists within the halls, a rooting out of doctrine separate from

the established church and the now regimented curriculum, regardless of the flex offered

within it.[11] The majority of Parliamentary leaders were, thus, educated before the

university system had progressed to a point of maturity. Upon comparison with the

reactions of scholars educated during the 1630's and 1640's, the actions of earlier

generations of graduates appear incongruent. It was not that the system of conformity and

uniformity had failed, merely that it had been only in its infancy when those men who

would later act as the vocal element of dissent passed through it coupled with the

experiences or disappointments which they encountered between university and the

arrival of hostilities between crown and Commons.

With the declaration of war on August 13, 1642 the reaction of scholars and

administrators in both universities was immediate. Even prior to that date, large sums of

---

[10] Hugh Kearney, *Scholars and Gentlemen: Universities and Society in Pre-Industrial Britain, 1500-1700* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970), 170.
[11] V. H. H. Green, *The Universities* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1969), 36.

plate and money had been forwarded to the king's cause with funds continuing to be

supplied for the war's duration.[12] Charles had appealed to the universities in July in terms

which played heavily upon the reciprocal relationship of patronage and ideological

support betwixt Crown, court and university: "by our perpetual care and protection of

such nurseries of learning…we have especiall reason to expect their particular care of us,

and their extraordinary assitance to our defence and preservation…"[13] He was not

without ample reason to assume such an assumption of support would prove successful.

In 1636 he had received scholarly commendation for his religious impositions upon

Scotland and the resultant military campaign they had elicited. At that time, the

universities' response had been particularly explicit in suggesting the duty they felt to

"Preserve and defend the Kings Majesties person and authority….that the world may bear

witnesse with our consciences of our Loyalty, and that we have no thoughts or intentions

to diminish His Majesties just power and greatnesse."[14] A precedent had been set and its

remembrance on the part of the king was amply rewarded in 1642 when again he came

calling for assistance.

---

[12] The rise in fees for residence and tuition as well as growth in attendance numbers, coupled with an increasingly aristocratic and gentlemanly population had made Oxford and Cambridge extremely wealthy. In 1642, Oxford made an initial loan to the royalist war effort of £ 6,893 (which, when coupled with personal donations came to a total of £10,667) followed by a donation of plate in 1643 weighing 2,270 pounds. Cambridge, despite Cromwell's capture of a number of their intended loans, managed to secret £5,000 to the king while he was at York. John Twigg, "College Finances, 1640-1660," in *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. Nicholas Tyacke, 6 vols. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1997), iv 776-778. Ian Roy and Dietrich Reinhart, "Oxford and the Civil Wars," in *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. Nicholas Tyacke, 6 vols. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1997), iv. 694-696.

[13] As quoted in James Bass Mullinger, *The University of Cambridge*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911), iii. 229.

[14] Robert Sanderson, *Reasons of the Present Judgement of the University of Oxford Concerning the Solemne League and Covenant* (London: 1647), 1.

From Cambridge, Vice-Chancellor Richard Holdsworth stated in 1642 that "it [was] unfitting that they [the universities] should have superfluities to spare, whilst their sovereign wanted necessaries to spend" for the king was "the founders paramount of all houses."[15] The universities were well aware that they owed a duty to the king for the benefits they had accrued by the crown. Holdsworth's declaration came with a price, however, and many of the doctors, including the vice-chancellor himself, were imprisoned upon the occupation of Cambridge by parliamentary forces. When the heads were asked to donate to the parliamentary cause within the passing of a month, by contrast, they responded by stating that "such contributing was against true religion and good conscience."[16] Support of the monarchy was what was reasonable, acceptable, indeed, expected; it conformed to the faculties of reason and of moral duty, all of which the claims of parliament were contrary to from the perspective of the universities.

Contributions extended beyond a merely financial capacity, though at Cambridge they were relatively short-lived as Oliver Cromwell was quick to secure the university town and establish it as the headquarters for the Eastern Association. Prior to this, Cambrian academics had armed themselves for the king's cause, purchasing fifteen chests of arms which were shipped from London. Cromwell captured ten of these chests in transit while conducting maneuvers outside of the university town; the other five, however, were artfully hidden by the quick thinking of students of Trinity College.[17] The president of Clare College, Barnabas Oley, led royalist troops composed of scholars on a

---

[15] Thomas Fuller, *The History of the University of Cambridge, From the Conquest to the Year 1634*, (1655) ed. Marmaduke Prickett and Thomas Wright (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1840), 318.

[16] Fuller, *The History of the University of Cambridge*, 319.

[17] Mullinger, *The University of Cambridge*, iii.235-237.

series of expeditions within the local area and achieved some small fame for performing

well in a number of engagements.[18] By September 1642, however, Cromwell had

succeeded in seizing the town and initiated a program of disarming its scholars and

imprisoning the majority of the college heads. The university setting changed as rapidly

in Cambridge as it would in Oxford, though along very different lines. St. John's College

was converted into a prison, colleges were ransacked for plate, libraries were confiscated

and as of 1645, after large-scale ejections of scholars and professors along with the

escape of royalist faculty and students following Cromwell's arrival, the colleges were

noted to be virtually empty.[19] Cambridge's active support was brief, but within the

university town, resistance was maintained until the Restoration and Cromwell was

consistently forced to keep troops garrisoned there in order to retain control over the

royalist university.[20]

The situation in Oxford, although along similar lines to that at Cambridge, was

further enhanced by the King's presence and the maintenance of the university by

Royalist troops for much of the war. In the scramble to gain control of the universities,

Oxford was almost immediately claimed by, and had declared for, the crown despite a

brief initial investiture by a small troop of Parliamentary soldiers ere the king arrived and

---

[18] Mullinger, *The University of Cambridge*, iii. 234-236.

[19] Fuller, *The History of the University of Cambridge*, 325. Thomas Fuller suggests that Queen's College in particular was completely emptied of all of its scholars and faculty to be replaced after the war by men who were "short of the former in learning and abilities, went beyond them in good affections to the parliament." Fuller, *The History of the University of Cambridge*, 322. Many of the scholars and professors who fled joined the king in Oxford. Roy and Reinhart, "Oxford and the Civil Wars," 705.

[20] In 1647, for example, a large riot broke out involving large groups of students attacking soldiers in the streets. Mullinger, *The University of Cambridge*, iii. 353. Albert Mansbridge, *The Older Universities of England: Oxford and Cambridge* (London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1923), 69. James Bass Mullinger provides a comprehensive account of the actions and reactions of Cambrian scholars to the imposition of parliamentary rule upon the town. Mullinger, *The University of Cambridge*, iii. 203-340.

made it his capital. Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, and later the chancellor of Oxford

after 1660, stated that Oxford was "the only city of England that he [the king] could say

was entirely at his devotion."[21] In addition to supplies of money, the university press was

utilized to establish a royalist pamphlet campaign and students formed a number of

regiments for the king's use throughout the conflict.[22] As Brian Twyne reported of Civil

War Oxford:

> The schollers were promiscuously bothe Graduates & Undergraduates; a
> great many of them Masters of Art, yea devines also, and Dr. Read of
> Newe Coll., a Dr. of Lawe, served with a pike...[It was a] no lesse
> delightsome prospect to behold the forwardnesse of so many proper
> yonge gentlemen, so intent docile &pliable to their businesse, as were
> then present, and which I heard now & then their leaders confesse &
> acknowledge in the field, as occasion served.[23]

Only after a third siege and under orders of the captured king in 1646 did the Oxford

scholars lay down their arms. Upon capitulation, over two-thousand troops, among them

a large number of students and professors who had received passes from Sir Thomas

Fairfax for their safe departure, left Oxford to continue the king's cause elsewhere or to

flee to the continent.[24]

---

[21] Such a claim was slightly hyperbolic. The civic administration had predominantly, from the beginning of
the war, sided with parliament in its struggle. The split in proclivities between town and gown was a
parallel experience at Cambridge as well. Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion*, ed.
W. Dunn Macray, VI vols. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1888),vi. 375. Mullinger, iii. 235.

[22] For the experience of Oxford University during the English Civil Wars, the motivation for scholarly
support to the royalist cause, and reasons for the selection of Oxford by the king as his capital, see Gregory
W. Stone, "Scholarly Soldiers: Student and Professorial Reactions and Contributions to the Royalist War
Effort in Oxford, 1642-1646" (Calgary: Honours Thesis, the University of Calgary, 2003). Frederick John
Varley, *The Siege of Oxford: An Accoung of Oxford During the Civil War, 1642-1646* (Oxford: Oxford
University Press, 1932). Roy and Reinhart, "Oxford and the Civil Wars,", iv. 687-732.

[23] As quoted in Anthony Wood, *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, Antiquary, of Oxford, 1632-1695,
Described by Himself,* (1712) ed. Andrew Clark, II vols. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1891), i. 56.

[24] From the diary of Sir Thomas Fairfax, quoted in Eliot Warburton, *Memoirs of Prince Rupert and the
Cavaliers, Including their Private Correspondence* 3 vols. (London: Richard Bentley, 1849), iii. 229-231.

Individual student motivation for their allegiance to the king throughout the war was multifaceted and due to a dearth of accounts it is an unknown. A number of factors, however, may have played a part in deciding the virtually unanimous support of Charles I on their behalf. The king's initial request for funds and the subsequent calls to arms were couched in a language which highlighted the reciprocal relationship which had developed between the universities and the crown: it was the duty of the scholars and the administration to support the monarchy as it was the king who was their primary benefactor, either corporately or personally.[25] By supporting the king, students were likewise increasing their chances of attaining a position at court or in the state when the war was concluded. When the war began, it had not been remotely conceived by either side that the king would be executed by the conflict's end: the assumption that the king would still be king at the cessation of hostilities may have promoted students to side with that authority which seemed more likely to reward their efforts. Anthony Ashley Cooper articulated his sense of duty in such terms, noting that rather than study for his degree, his service to the crown in its struggle against parliament would be work enough to have it awarded to him when the war was done:

> Instead of Logicke, Physicke, School-converse,
> I did attend the armed troops of Mars,
> Instead of Books I Sword, Horse, Pistols bought,
> And on the Field for Degrees then fought.[26]

---

[25] J. H. Hexter, "The Education of the Aristocracy in the Renaissance," in *Reappraisals in History: New Views on History and Society in Early Modern Europe*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), 67.

[26] As quoted in Charles Edward Mallet, *A History of The University of Oxford*, III vols. (London: Methuen and Company, 1924), ii. 354. The utility of support would likely have been duly noted, as it was by Cooper, by many Oxonian scholars. By 1645 Charles had awarded roughly 140 MAs in return for loyal

Duty, however, was not merely mechanical reciprocation for services rendered or benefits received: the word itself implied a key element of a man's worth. Sir Richard Lovelace who had received patronage from one of the queen's ladies and been granted him an MA at a particularly young age, was an ardent supporter of the king during the war years.[27] Even while imprisoned in London for his monarchical fidelity he continued to supply money to fund personal regiments in support of the king at great risk and cost to his own person. But it was not a sense of obligation alone which was at work upon scholars when the war began. At its core, the decision to defend king or Commons was interpreted as being deeply ingrained within many men's sense of honour. Lovelace wrote:

> Tell me not (sweet) I am unkind,
> That from the nunnery
> Of thy chaste breast, and quiet mind
> To war and arms I fly.
>
> True; a new mistress now I chase,
> The first foe in the field;
> And with a stronger faith embrace
> A sword, a horse, a shield.
>
> Yet this inconstancy is such,
> As you too shall adore;
> I could not love thee (dear) so much,
> Lov'd I not honour more.[28]

---

service. Jerome De Groot, "Space, Patronage, Procedure: The Court at Oxford, 1642-1646," *Past and Present*, no. 474 (November, 2002), 1213.

[27] Anthony Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, (1691/92) ed. Philip Bliss (London: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung Hildesheim, 1871), iii. 460-462.

[28] Richard Lovelace, "To Lucasta, Going to the Wars," (1649) in *The Poems of Richard Lovelace*, ed. C. H. Wilkinson (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1953), 18-19.

Lovelace's espousal of honour as the foundation for all other action, in this case love, and

its reflection in martial service was a belief central to the early modern man. As Anthony

Fletcher has suggested, honour and manliness were essentially the same thing: a loss of

honour was the effective removal of a male from a given society (if not *the* society) of

men.[29] Thus duty, as the pursuit or maintenance of honour, was an effective tool by

which to inspire men, in particular young men eager to prove themselves to their

compatriots and superiors, to join one cause or another and the university system had

made available a collection of young men officially steeped in a twofold rhetoric of

loyalty to the king and unofficially inculcated with an acute awareness of the importance

of reputation. Whether in the college halls or in the streets and taverns, students had been

pressed to behave in a particular way: to make clear their personal stock of honour by

their actions and their associations. The call to duty caused by the exigencies of war

provided yet another outlet for such display in the service of a justifiable cause: sport,

contest, and martial spirit instructed the means and mode of support, curriculum and

patronage reinforced upon what side that support should logically be placed.

The pursuit of military service when the option availed itself in the late 1630's

and following 1642 was one avidly engaged by university students. Here now was the

venue through which students could exhibit all that they had learned, all that they had

been promoted to display upon a regular basis both within the colleges and without. The

surprising unanimity of university scholars was duly noted by parliamentary satirists who

played upon the strong base of support which the king found in the student population

---

[29] Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*, 322. Norbert Elias, *The Court Society* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983), 95.

(Figure 5.1). As Henry Slingsby reported of his years spent in military service, it was a supplement to education, "I like it as a commendable way of breeding for a young gentleman…for as idleness is the nurse of all evil, enfeebling the parts both of mind and body, this employment of a soldier's is contrary unto it: for it greatly improves them, by enabling his body to labour, his mind to watchfulness and so, by a contempt of all things but the employment he is in, he shall not much care how hard he lyeth nor how meanly he faireth."[30] The complexion of the universities changed drastically with the imposition of war and even administrators were apt to praise the collusion of academics and military service for the king. John Fell, Dean of Christ Church, wrote of Oxford that it "never was, nor like to be a more learned university…nor did ever letters and arms so well consist together, it being an accomplisht academy of both."[31] It had been the professors who had formed and led university regiments at both Oxford and Cambridge: the physicality, the sport, the hunt and violence, spurs, boots, and arms so virulently spoken out against by administrators, tutors and professors were now harnessed in the cause of dignified loyalty to the king.[32] War had made the extra-curricular training so often condemned previously acceptable and with the new found utility of student 'misbehavior' was employed and promoted as an effusion of proper masculine spirit and a due expression of fidelity.[33]

---

[30] As quoted in Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*, 130.

[31] As quoted in Roy and Reinhart, "Oxford and the Civil Wars," iv. 705.

[32] Anthony Wood, *Life and Times*, i. 52-58. Roy and Reinhart, "Oxford and the Civil Wars," iv. 696. John Cordy Jeaffreson, *Annals of Oxford*, 2 vols. (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1871), ii. 45. Mullinger, *The University of Cambridge*, iii. 234-236.

[33] Barbara Donagan, "Codes and Conduct in the English Civil War," *Past and Present*, no. 118 (February, 1988), 79.

Figure 5.1
The King's Army, A Parliamentary Satire

John Adair, *By the Sword Divided: Eyewitness Accounts of the English Civil War* (Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 1983), 13.

The formation of separate student hierarchies within the universities along with the focus upon leading and following by example espoused by educational theorists and administrators may also have furthered rather than detracted from the potential for unanimous support of the king. With so high a proportion of sons of noblemen and members of the upper gentry attending, coupled with their tendency to act as patrons to students less socially or economically fortunate than themselves, a chain reaction may have been initiated within the colleges which employed peer pressure as a determinant for ideological proclivities when the war broke out. If the heads of house, tutors or professors declared for the king, the exhortations to students to follow their governors in academic, moral, and behavioral examples could potentially have translated into ideological emulation as well. Similarly, if a patron or leader of one particular hierarchy or group of friends advocated the royalist cause, his subordinates were likely to continue their relationship with him by doing the same lest they be ejected from the collective identity they had thus far cultivated. Peer pressure was a weighty factor within the closed setting of the university community and the safeguards that served to restrict dissent in an academic and social sense could very easily have functioned as molds for monarchical support. The outbreak of war did little to shake this system but, rather, potentially amplified it.

The system of university education had succeeded in proving its loyalty and utility to the state, most especially to the crown. By the safeguards put in place via patrons and benefactors and under the watchful eye of the chancellors, the universities had offered a curriculum determined to inculcate scholars with duty and diligence,

loyalty and a firm belief in the authority of the king and the proper worship of god. As

Thomas Hobbes passionately declared, the universities should be such that

> The politics there taught be made to be (as true politics should be) such
> as are fit to make men know, that it is their duty to obey all laws
> whatsoever that shall by the authority of the King be enacted, till by the
> same authority they shall be repealed; such as are fit to make men
> understand, that the civil laws are God's laws, as they that make them are
> by God appointed to make them; and to make men know that the people
> and the Church are one thing, and have but one head, the King; and that
> no man has title to govern under him, that has it not from him; that the
> King owes his crown to God only, and to no man, ecclesiastic or other;
> and that the religion they teach there, be a quiet waiting for the coming
> again of our blessed Saviour, and in the mean time a resolution to obey
> the King's laws (which also are God's laws); to injure no man, to be in
> charity with all men, to cherish the poor and sick, and to live soberly and
> free from scandal; without mingling our religion with points of natural
> philosophy, as freedom of will, incorporeal substance, everlasting nows,
> ubiquities, hypostases, which the people understand not, nor will ever
> care for. When the Universities shall be thus disciplined, there will come
> out of them, from time to time, well-principled preachers, and they that
> are now ill-principled, from time to time fall away.[34]

The Civil War provided proof that such a system had, indeed, been established. Students

had been taught how to think, how to utilize their reason to arrive at logical conclusions

and by so doing, the universities had shaped what those conclusions could potentially be:

the rule of the king, the Protestant faith and duty to the state above all were symbols of

virtue, of morality, of manliness.[35] Along with this, however, that which the universities

could not instruct, though they inculcated it regardless, the extra-curricular, reinforced the

social order and forged relationships which would link graduates tightly within a web of

power and mutual benefit, all with the same ideals, motives, and under the auspices of a

---

[34] Hobbes, *Behemoth*, 58.
[35] Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*, 127.

common code of conduct.[36] What had been initiated, in theory, was a perpetual cycle of prosperity, diligence, and loyalty extending from, and provided to, the crown. Educated manhood, physically and mentally, would rule peacefully and without obstruction. The ethos would spread: men and women would be ruled by men who had been expressly trained to do exactly that. The uneducated, always observing their betters, always looking up, would obey and emulate what had been learned by those who had spent their youth betwixt the quads and in them. By instructing men and manliness in an elite population, the universities were providing examples and leaders, forged within a controlled and regimented environment, to the rest of England. That, at any rate, was the ideal course of events but in January 1649, the system so dependant upon the crown for the continuance of this mandate collapsed with the death of the king. The ideal had succeeded only to be cut down at its apex.

That Oxford and Cambridge universities acted as centers for both the royalist and parliamentary cause respectively, although in the case of Cambridge, not necessarily willingly, highlights the importance of the man produced there as does the control exerted by parliament to conform the universities to the new order. The man who issued forth from his university years was erudite, versed in the skills of rhetoric and grounded in a language, or languages, known only by a minority of Englishmen. He was equipped with a degree of reason thought to exceed that of most men as it was trained in a particular way and manifested in an exclusive fashion. Be he rich or poor, a gentleman or plebian scholar, his attendance at university and his successful completion of such a term

---

[36] Stephen Porter, "University and Society," in *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. Nicholas Tyacke, 6 vols. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1997), iv. 26.

placed a seal upon his character and his attributes. For the non-gentleman, university

training increased his claim to a higher echelon of status within his original community.[37]

Had he not conformed, had he noticeably dissented or lacked assiduousness in his

studies, he would not have received a degree or would have been dishonorably removed

from the society, nor could he hope for beneficial dispensation of position or office from

the state or church. For noble and gentle students, the attainment of a degree was at times

superfluous: their quality, their claim to power was already present. University life was

but a way in which to shape that claim that it could be better justified and more

judiciously asserted over others but, regardless, potential patronage from the court

justified his conformity within the established system all the same. Be he low or high, the

universities produced men for but a single purpose: to govern, lead, defend, coerce or

convince others and upon their leaving the university, that is precisely what many of

these men attempted to do.[38] From across the nation had they come to Oxford or to

Cambridge, there had they been shaped and molded, and upon their departure were

scattered again as seeds to the wind, taking with them books, connections to one another,

knowledge, and most importantly, authority.[39]

Once graduated, students usually returned to their places of origin or moved to

wherever positions were available.[40] A large number of gentlemen students returned to

---

[37] Porter, "University and Society,", 27-28.

[38] Curtis, "The Alienated Intellectuals,", 261-262.

[39] Victor Morgan, "Cambridge University and "The Country", 1560-1640," in *The University in Society*, ed. Lawrence Stone, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), i. 230-231.

[40] As Stephen Porter's research has pointed out, roughly half of the number of students awarded a degree practiced in religious or secular administration in their county of origin or at some point in their lives. A further ten percent found placement in the upper echelons of the church. Still more worked as

their parents' estates and thereby inherited them, governing their household and

neighborhoods with the rudiments taught to them at university and, as an examination of

the early seventeenth century displays, many of these went on to represent their localities

in Parliament.[41] Others fulfilled positions in the church as vicars and rectors, preachers

and bishops. Despite the increasingly secular training offered at Oxford and Cambridge,

the seventeenth century saw the highest number of Bachelors of Divinity degrees granted

in their entire history.[42] Many more were writers of prose and poetry, from official

statutes passed between dignitaries to the bawdy ballads sung in the tavern.[43] We have

seen already the astronomical infiltration of university-trained men into the ranks of

justices of the peace (Appendix II). From the pulpit or the bench, as judge, lawyer or

officer, these men were shaping the communities in which they lived, providing examples

warranted by their authority and the prestige such position provided them within the

locality.[44] With such influence wielded by young men issuing forth from the colleges, the

---

schoolmasters and private tutors in the country or at the universities upon receipt of a degree. Porter, "University and Society," iv. 37-98.

[41] Curtis, *Oxford and Cambridge in Transition,* 62. Hexter, "The Education of the Aristocracy in the Renaissance," 56. This process had already been initiated by the late sixteenth century and gained momentum in the initial years of the Stuart monarchy. J. E. Neale, *The Elizabethan House of Commons* (New Haven: 1950), 302-308.

[42] Lawrence Stone, "The Size and Composition of the Oxford Student Body, 1580-1910," in *The University in Society,* ed. Lawrence Stone, 2 vols. (London: Princeton University Press, 1975), i. 22.

[43] Victor Morgan has suggested that of 200 poets alive between 1525 and 1625, over seventy-six percent were educated at Oxford or Cambridge. Morgan, "Cambridge University and "The Country",", i. 235. Elizabeth A. Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England: Honour, Sex and Marriage* (Harlow: Addison Wesley Longman, 1999), 13-22. David Cressy, *Literacy and Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 73, 191-201.

[44] Kearney, *Scholars and Gentlemen,* 26-27. As Mark H. Curtis has pointed out, many of the most influential men in the political and social history of seventeenth century England had attended university, among them Sir Nicholas Bacon, Sir Thomas Smith, Burghley, Walsingham, Sir Edwin Sandys, Eliot, Hampden, Pym, The Earl of Strafford, Coke, Whitelocke, Sir Robert Heath, Oliver St. John, of writers, Lyly, Sidney, Spenser, Marlowe, Raleigh, Beaumont, Greene, Nashe, Donne, Hervert, etc…Curtis, *Oxford and Cambridge in Transition,* 4, 58. Porter, "University and Society," iv. 100-101. Mansbridge, *The Older Universities of England,* 67.

control of those seats of learning provided a particular advantage over the rest of the nation. By commanding the proclivities of the universities, so too could management of the entire country be more easily conducted. It was for this that the universities played such a significant role in the machinations of the government, be it Stuart or other.

Even before the death of Charles I, parliament had begun to reorder the universities, both under their control as of 1646. Visitations were immediately proposed to discover the most ardent royalists present in the universities and to supplant them with individuals whose proclivities were compliant with the new order. For Cambridge, much of the restructuring had already taken place before 1646. In 1643 the majority of College heads had been replaced. Even before this point, in 1642 when Cromwell had initially taken command of Cambridge, Richard Holdsworth had prophesized dejectedly what would become of the universities by the war's end.[45] In a speech to the Cambridge Commencement he exclaimed,

> We will take our seats by the waters of the Cam, and weep when we remember thee, O Sion! We will hang our harps on the willows, and now at length bid a long farewell to learning. Farewell, ye stately ceremonies and thronged assemblies! Farewell, ye contests of scholars and honourable disputations, bright purple and adorning gown, maces, insignia, genius, polite learning, studies, order, discipline, and ye venerable foundations of our ancestors; and thou too, Religion, which hast so long adorned our Church of England! Tis now the twelfth hour alike of the Muses and of the Graces.[46]

---

[45] Fuller, *The History of the University of Cambridge,* 324.
[46] As quoted in Mullinger, *The University of Cambridge,* iii. 217-218.

At Oxford, visitation began immediately upon its capitulation and continued

under the headship of a new parliamentarian chancellor as of 1651: Oliver Cromwell.[47]

Visitors strode resolutely from college to college and asked of students an oath of

submission to the rule of parliament. Resistance to parliamentary authority, however,

remained strong. Christ Church, for example, physically barred its gates to the

commission of visitors sent to demand the allegiance of its scholars and faculty. A

squadron of musketeers was called and broke down the door with hammers and sledges

only to find the college virtually empty, a situation not uncommon to most of the colleges

in Oxford throughout the years between 1646 and the early 1650s.[48] Those scholars still

remaining were far from convivial to the oath asked of them. At Magdalen College,

student answers to the question "Will you submit to the authority of parliament in this

visitation?" were ambiguous if not outright ambivalent.[49]

> *Lodovicus Mason*: I am not of the understandinge (my yeares beinge so tender) to hold your Thesis which you propose, either affirmative or negative.
> *Jo. Drake:* To this Question whether I will submit to the authoritie of Parliament in this Visitation, I Answere: that if the word Submitt signifie that the 2 Houses of Parliament without and against his most excellent Majestie, have a lawfull power to visite the Universitie, either by themselves or others: That then I cannot in conscience and in regard of my Oathes made to this Universitie, without perjury submit and acknowledge such a power.
> *William Sydenshaw*: The Question beinge soe sublime, it passeth my weake apprehension to give any positive Answere to it.

---

[47] An appeal was made on the part of Oxford university to be exempted from such intrusions based upon their claim that the king alone (or his appointed representative) had the authority to conduct a visitation though the petition was denied after lengthy debate by parliament. William Prynne, *The Vniversity of Oxfords Plea Refuted* (1647).

[48] Anthony Wood, "The Antiquities of the University of Oxford," (1674) in *The Oxford Book of Oxford*, ed. Jan Morris (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 88-90.

[49] This being the question put to Anthony Wood who responded: "I do not understand the business, and therefore I am not able to give a direct answer." Wood, *Life and Times*, i. 144.

> *Hugh Holden*: The matter required of mee concerninge my lively-hood, I doe desire tyme to consider with myselfe, and to give in a full Answere in a matter soe much concerninge mee.[50]

The demand of subservience to the new order was most likely a weighty matter for the consciences of students and professors who had dutifully served the king; it was a demand that they declare contrary to all they had been taught and to the regime which they had faithfully fulfilled. It was a question which forced them to admit that the loyalties they had held, the duty which they had served, was incorrect: that the way in which they had identified and defined themselves was erroneous if not contrary to the good of the state and therefore treasonous. Like the decision to support the king's cause, the admittance of defeat was a point of honour. Henry Vaughan of Jesus College wrote:

> Give my soul leave to studie a degree,
> Of sorrow, that may fit my fate and thee,
> And till my eyes can weep what can I think,
> Spare my fond teares, and here accept my ink.[51]

That recantation of the royalist ideology was a horrifying and sorrowful prospect to many students and professors and struck at their honour and identity is evinced by the number who refused to accept the oath of Parliamentary supremacy and by the maintenance of royalist sentiment on the part of those who did despite increasingly overbearing parliamentary, and later, Cromwellian, surveillance. At Oxford during the visitations of 1648, nineteen percent of the fellows did not appear at the questioning, nearly forty percent refused to submit, and roughly seven percent accepted Parliament's terms with

---

[50] "The Register of the Visitors," in *The Oxford Book of Oxford*, (1648) ed. Jan Morris (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1978), 91.
[51] As quoted in Jan Morris, *The Oxford Book of Oxford* (1650) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 86.

reservations. Furthermore, twenty-five percent are unrecorded in their response, leaving

only twelve percent who actually submitted, an act which did not necessarily imply a

willingness to do so, merely acceptance of the outcome of the conflict.[52] The universities

remained stalwart, albeit clandestine, bastions of Stuart support throughout the

protectorate, resulting in an insecure governance on the part of the university's newly

appointed administrators.[53] Despite the best efforts of Parliament to subdue Oxonian and

Cambrian royalism, it persisted throughout the years of the commonwealth and the

protectorate as an incessant source of anxiety and a constant drain upon administrative

efforts.

Though the protectorate was incapable of removing completely the royalist

proclivities of the universities, it damaged irreparably the confidence which the monarchy

placed within them upon the Restoration and tinctured the collegiate system with mistrust

and insecurity.[54] Perspectives such as Thomas Hobbes' that the universities had promoted

sedition to the crown rather than loyalty, although unjustified by the actualities of the war

as we have seen, had placed Oxford and Cambridge in a new perspective: as institutions

of corruption rather than conformity. Such a transition in perception was an easy one to

make. Earlier complaints of student misbehavior now took on a wholly new aspect of

corruption and the proportion of noble and gentlemen students, indeed, the overall

population of the universities, fell in direct response.[55] The education of plebian scholars

had become, after 1660, a dangerous matter as it was seen as a venue to promote

---

[52] Roy and Reinhart, "Oxford and the Civil Wars," iv.728-730.

[53] Blair Worden, "Cromwellian Oxford," in *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. Nicholas Tyacke, 6 vols. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1997), iv. 733-734. Stone, "Size and Composition," i. 54-55.

[54] Mansbridge, *The Older Universities of England*, 76-77.

[55] Stone, "The Size and Composition of the Oxford Student Body," i.. 6.

uprisings from the lower classes. The intermingling of classes which university life

entailed now caused many aristocratic and gentlemanly parents elect for other forms of

education for their sons for fear of their potential ideological infection within the

colleges.[56]

The rigorous discipline which the universities had espoused previously was

thought to have declined as well. As Nicholas Amhurst wrote in 1697, the statutes to

which students swore were often ignored and were never understood, primarily because

not a soul read them; the student was, upon entrance, to "prostitute his conscience and

enter himself into perjury".[57] Anthony Wood, though an ardent royalist, dejectedly

looked upon the university of Oxford after the Restoration as a place of debauchery and a

detriment to learning. He wrote:

> Baudy houses and light huswifes giving divers young men the pox soe
> that desease is very common among them and some obscure pocky
> doctors obtaine a living by it. And wereas it was notorious formerly to
> those that had it, it is now soe common...that they glory in it. –
> Corrupters of youth, such that live obscurely and lurke in the towne
> taking all advantages to make pray of scollers...Multitudes of
> ailhouses...keeping dice, cards, sketells, shuffle boords, billiard tables.
> Extravigancie in apparel, having their suits and hats dect with colored
> ribbons, and long haire periwigs: and extravigancie in their gowns. Lying
> and swearing much used...Atheisme...Disrespecte to seniors, sawciness;
> occasioned by Masters their accompanying and courting
> undergraduates...[58]

---

[56] Travel or study at a continental university were the primary modes of education which overtook Oxford and Cambridge. Stone, "The Size and Composition of the Oxford Student Body," i. 40-41, 51.

[57] Nicholas Amhurst, "Terrae Filius," (1754) in *Reminiscences of Oxford by Oxford Men, 1559-1850*, 3rd ed., ed. Lilian M. Quiller Couch (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1892), 68.

[58] Anthony Wood, "Wood's Life and Times," in *The Oxford Book of Oxford*, ed. Jan Morris (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 100-101.

Such complaints were not particularly novel: they had persisted long before the Civil

War. But they seem to have become more prevalent in the decision making process of

parents following the return of Charles II. As Stephen Penton, a student at Oxford

preceding the Civil War, wrote, "when I came to have children, I did almost *swear* them

in their childhood never to be friends with *Oxford*" primarily because he perceived them

to be, after the Restoration, houses which taught only "ignorance, debauchery, and

irreligion, insomuch that I sent my eldest son abroad to try what improvement might be

gained by traveling..."[59] Other such resolutions abounded. In 1701 John Savile stated

that he would "scarce send his eldest son to the University for fear of debauching him."[60]

Likewise, the mayor of Oxford himself in 1679 was noted to warn off his gentlemen

friends from sending their children to the university, stating that it was "a debauched

place, a rude place, a place of no discipline."[61] Though comments upon the ill-discipline

within the university setting were prevalent before the outbreak of the war, a general

sense of decline was perceived to have been initiated, both at the universities and in

society in general, catalyzed by the Protectorate and exacerbated by the Restoration.[62]

Moral degeneration was paralleled by decay in the close relations the universities

had once maintained with the crown. Charles II, unlike his father and grandfather, paid

but cursory personal attention to the universities as he attempted to re-exert monarchial

---

[59] Stephen Penton, "The Guardians Instruction" in *Reminiscences of Oxford by Oxford Men, 1559-1850*, ed. Lilian M. Quiller Couch (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1892 (1688)), 40-41.
[60] As quoted in Stone, "Size and Composition," i. 52.
[61] Wood, *Life and Times*, ii. 463.
[62] This general trend was reflected in the administrative offices of the state which also saw a decline in the number of men educated at the universities in places of authority during this period. G. E. Aylmer, *The State's Servants: The Civil Service of the English Republic, 1649-1660* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973), 188-189. *Fletcher, Gender, Sex and Subordination,* 316.

rule over a nation submerged in uncertainty over the balance of authority between king,

church, and parliament.[63] At his return they had already proclaimed their support of him

and with the reinstatement of the throne, his personal attentions were not required to

reestablish loyalty, merely to thank its exhibition.[64] It is possible that his disinterest may

have been the result, in part, of the perception he had garnered of the universities earlier

in his life, most especially during the court's residence at Oxford during the Civil War

when frivolity, violence and degenerate behavior outweighed serious scholarship.[65]

Charles II's academic interests were also otherwise engaged, posited not in the

universities, but in the Royal Society. The constellations of the intellectual firmament had

shifted and Oxford and Cambridge universities were no longer the bright lights of

learning they once had been, at least as far as the crown and educational theorists were

concerned.[66] Nor was this process relegated to royal attentions but, rather, it was part of a

much broader social phenomenon. Other venues had supplanted the colleges as sites of

learning and intellectual discourse: the dissenting academies, coffee houses, and private

intellectual circles, all of which were punctuated by John Locke's condemnation of the

scholastic and outdated universities in their capacity to instruct useful knowledge.[67]

Charles II had also been provoked to curtail the influence of the universities by a number

of key administrators. The Duke of Newcastle had warned Charles of the universities

---

[63] Christopher Hill, *Some Intellectual Consequences of the English Revolution* (London: Phoenix Press, 1980), 17.
[64] Mullinger, *The University of Cambridge*, iii. 554. Wood, *Life and Times*, i. 317. Mansbridge, *The Older Universities of England*, 71.
[65] Richard Ollard, *The Image of the King: Charles I and Charles II* (London: Phoenix Press, 1979), 55-56.
[66] Hill, *Some Intellectual Consequences of the English Revolution*, 55.
[67] V. H. H. Green, *The Universities* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1969), 98-99. Helen Berry, *Gender, Society and Print Culture in Late Stuart England* (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing, 2003), 15-16. Mordechai Feingold, "The Humanities," in *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. Nicholas Tyacke, 6 vols. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1997), iv. 238-239, 278-279. Wood, *Life and Times*, ii. 300, 429.

which, along the lines of Hobbes thinking, had been "the core of rebellion" and added

that "your majesty knows by too woeful experience that these lecturers have preached

your Majesty out of your kingdoms."[68] The protectorate's attempts to infuse the

universities with Puritanism had severely damaged the reputation of the institutions

despite the reality of their constant loyalty: rather than respond to the potential threat of

dissenting universities by increasing his control through the reestablishment of a personal

relationship with them, Charles II elected instead to neglect them.

The vacuum created by waning royal interest and patronage, however, was filled

by the cavalier parliament which followed in the footsteps of earlier parliamentary rule

following the Civil Wars by extending its authority over the machinations of university

education. In the case of the cavalier parliament, however, such a process was engaged

via the establishment of amicable rather than inimical relations.[69] What resulted was a

shift in the allegiance of the universities away from the singular body of the monarch and

towards a concept much larger: England.[70] Though patronage could still issue forth from

the crown and court, the parliament now became the defender of the rights and privileges

of Oxford and Cambridge universities. The English Revolution had weakened

perceptions of the crown's ties to divine order and the concept of its infallibility; it had

made the king questionable, human, and wholly accountable and though the universities

continued to act as buttresses for his authority, this support now went only so far as was

---

[68] As quoted in Stone, "Size and Composition," i. 54.

[69] Beddard, ""Restoration Oxford and the Remaking of the Protestant Establishment," in *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. Nicholas Tyacke, 6 vols. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1997), iv. 856-857.

[70] R. A. Beddard, "Restoration Oxford,", iv. 907.

seen to be in the best interests of the state and the English people.[71] When the Glorious

Revolution of 1688 came, it was James II's religion which resulted in large-scale

opposition to his rule on the part of the universities and concluded with his ejection. The

death knell of the Stuart university had been sounded; Oxford and Cambridge had, after a

century of stalwart maintenance, declined to support the Stuart monarchy.[72]

And yet, though the function had changed along with the authority to which the

universities responded, the format of education and much of the content did not and those

aspects of university education which endured are instructive to an understanding of the

foundations of seventeenth century masculinity. The ideal of conformity and uniformity

was one reinstated upon the return of Charles II. After a brief period which saw the

removal of academic dress during the protectorate, the gown was again reinstated in 1660

and with it the old order of an essentially scholastic system dedicated to ideological

conformity.[73] Of equal importance, however, was student misbehavior which, though it

had been generative during the Civil War and during resistance to the protectorate

afterwards, was once more perceived as a detriment to proper studies. By 1700, it was

broadly accepted that university attendance was much more a site for socialization of the

young man as much as an academic one.[74] In 1733, Charles Weston stated that "To make

any acquaintance that may be useful in future life...[was] the only reason I am sent to this

---

[71] Hill, *Some Intellectual Consequences of the English Revolution*, 28-29.
[72] R. A. Beddard, "James II and the Catholic Challenge," in *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. Nicholas Tyacke, VI vols. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1997), iv. 907.
[73] Beddard, "Restoration Oxford," iv. 842. Wood, *Life and Times*, i. 336, 347.
[74] Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*, 316-317.

college (Christ Church)."[75] Such a sentiment seems to have become increasingly

prevalent after the seventeenth century came to a close.

By the mid-eighteenth century, the universities were again in a state of flux: the

population was steadily recovering but the trends in its demographic complexion were an

amplified version of what they had been prior to the Civil War with roughly sixty percent

of their numbers being composed of members of the aristocracy and upper gentry

compared to the forty-two percent who attended in 1600.[76] What endured throughout war

and the political, social, and intellectual change that followed was the primary mandate of

education: that it was requisite to shape the men intended to lead in a particular way for

the betterment of the state and its good governance. The coupling of physicality, martial

ability, chivalry, and manners with what had once been condemned as 'clerkly' training,

the idea that reason, like the body of the man, had to be conformed and instructed was

permanent. The effects of the Renaissance and the Reformation as well were intact

despite upheaval. The man educated at the universities continued to hold a heightened

degree of influence over his community due to the fact that he fulfilled both secular and

ecclesiastical positions unlike many of his medieval predecessors. Finally, the

universities were institutions central to the state, that their influence extended beyond the

quads to enter the various localities of England, the offices which governed them, the

court, the parliament, and private homes had been duly noted. The consequences of these

aspects of the education offered at Oxford and Cambridge held the potential for effective

---

[75] As quoted in Stone, "Size and Composition," i. 53.
[76] John Cannon, *Aristocratic Century: Thee Peerage of Eighteenth Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 47.

support or dissent and, as such, had to be harnessed. For good or ill, the universities were

rapidly becoming government organizations, catalyzed by the lessons learnt in the

sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

In terms of the masculine ethos inculcated at university, the events of the later

half of the seventeenth century appear to have had little effect. He was still intended to be

both physically and mentally trained, grounded in reason and capable of defending its

manifestations regardless of his social origins. Likewise, the curricular and the extra-

curricular continued to inform these aspects of his character, emulation remained

essential along with the collective identity he initially formed. At Christ Church, the

addition of Tom Tower and the six-ton bell which it housed was but the continuation of

practices which had been established in the early years of the seventeenth century. Each

night at nine o'clock, Great Tom rung to call back to the gatehouse students still about in

the streets. In 1670, Henry Aldrich wrote:

> Tingle, tingle, tingle,
> Says the little bell att 9
> To call the beerers home;
> But the devill a man
> Will leave his Can
> Till he hears the mighty Tome.[77]

Students continued to stay beyond the ringing of the bell, they continued to drink, to

fight, to hunt, to fraternize with women, smoke and gamble, to move towards manliness

as defined by their companions and the society in which they were situated. These

---

[77] Henry Aldrich, "Mighty Tome," (c. 1670) in *The Oxford Book of Oxford*, ed. Jan Morris (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 103.

behaviors did not cease with the uncertainty following 1648 at Oxford or 1642 at

Cambridge, though some aspects such as drinking, hunting, and gambling may have

increased with stability after 1700 with the rise in noble and gentleman students. In terms

of masculinity, the university experience was awash in the more gradual trends of the

English conceptions of manhood. The universities could reflect but could not effectively

change what a man was, try as they may. What *had* changed in terms of the fundamentals

of English masculinity, however, was the awareness of the state and the administration of

the universities as to the role education played in the formation of the man and his

potential influence upon his leaving the quad for the various localities which could be

available to him throughout England, secular or ecclesiastical. The tumults of the Civil

War had provided a test for individual manliness on the part of students upon the field of

battle, but when the war was done, it brought into question the structures in which that

man had been formed and pointed out the importance of what type of man he was; the

war fixated the eyes of the state upon the universities. Oxford and Cambridge would

never again be unfaltering institutions of the crown, their importance had grown, and

would continue to grow, too great for sole proprietorship. With the Restoration, the

universities were not reinstated as the preserve of the king, they were recreated as the

concern and domain of the nation at large.

Conclusion

ઠ>Cઠ

As the seventeenth century drew to a close, John Locke articulated clearly the

function which education had come to hold in English society:

> A sound mind in a sound body is a short but full description of a happy
> state in this world. He that has these two has little more to wish for, and
> he that wants either of them will be but little the better for anything else.
> He whose mind directs not wisely will never take the right away, and he
> whose body is crazy and feeble will never be able to advance in it...of all
> the men we meet with, nine parts of ten are what they are, good or evil,
> useful or not, by their education. It is that which makes the great
> difference in mankind.[1]

His words echoed what the Renaissance theorists had claimed to be crucial to the

formation of a young man nearly two centuries before, but the process of implementing

their dictates had been a lengthy one.

The early modern English universities were, to a certain extent, born of their own

ashes. The Reformation had very nearly ruined them by their close connection to the

Catholic Church and their imperiled relationship with Henry VIII. In a similar fashion,

the Renaissance afforded its own threats via its commendation of a private tutor within

the home and its disregard for institutional centers of education. The rescue of Oxford

and Cambridge resided in a number of factors. The donations, endowments, and

foundations of secular benefactors reinvigorated their development and affirmed their

utility. The crown similarly buoyed their fortunes via the establishment of chairs and

---

[1] John Locke, "Some Thoughts Concerning Education," in *What is a Man? 3,000 Years of Wisdom on the Art of Manly Virtue*, ed. Waller R. Newell. (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1999), 215.

180

colleges, through the defense of their rights and privileges, and by acting as a potential

patron to many of their graduates in return for loyalty and ideological conformity. In

addition, though Renaissance theories upon education did not include the universities, the

redefinition of the proper attributes befitting a nobleman or gentleman which humanist

thought had initiated resulted in a broader interest in the universities on the part of the

upper echelons of English society. Within this process, the support of the laity and the

crown filled the vacuum left by receding Rome but salvation was not without cost: with

each benefaction, foundation, scholarship or royal chair, at each moment that the

universities were defended from the cities which housed them, Oxford and Cambridge

lost a degree of their autonomy. By supporting the universities, the crown along with

secular benefactors were staking a claim to their internal machinations and Oxford and

Cambridge became institutions of the state and of the nation.

What was fundamental to all of these factors, however, was a changing

conception of what a man was in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century. While the

Renaissance, coupled with the increasingly complex bureaucratic mechanics of state

administration, had highlighted the need for office holders to be trained in classical

learning in addition to the martial and courtly attributes which had been so highly prized

by noblemen previously, the universities as the primary educational institutions in

England appeared ill suited to the task of instructing both the mental and the physical

attributes requisite. The training of the physical self was perceived to be detrimental to

the pursuit of reason and mental development and thus its conduct required control on the

part of administrators if not outright repression. The resultant deficit in officially

sanctioned physical and social education, however, was simply sought elsewhere by the students themselves. It was fulfilled beyond the college halls and the enclosed quadrangles: it was sought upon the hunt, in the tavern, while gambling, drinking, fighting, and through relationships with women. The cap and gown were as much a uniform as the boot and spur, the coexistence of the two, though officially proclaimed to be the root of degradation for academic pursuits by administrators, was a requisite combination for the pursuit of manliness. While curricular studies had informed the reason of the man, the extra curricular had instructed his physical and social self: it was both, however, that shaped his understanding of his place and order within society, both implored loyalty and duty, honour and conformity. Though John Locke was perhaps one of the most biting critics of the universities, he was a product of Christ Church, Oxford, and his ideal of a sound mind within a sound body was born not of air, but of experience. It was an ideal still in the process of development at the beginning of the seventeenth century, more broadly accepted by the end. Locke's employer certainly would have agreed with the importance of the physical and social as well as the mental development in the formation of a young man's character and identity. He was himself a man bred up in the university setting: Lord Shaftsbury, Anthony Ashley Cooper.

In examining student life at Oxford and Cambridge universities during the seventeenth century, three points become particularly apparent. Firstly, that student disorder meant only disobedience to the university statutes and that such behavior is made explicable when analyzed within a broader definition of masculinity. Disorder was a form of conformity, a form of order in and of its own right. Secondly, expansion is

required in terms of current conceptions of what exactly education was in the seventeenth century. Instruction and learning took place not only within the lecture hall or hunched over an open book, but upon horseback or in a brawl, with a woman or in conversation over a mug of ale, or many mugs of ale. Portrayals of scholars as innately meek and socially inept creatures, physically degraded by the rigors of academics such as provided by John Earle, were not wholly accurate. Within the university community there existed a culture which was as hierarchical and socially demanding as any courtly setting in England, replete with violence, sex, sport and drink. If education is to be better understood, the incorporation of the extra-curricular along with the curricular may provide a more rounded perspective of the shaping of male youth and the nature of scholarship as a whole. Finally, that the relationship betwixt the curricular and the extra-curricular was not necessarily antagonistic, merely in a state of tension for fear of the usurpation of the one over the other. A happy balance could be struck. Words such as 'disorder,' 'dissent,' and 'disobedience' in relation to student behavior beyond the quads, condemnations such as 'clerkly' or 'pedantic' to describe the studies conducted within them, were defensive measures; the guarding of contentious borders from infringement. The early modern Englishman required both the 'clerkly' and the 'disorderly', reason and physicality in order to be complete, to be a man in this twofold sense which manliness implied during this period. The line upon which young boys tread betwixt the clerk and the man of action was narrow, but equilibrium was crucial for their entitlement as men. Though it was never in the mandate of the universities to teach young boys how to

balance their lives or their character, it was most assuredly an effect of the time they spent at Oxford or Cambridge.

This work has sought to contribute to the current understanding of early modern masculinity through an examination of the university system and the manner in which it inculcated youth, both officially and unofficially, with a particular ideal of manhood. At the same time, it has endeavored to supplement the existent corpus of institutional history which has been thus far conducted by examining the experiences received there at on the part of students and to suggest how daily life may have shaped their identity as men and shaped the university environment itself. As institutions intended to train young boys in the rudiments of manliness, the universities represent a particularly important indicator of the formation of masculine identity: they elucidate the ideal of early modern manhood whether that ideal was successfully pursued or not. The universities, much more than merely imparting knowledge, taught students how to think, how to approach issues. Though the lives led by graduates after attendance could greatly alter their perceptions of the world around them, it was the universities which had provided a framework for the solving of problems, shaped the rhetoric with which they would express themselves, reinforced the order which in which students would exist upon their departure and provided experiences held common by the majority of attendants. In order to better understand the cultural, intellectual, social and political events and thought of early modern English history, it may prove particularly useful to study where many of the influential and authoritative leaders in English society were trained, how they had been promoted to identify themselves and define their gender. The universities provide one

such venue in which such an endeavor may be pursued. In order to study English society,

it is beneficial to examine those men who attempted to shape it. Increasingly throughout

the seventeenth century, there existed a connective tissue betwixt those men: the

universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The man established at the universities had grown

in prevalence during this period; it is important to history to uncover who exactly that

man was or at least who he was intended to be. This work has attempted to initiate such

an enquiry.

Appendix I

ഇൗര

Regional Origins of Matricualants at Oxford (Percentage)*

Region:	1603-1605	1683-1685
Local (Berks., Bucks., Oxon.)	9.7	9.8
South-west (Cornwall, Devon, Som.)	18.8	16.0
West Midlands (Bristol, Gloucs., Herefordshire, Shropshire, Staffs., Warwicks., Worcs.)	15.8	19.4
South (Dorset, Hants., Wilts.)	13.8	12.14
South-east (Kent, Surrey, Sussex)	5.6	4.9
East Anglia (Beds., Cambs., Essex, Herts., Hunts., Norfolk, Suffolk)	1.9	2.0
East Midlands (Derby., Leics., Lincs., Northants., Notts., Ruthland)	6.1	6.3
North-east (Durham, Northumb., Yorks.)	4.2	3.3
North-west (Ches., Cumberland, Lancs., Westmorland)	7.1	7.5
Metropolitan (London, Middx.)	7.8	6.5
Wales (inc. Monmouth.)	8.5	10.2
Others (Channel Is., France, Ireland, Isle of Man, Scotland, W. Indies)	0.7	2.0
Total:	**100.0**	**100.0**
Number:	**857**	**857**
Unknown:	**12**	**54**

---

* Stephen Porter, "University and Society", in *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. Nicholas Tyacke, 6 vols. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1997), iv. 59.

186

Appendix II

ಖಿ೦೪

The Percentage of Justices of the Peace Having Attended Oxford or Cambridge Universities*

Date	Kent	Norf.	Northants.	Soms.	Worcs.	N.R. Yks.	Average
1562	2.27	5.88	5.88	3.44	5.26	11.76	4.89
1584	16.38	41.66	16.66	15.38	15.38	38.63	23.17
1608	40.20	59.61	18.91	35.55	20.58	56.25	40.51
1626	62.71	52.94	53.70	50.00	51.72	58.82	55.47
1636	68.25	67.30	71.79	54.90	50.00	48.71	61.65

---

* Victor Morgan, "Cambridge University and "The Country", 1560-1640," in *The University in Society,* ed. Lawrence Stone, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), i. 239.

Appendix III

ಬಿಂದ

The Ratio of Educated to Uneducated "Worthies", Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, in Thomas Fuller's *Worthies of England**

County/Region	Number Formally Educated at Oxford or Cambridge	Number Not formally Educated (or whose Educational Background is Unreported)	Percentage Educated At Oxford or Cambridge
Devon	11	7	61.1
Kent	13	15	46.4
London	25	7	78.1
Norfolk	8	4	50.0
Somerset	10	7	58.8
Yorkshire	19	6	76
Total	**86**	**46**	**65.1**

* Note that this chart does not take into account the few women whom Fuller denotes as worthies within these counties and regions. Fuller, *Worthies of England* (1662)(London: George Allen and Unwin, 1952).

Appendix IV

ഹാരു

Extracts From the Laudian Code, 1636*

Personal Appearances:

It is enacted that all the heads, fellows and scholars of colleges, as well as all persons in holy orders, shall dress as becomes clerks. Also that all others (except the sons of barons having the right of voting in the Upper House of Parliament, and also of barons of the Scotch and Irish peerages) shall wear dresses of a black or dark colour and shall not imitate anything betokening pride or luxury, but hold themselves aloof from them. Moreover they shall be obliged to abstain from that absurd and assuming practice of walking publicly in boots. There must be, also, a mean observed in the dressing of hair; and they are not to encourage the growth of curls or immoderately long hair.

Divine Truth:

It is enacted, that the lecturers in philosophy shall, as often as they happen to treat of questions regarding God, the eternity of the world, the immortality of the soul, and others of the same kind, always follow the opinion of those persons who, on such points, dissent the least from Christian truth. But if the opinions of the philosophers are in any other respects altogether contrary to godliness, the lecturers shall earnestly remind their scholars or hearers of the feebleness of human sense to comprehend those things, the truth of which we know for certain by divine revelation.

Drink and Tobacco:

It is enacted, that scholars of all conditions shall keep away from inns, eating-houses, wine shops, and all houses whatever within the city, or precinct of the University, wherein wine or any other drink or the Nicotian herb, or tobacco, is commonly sold; also that if any person does otherwise, and is not eighteen years old, and not a graduate, he shall be flogged in public.

---

* From the English translation in the collection of Jan Morris, *The Oxford Book of Oxford* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 78-80.

Showmen:

Neither rope-dancers nor players (who go on the stage for gain's sake), nor sword-matches, or sword players are to be permitted within the University of Oxford. All stage-players, rope-dancers and fencers transgressing are to be incarcerated.

Sport:

It is enacted that scholars of all conditions shall abstain from every kind of game in which there is a money stake, as for instance, the games of dibs dice and cards, and also ball-play in the private yards and greens of the townsmen. Also, they must refrain from every kind of sport or exercise, whence danger, wrong or inconvenience may arise to others, from hunting wild animals with hounds of any kind, ferrets, nets or toils; and also from all parade and display of guns and cross-bows, and, again, from the use of hawks for fowling. In like manner, no scholars of any condition (and least of all graduates) are to play foot-ball within the University or its precinct.

Idling About:

It is enacted that scholars (particularly the younger sort, and under graduates) shall not idle and wander about the City, or its suburbs, nor in the streets, or public market, or Carfax (at Penniless Bench as they commonly call it), nor be seen standing or loitering about the townsmen or workmens' shops; a description of offenders this which the old statutes of our University denominated scouts and truants.

Frequenting Harlots:

It is enacted, that scholars and graduates of all conditions are to keep away during the day, and especially at night, from the shops and houses of the townsmen; but particularly from houses where women of ill or suspected fame or harlots are kept or harboured, whose company is predominantly forbidden to all scholars whatever, either in their private rooms or in the citizens' houses.

Unusual Fashions:

It is enacted, that if any persons shall introduce new and unusual fashions in dress, the Vice-Chancellor and heads of colleges and halls shall, after debate among themselves, publish their opinions on the subject. Then the Vice-Chancellor is to inhibit the cutters-out or tailors of clothes from the power of taking up such dresses.

Carrying of Arms:

It is enacted that no student or other person shall by day or night carry either offensive or defensive arms, such as swords, poignards, daggers (commonly called stilettos), dirks,

bows and arrows, guns, or warlike weapons or implements, within the verge of the University unless when he happens to make a journey to parts remote, or to return therefrom, excepting parties who carry bows and arrows for fair amusements sake.

Appendix V

ဢာ

Two Examples of Curricular Studies at Oxford and Cambridge Universities*

Richard Holdsworth, Cambridge University

Morning	Afternoon
First Year	
The grounds of logic, The full system of logic	These directions: Godwin's *Roman Antiquities* Justinus' *History*
Logical controversies, Another system of logic	Cicero's *Epistles* Erasmus' *Colloquies* Terence
Logical controversies and disputations	*Mistagogus Poeticus* Ovid, *Metamorphoses* Greek Testament
The grounds of ethics The full system of ethics	Terence Cicero's *Epistles* Erasmus's *Colloquies* Theognis
Second Year	
The system of physics	Latin grammar Valla, *De Elegantia* Greek grammar Viger's *Idiotisms*
Controversies in logic, ethics and physics	Cicero *De Senectute, De Amicitia,* *Tusculan questions, De Oratore* Aesop's *Fables* in Greek
The system of metaphysics	Florus Sallust Quintus Curtius

---

* The first example is believed to be work of Richard Holdsworth in 1640 although there is some debate that the author is John Merryweather. This particular document are his injunctions to students as to the best possible course of studies. Richard Holdsworth, "Directions for a Student in the University," (1640) in *Education in Tudor and Stuart England: Documents of Modern History*, ed. David Cressy (London: Edward Arnold, 1975), 132-135. The second document is the work of Thomas Hobbes, extracted from his autobiography. Thomas Hobbes, *The Life of Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury*,(1680) in *Reminiscences of Oxford by Oxford Men, 1559-1850*, ed. Lilian M. Quiller Couch (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1892), 14-17.

Controversies of all types	Virgil, *Eclogues* and *Georgics* Ovid's *Epistles* Horace, Martial, Hesiod, Theocritus
ThirdYear	
All kinds of controversies Scaliger, *De Subtilitate*	Caussin, *De Eloquentia*
Aristotle's *Organon* With Brierwood's *Commentaries*	Cicero's *Orations* Demosthenes' *Orations*
Aristotle, Eight books of *Physics*	Strada, *Prolusiones* Turner's *Orations* Quintillian's *Orations*
Aristotle's *Ethics*	Juvenal, Persius Claudian Virgil's *Aeneid* Homer's *Illiad*
FourthYear	
Seneca, *Natural questions* Lucretius	Cluver, *General History* Livy's *History* Suetonius
Aristotle, *De Anima, De Caelo* with commentaries	Aulus Gellius Macrobius, *Saturnalia* Plautus
Aristotle's *Meteorologica* with commentary	Cicero's *Orations, De Officiis,* *De Finibus*
Wendelin, *Theologia summa*	Seneca's *Tragedy* Lucan, Flatius Homer's *Iliad, Odyssey*

…If you spend your time according to this calendar you may assure yourself that you shall not only keep all of your Acts and take your degree with applause and credit, but also be reckoned among the best of your year and render yourself capable of any preferment suitable to your understanding, and you will be able to go on in riper studies with delight to yourself and advantage over others that will have not kept so good a reckoning of their studies.

Thomas Hobbes

Did Learn to speak Four Languages, to write
And read them too, which was my sole delight.
Six years i' th' *Greek* and *Latin* Tongue I spent,
And at Fourteen I was to *Oxford* sent;
And there of *Magd'len*-Hall admitted, I
Myself to *Logick* first did then apply,
And sedulously I my Tutor heard,
Who gravely Read, althou' he had no Beard.
Barbara, Celarent, Darii, Ferio, Baralypton,
These Modes hat the first Figure; then goes on
Cæsare, Camestres, Festino, Baroco, Darapti,
This hath of Modes the same variety.
Felapton, Disamis, Datisi, Bocardo, Ferison,
These just so many Modes are look'd upon.
Which I, tho' slowly Learn, and then dispense
With them, and prove things after my own sense.
Then *Physicks* read, and my Tutor display'd,
How all Things were of Form and Matter made.
The Aëry Particles which make forms we see,
Both Visible and Audible, to be
Th' Effects of Sympathy, Antipathy.
And many things above my reach Taught me.
Therefore more pleasant studies I then sought,
Which I was formerly, tho' not well Taught.
My Phancie and my Mind divert I do,
With Maps Celestial and Terrestrial too.
Rejoyce t'accompany *Sol* cloath'd with Rays,
Know by what Art he measures out our Days;
How *Drake* and *Cavendish* a girdle made
Quite round the World, what Climates they survey'd;
And strive to find the smaller Cells of Men
And painted Monsters in their unknown Den.
Nay there's a Fulness in Geography;
For Nature e'r abhor'd Vacuity.
Thus in due time took I my first Degree
Of Batchelor i' th' University.
Then *Oxford* left; served *Ca'ndish* known to be
A Noble and Conspicuous Family.
Our College-Rector did me Recommend,
Where I most pleasantly my Days did spend.

Appendix VI

ഇരു

Extracts From John Earle's *Micro-Cosmographie**

20. A Downe-right Scholler

Is one that has much learning in the Ore, unwrought and untryde, which time and experience fashions and refines. He is good metal in the inside, though rough and unscour'd without, and therefore hated of the Courtier, that is quite contrarie. The time has got a veine of making him ridiculous, and men laugh at him by tradition, and no unluckie absurdity, but is put upon his profession, and done like a Scholler. But his fault is onely this, that his minde is somewhat much taken up with his mind, and his thoughts not loaden with any carriage besides. Hee has not put on the quaint Garbe of the Age, which is now become a mans Totall. He has not humbled his Meditations to the industrie of Complement, nor afflicted his braine in an elaborate legge. His body is not set upon nice Pinnes, to bee turning and flexible for every motion, but his scrape is homely, and his nod worse. He cannot kisse his hand and cry Madame, nor talk idly enough to beare her company. His smacking of a Gentle-woman is somewhat too savory, and he mistakes her nose for her lippe. A very Wood-cocke would puzzle him in carving, and he wants the logicke of a Capon. He has not the glib faculty of sliding over a tale, but his words come squeamishly out of his mouth, and the laughter commonly before the jest. He names this word Colledge too often, and his discourse beats too much on the University. The perplexity of mannerlinesse will not let him feed, and he is sharpe set at an argument when he should cut his meate. He is discarded for a gamester at all games but one and thirty, and at tables he reaches not beyond doublets. His fingers are not long and drawn out to handle a Fiddle, but his fist is cluncht with the habite of disputing. Hee ascends a horse somewhat sinisterly, though not on the left side, and they both goe jogging in griefe together. He is exceedingly censur'd by the Innes a Court men, for that heinous Vice being out of fashion. Hee cannot speake to a Dogge in his owne Dialect, and understands Greeke better then the language of a Falconer. Hee has beene used to a darke roome, and darke Clothes, and his eyes dazzle at a Sattin Doublet. The Hermitage of his Study, has made him som what uncouth in the world, and men make him worse by staring on him. Thus is hee silly and ridiculous, and it continues with him for some quarter of a yeare, out of the Universitie. But practice him a little in men, and brush him ore with good companie, and hee shall out balance those glisterers as much as a solid substance do's a feather, or Gold Gold-lace.

23. A Meere Young Gentleman of the Universitie:

---

* John Earle, *Micro-Cosmographie or, A Peece of the World Discovered; In Essayes and Characters*, (1633) ed. Edward Arber (Westminster: A. Constable and Company, 1904), 20, 23, 51.

Is one that comes there to weare a gowne, and to say hereafter, hee has beene at the Universitie. His Father sent him thither, because hee heard there were the best Fencing and Dancing Schooles, from these he has his Education, from his Tutor the ouersight. The first Element of his knowledge is to be shewne the Colledges, and initiated in a Taverne by the way, which hereafter hee will learne of himselfe. The two markes of his Senioritie, is the bare Velvet of his gowne, and his proficiencie at Tennis, where when hee can once play a Set, he is a Fresh-man no more. His Studie has commonly handsome Shelves, his Bookes neate Silke strings, which hee shewes to his Fathers man, and is loth to untye or take downe for feare of misplacing. Upon soule dayes for recreation hee retyres thither, and looks over the pretty booke his Tutor Reades to him, which is commonly some short Historie, or a piece of *Euphormio*; for which his Tutor gives him Money to spend next day. His maine loitering is at the Library, where hee studies Armes and bookes of Honour, and turnes a Gentleman Critick in Pedigrees. Of all things hee endures not to be mistaken for a Scholler, and hates a black suit though it bee of Sattin. His companion is ordinarily some stale fellow, that ha's beene notorious for an Ingle to gold hatbands, whom hee admires at first, afterward Scornes. If hee have spirit or wit, hee may light of better company, and may learne some flashes of wit, which may doe him Kinights service in the Country hereafter. But hee is now gone to the Inns of Court, where hee studies to forget what hee learn'd before, his aqquaintance and the fashion.

51. A Plodding Student

As a kind of Alchymist or Persecuter of Nature, that would change the dull lead of his Brain into finer mettle, with successe many times as unprosperous, or at least not quitting the cost, to wit, of his own Oyle and Candles. He ha's a strange forc't appetite to Learning, and to atchieve it brings nothing but patience and a body. His Studie is not great but continuall and consists much in the sitting up till after Midnight in a rug-gowne, and a Night cap to the vanquishing perhaps of some six lines: yet what hee ha's, he ha's perfect, for he reads it so long to understand it till he gets it without Booke. Hee may with much industry make a breach into Logicke, and arrive at some ability in an Argument: but for politer Studies hee dare not skirmish with them, and for Poetry accounts it impregnable. His Inuention is no more then the finding out of his Papers, and his few gleanings there, and his disposition of them is as just as the Book-binders, a setting or glewing of them together. Hee is a great discomforter of young Students, by telling them what travel it ha's cost him, and how often his braine turn'd at Philosophy, and makes others feare Studying as a cause of Duncery. Hee is a man much given to Apothegms which serve him for wit, and seldome breakes any Jest, but which belong'd to some Lacedemonian or Romane in *Lycosthenes*. He is like a dull Cariers horse, that will go a whole weeke together but never out of a foot-pace: and hee that sets out on the Saturday shall overtake him.

196

Appendix VII

ഇ⊃උෂ

A Relation of the University Experiences of Anthony Ashley Cooper*

In the year 1637, I went to Oxford to Exeter College, under the immediate tuition of Dr. Prideaux.

During my residing with my uncle and my being at Oxford, my business often called me to London in the terms, where I was entered of Lincoln's Inn. Thus the condition of my affairs gave me better education than any steady, designed course could have done: my business called me early to the thoughts and considerations of a man, my studies enabled me to master those thoughts and try to understand my learning, and my intermixed pleasures supported me and kept my mind from being dulled with the cares of one or the intentness I had for the other.

I kept both horses and servants in Oxford, and was allowed what expense or recreation I desired, which liberty I never much abused; but it gave me the opportunity of obliging by entertainments the better sort and supporting divers of the activest of the lower rank with giving them leave to eat when in distress upon my expense, it being no small honour amongst those sort of men, that my name in the buttery book willingly owned twice the expense of any in the University. This expense, my quality, proficiency in learning, and natural affability easily not only obtained the good-will of the wiser and older sort, but made me the leader even of all the rough young men of that college, famous for the courage and strength of tall, raw-boned Cornish and Devonshire gentlemen, which in great numbers yearly came to that college, and did then maintain in the schools coursing against Christ church, the largest and most numerous college in the University. This coursing was in older times, I believe, intended for a fair trial of learning and skill in logic, metaphysics, and school divinity, but for some ages that had been the last part of it, the dispute quickly ending in affronts, confusion, and very often blows, when they went most gravely to work. They forbore striking, but making a great noise with their feet, they hissed and shoved with their shoulders, and the stronger in that disorderly order drove the other out before them, and, if the schools were above stairs, with all violence hurrying the contrary party down, the proctors were forced either to give way to their violence or suffer in the throng. Nay, the Vice-Chancellor, though it seldom has begun when he was present, yet being begun, he has sometimes unfortunately been so near as to be called in, and has been overcome in their fury once up in these adventures. I was often one of the disputants and gave the sign and order for their beginning, but being not strong of body was always guarded from violence by two or three of the sturdiest

---

youths, as their chief and one who always relived them when in prison and procured their release, and very often was forced to pay the neighboring farmers, when they of our party that wanted money were taken in the fact, for more geese, turkeys, and poultry than either they had stole or he had lost, it being very fair dealing if he made the scholar when taken pay no more than he had lost since his last reimbursement.

Two things I had also a principal hand in when I was at the college. The one, I caused that ill custom of tucking freshmen to be left off; the other, when the senior fellows designed to alter the beer of the college, which was stronger than other colleges, I hindered their design. This had put all the younger sort into a mutiny; they resorting to me, I advised all those were intended by their friends to get their livelihood by their studies to rest quiet and not appear, and that myself and all the others that were elder brothers or unconcerned in their angers should go in a body and strike our names out of the buttery book, which was accordingly done, and had the effect that the senior fellows, seeing their pupils going that yielded them most profit, presently struck sail and articled with us never to alter the size of our beer, which remains so to this day.

The first was a harder work, it having been a foolish custom of great antiquity that one of the seniors in the evening called the freshmen (which are such as came since the time twelvemonth) to the fire and made them hold out their chin, and they with the nail of their right thumb, left long for that purpose, grate off all the skin from the lip to the chin, and then cause them to drink a beer glass of water and salt. The time approaching when I should be thus used, I considered that it had happened in that year more and lustier young gentlemen had come to the college than had done in several years before, so that the freshmen were a very strong body. Upon this I consulted my two cousin-germans, the Tookers, my aunt's sons, both freshmen, both stout and very strong, and several others, and at last the whole party were cheerfully engaged to stand stoutly to defence of their chins. We all appeared at the fires in the hall, and my Lord of Pembroke's son calling me first, as we knew by custom it would begin with me, I according to agreement gave the signal, striking him a box on the ear, and immediately the freshmen fell on, and we easily cleared the buttery and the hall, but bachelors and young masters coming in to assist the seniors, we were compelled to retreat to a ground chamber in the quadrangle. They pressing at the door, some of the stoutest and strongest of our freshmen, giant-like boys, opened the doors, let in as many as they pleased, and shut the door by main strength against the rest; those let in they fell upon and had beaten very severely, but that my authority with them stopped them, some of them being considerable enough to make terms for us, which they did, for Dr. Prideaux being called out to suppress the mutiny, the old Doctor, always favourable to youth offending out of courage, wishing with the fears of those we had within, gave us articles of pardon for what had passed, and an utter abolition in that college of that foolish custom...

Bibliography

ഉ൝ജ

Primary Sources:

Adair, John. *By the Sword Divided: Eyewitness Accounts of the English Civil War*. Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 1983.

Aldrich, Henry. "Mighty Tome." In *The Oxford Book of Oxford*. (c. 1670) Ed. Jan Morris. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978, 103.

Amhurst, Nicholas. "Terrae Fillius." (1754) In *Reminiscences of Oxford by Oxford Men, 1559-1850*. Ed. Lilian M. Quiller Couch. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1892, 68-96.

Anonymous. *The Office of Christian Parents: Shewing how Children are to be Gouerned Throughout All Ages and Times of Their Life*. 1616.

Anonymous. "The Register of the Visitors." In *The Oxford Book of Oxford*. (1648) Ed. Jan Morris. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978.

Ascham, Roger. *The Scholemaster, Or Plaine and Perfite way of Teachyng Children to Understand, Write, and Speake, in Latin Tong, but Specially Purposed for the Priuate Bringing up of Youth in Ientlemen and Noble mens Houses*. (1571) Ed. Edward Arber. London: 1870.

Ascham, Roger. *Toxophilvs, the Schole of Shootinge Conteyned in Tvvo Bookes*. (1544) Ed. Edward Arber. Birmingham: 1868.

Aubrey, John. *Aubrey on Education: A Hitherto Unpublished Manuscript by the Author of Brief Lives*. Ed. J. E. Stephens. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972.

Aubrey, John. *Brief Lives*. (1669) Ed. Oliver Lawson Dick. London: Secker and Warburg, 1950.

Ayliffe, John. *"The Antient and Present State of the University of Oxford."* (1714) In *The Oxford Book of Oxford*. Ed. Jan Morris. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978.

Bacon, Sir Francis. *The Dignity and Advancement of Learning*. (1605) New York: The Colonial Press, 1900.

Bacon, Sir Francis. *Francis Bacon, A Critical Edition of the Major Works*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Bacon, Sir Francis. *A Harmony of the Essays Etc. of Francis Bacon, Viscount St. Alban, Baron Verulam, & c.* (1597) Ed. Edward Arber London: 1871.

Castiglione, Baldassare. *The Book of the Courtier*. (1561) Trans. Sir Thomas Hobby. London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1923.

Chamberlain, John. *The Letters of John Chamberlain*. Ed. Norman Egbert McClure. 2 Vols. Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1939.

Cleland, James. *The Institution of a Young Nobleman*. 1627.

Cooper, Anthony Ashley, First Earl of Shaftsbury. "Life of Anthony Ashley Cooper." (c. 1680) In *Reminiscences of Oxford by Oxford Men, 1559-1850*. Ed. Lilian M. Quiller Couch. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1892, 35-38.

Cressy, David. *Education in Tudor and Stuart England: Documents of Modern History*. London: Edward Arnold, 1975.

D'Ewes, Sir Simonds. *Autobiography and Correspondence of Sir Simonds D'Ewes During the Reign of James I and Charles I*. Ed. J. O. Halliwell. 2 Vols. London: Richard Bentley, 1845.

Earle, John. *Micro-Cosmographie*. (1633) Ed. Edward Arber. Westminster: A. Constable and company, 1904.

Elizabethan Oxford: Reprints of Rare Tracts. Ed. Charles Plummer. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1887.

Erasmus, Desiderius. *The Education of a Christian Prince*. Ed. L. K. Born. New York: Octagon Books, 1968.

Evelyn, John. *John Evelyn's Diary*. London: The Folio Society, 1963.

Evelyn, John. "John Evelyn's Diary." In *Reminiscences of Oxford by Oxford Men, 1559-1850*. Ed. Lilian M. Quiller Couch. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1892, 18-34.

Elyot, Sir Thomas. *The Boke Named the Governour*. (1531) London: J. M. Dent and Company, 1907.

Fuller, Thomas. *The Church History of Britain: From the Birth of Jesus Christ, Untill the Year M.DC.XLVIII*. 4 Vols. London: 1655.

Fuller, Thomas. *The History of the University of Cambridge From the Conquest to the Year 1634*. (1655) Ed. Marmaduke Prickett and Thomas Wright. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1840.

Fuller, Thomas. *The Holy and Profane State*. (1642) Boston: 1864.

Fuller, Thomas. *Selections*. Ed. E. K. Broadus. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1928.

Fuller, Thomas. *The Worthies of England*. (1662) London: George Allen and Unwin, 1952.

Gailhard, J. *The Compleat Gentleman: or Directions for the Education of Youth as to Their Breeding at Home and Traveling Abroad*. 1678.

Gouge, William. *Of Domestical Duties: Eight Treatises*. 1622.

Guarino, Batista. "A Program of Teaching and Learning." In *Humanist Educational Treatises*. Ed., Trans. Craig W. Kallendorf. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002, 260-309.

Hentzner, Paul. "A Journey into England in 1598." (1757) In *The Oxford Book of Oxford*. Trans. Horace Walpole. Ed. Jan Morris. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978.

Harrison, William. *William Harrison's Description of England*. Ed. F. J. Furnivall. New Shakespeare Society, 1877.

Hobbes, Thomas. *Behemoth or The Long Parliament*. (1668) Ed. Ferdinand Tönnies. London: Frank Cass and Company, 1969.

Hobbes, Thomas. "The Life of Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury." (1680) In *Reminiscences of Oxford by Oxford Men, 1559-1850*. Ed. Lilian M. Quiller Couch. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1892, 13-17.

Hobbes, Thomas. *Thucydides*. Ed. Richard Schlatter. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1975.

Holdsworth, Richard. "Directions for a Student in the University." (1640) In *Education in Tudor and Stuart England: Documents of Modern History*. Ed. David Cressy. London: Edward Arnold, 1975, 132-135.

Holinshed, Raphael. "Chronicles." (1577) In *The Oxford Book of Oxford*. Ed. Jan Morris. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978.

Hyde, Edward, Earl of Clarendon. *History of the Rebellion*. Ed. W. Dunn Macray. 6 Vols. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1888.

Langbaine, Gerald the elder. *The Ansvver of the Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars of the University of Oxford, to the Petition, Articles of Grievance, and Reasons of the City of Oxon*. (1649) 2nd Ed. Oxford, 1678.

Lovelace, Richard. "To Lucasta Going to the Wars." (1649) In *The Poems of Richard Lovelace*. Ed. C. H. Wilkinson. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1953.

Johnson, Ben. "An Epistle to Master John Selden." (1614) In *Ben Johnson and the Cavalier Poets*. Ed. Hugh Maclean. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1974.

Laud, William. "The Statutes of the University of Oxford." (1636) In *The Oxford Book of Oxford*. Ed. Jan Morris. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978.

Laud, William. *The Works of the Most Reverend Father in God, William Laud, D.D., Sometime Lord Archbishop of Canterbury*. 7 Vols. Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1853.

Locke, John. *The Educational Writings of John Locke*. Ed. James L. Axtell. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968.

Locke, John. *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding.* (1690) Ed. John W. Yolton. London: J. M. Dent, 1961.

Magrath, J. R. *The Flemmings in Oxford.* Ed. J. R. Magrath. 3 Vols. Oxford: Oxford Historical Society, 1904.

Marshburn, Joseph H. and Alan R. Velie. *Blood and Knavery: A Collection of English Renaissance Pamphlets and Ballads of Crime and Sin.* Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1973.

The Masters of Defence of London. *The Noble Science: A Study and Transcription of Sloane Ms. 2530, Papers of the Masters of Defence of London, Temp. Henry VIII to 1590.* Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1991.

Newell, Waller R. *What is a Man? 3,000 Years of Wisdom on the Art of Manly Virtue.* New York: Harper Collins, 1999.

Newton, Richard. "University Education." (1726) In *Reminiscences of Oxford by Oxford Men, 1559-1850.* Ed. Lilian M. Quiller Couch. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1892, 57-67.

Osborne, Francis. *Twenty Precepts, or, Rules of Advice to a Son: By a Late Eminent Lawyer.* 1682.

Pantin, W. A. *Oxford Life in Oxford Archives.* Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1972.

Peacham, Henry. *The Compleat Gentleman: Fashioning him Absolute in the Most Necessary and Commendable Qualities Concerning Minde or bodie that may be Required in a Noble Gentleman.* 1622.

Penton, Stephen. "The Guardian's Instruction." In *Reminiscences of Oxford by Oxford Men, 1559-1850.* (1688) Lilian M. Quiller Couch. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1892, 39-52.

Piccolomini, Aeneas Silvius. "The Education of Boys." In *Humanist Educational Treatises.* Ed. Craig W. Kallendorf. Trans. Craig W. Kallendorf. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002, 126-259.

203

Prideaux, Humphrey. "Letter to Dr. Elliz." (1675) In *The Oxford Book of Oxford*. Ed. Jan Morris. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978.

Prince, John. "Worthies of Devon." (1701) In *The Oxford Book of Oxford*. Ed. Jan Morris. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978.

Prynne, William. *The Vniversity of Oxfords Plea Refuted*. 1647.

Sanderson, Robert. *Reasons of the Present Judgement of the University of Oxford Concerning the Solemne League and Covenant*. London: 1647.

Shakespeare, William. "Hamlet, Prince of Denmark." In *The Complete Works of William Shakespeare*. New York: Avenel Books, 1975, 1071-1112.

Shakespeare, William. "Much Ado About Nothing." In *The Complete Works of William Shakespeare*. New York: Avenel Books, 1975, 127-152.

Shakespeare, William. "Romeo and Juliet." In *The Complete Works of William Shakespeare*. New York: Avenel Books, 1975, 1011-1044.

Starkey, Thomas. "A Dialogue Between Cardinal Pole and Thomas Lupset." (1533) In *England in the Reign of King Henry the Eighth: Life and Letters and A Dialogue Between Cardinal Pole and Thomas Lupset by Thomas Starkey*. Ed. Sidney J. Herrtage. Millwood: Kraus Reprint Company, 1878.

Stuart, Charles I. "Injunction to the University of Cambridge, 1630." (1630) In *Education in Tudor and Stuart England*. Ed. David Cressy. London: Edward Arnold, 1975.

Stubbes, Philip. *The Anatomie of Abuses*. (1583) New York: Da Capo Press, 1972.

Vaughan, Henry. "On Sir Thomas Bodley's Library; the Author Being Then in Oxford." In *Henry Vaughan: The Complete Poems*. Ed. Alan Rudrum. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976.

Vergerio, Pier Paolo. "The Character and Studies Befitting a Free-Born Youth." In *Humanist Educational Treatises*. Ed. Craig W.

Kallendorf. Trans. Craig W. Kallendorf. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002, 2-91.

Walker, Obadiah. *Of Education, Especially of Young Gentlemen*. 2nd Ed. Oxford: 1673.

Warburton, Elliot. *Memoirs of Prince Rupert and the Cavaliers, Including their Private Correspondence, Now First Published From the Original Manuscripts*. 3 Vols. London: Richard Bentley, 1849.

Wood, Anthony. "The Antiquities of the University of Oxford." (1674) In *The Oxford Book of Oxford*. Ed. Jan Morris. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978.

Wood, Anthony. *Athenae Oxonienses*. (1691) Ed. Philip Bliss. 4 Vols. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1969.

Wood, Anthony. *Fasti Oxonienses*. (1691) Ed. Philip Bliss. 3rd Ed. 4 Vols. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1969.

Wood, Anthony. *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, Antiquary, of Oxford, 1632-1695, Described by Himself*. (1712) Ed. Andrew Clark. 2 Vols. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1891.

ഇ൹ൽ

Secondary Sources:

Amussen, Susan Dwyer. "Punishment, Discipline, and Power: The Social Meanings of Violence in Early Modern England." *The Journal of British Studies*. Vol. 34. No. 1. January, 1995, 1-34.

Ashton, Robert. *The English Civil War, Conservatism and Revolution, 1603-1649*. London: Phoenix, 1978.

Aylmer, G. E. *The State's Servants: The Civil Service of the English Republic, 1649-1660*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973.

Beddard, R. A. "James II and the Catholic Challenge." In *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. Nicholas Tyacke. 6 Vols. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1997, iv. 907-954.

Beddard, R. A. "Restoration Oxford and the Remaking of the Protestant Establishment." In *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. Nicholas Tyacke. 6 Vols. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1997, iv. 203-862.

Beddard, R. A. "Tory Oxford." In *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. Nicholas Tyacke. 6 Vols. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1997, iv. 863-906.

Berry, Helen. *Gender, Society and Print Culture in Late Stuart England*. Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing, 2003.

Bill, E. G. W. *Education at Christ Church Oxford, 1660-1800*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1988.

Brigden, Susan. "Youth and the English Reformation." In *Rebellion, Popular Protest and the Social Order in Early Modern England*. Ed. Paul Slack. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982, 77-107.

Cannon, John. *Aristocratic Century: The Peerage of Eighteenth Century England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

Capp, Bernard. "English Youth Groups and *The Pindar of Wakefield*." In *Rebellion, Popular Protest and the Social Order in Early Modern England*. Ed. Paul Slack. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977, 212-218.

Charlton, Kenneth, *Education in Renaissance England*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965.

Clark, Peter. *The English Alehouse, A Social History, 1200-1830*. London: Longmans, 1983.

Clark, J. C. D. *English Society, 1660-1832: Religion, Ideology and Politics During the Ancien Regime*. 2nd Ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Cockburn, J. S. "Patterns of Violence in English Society: Homicide in Kent, 1560-1985." *Past and Present*. No. 130. February, 1991, 70-106.

Costello, William T. *The Scholastic Curriculum at Early Seventeenth-Century Cambridge*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958.

Crawley, Charles. *Trinity Hall: The History of a Cambridge College, 1350-1975*. Cambridge: The Masters and Fellows of Trinity Hall, 1976.

Cressy, David. *Birth, Marriage, and Death: Ritual Religion, and the Life Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Cressy, David. *Literacy and Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.

Crossley, Alan. "City and University." In *The History of the University of Oxford*. Ed. Nicholas Tyacke. 6Vols. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1997, 105-134.

Curtis, Mark H. "The Alienated Intellectuals of Early Stuart England." *Past and Present*. No. 23. November, 1962, 25-43.

Curtis, Mark H. *Oxford and Cambridge in Transition, 1558-1642: An Essay on Changing Relations Between the English Universities and English Society*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1959.

De Groot, Jerome. "Space, Patronage, Procedure: The Court at Oxford, 1642-1646." *Past and Present*. No. 474. November, 2002,1204-1227.

Donagan, Barbara. "Codes and Conduct in the English Civil War." *Past and Present*. No. 118. February, 1988, 65-95.

Elias, Norbert. *The court Society*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1983.

Elton, G. R. *England Under the Tudors*. London: The Folio Society, 1997.

Engel, Arthur. "Emerging Concepts of the Academic Profession at Oxford, 1800-1854." In *The University in Society*. Ed. Lawrence Stone. 2 Vols. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975, i. 305-352.

Feingold, Mordechai. "The Humanities." In *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. Nicholas Tyacke. 6 Vols. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1997, iv.211-358.

Fincham, Kenneth. "Oxford and the Early Stuart Polity." In *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. Nicholas Tyacke. 6 Vols. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1997, iv. 179-210.

Fletcher, Anthony. *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England, 1500-1800.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995.

Foyster, Elizabeth A. *Manhood in Early Modern England: Honour, Sex and Marriage.* Harlow: Addison Wesley Longman, 1999.

Green, V. H. H. *A History of Oxford University.* London: B. T. Batsford, 1974.

Green, V. H. H. *Religion at Oxford and Cambridge.* London: SCM Press, 1964.

Green, V. H. H. *The Universities.* Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1969.

Hale, J. R. *Renaissance War Studies.* London: The Habledon Press, 1983.

Hasler, P. W. *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1558-1603.* 3 Vols. London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1981.

Hexter, J. H. "The Education of the Aristocracy in the Renaissance." In *Reapraisals in History: New Views on History and Society in Early Modern Europe.* 2nd Ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979.

Hibbert, Christopher. *Cavaliers and Roundheads: The English at War, 1642-14649.* London: Harper Collins, 1993.

Hale, J. R. *Renaissance War Studies.* London: The Hambledon Press, 1983.

Hill, Christopher. *Some Intellectual Consequences of the English Revolution.* London: Phoenix Press, 1980.

Hole, Christina. *English Sports and Pasttimes.* Freeport: Books for Libraries Press, 1949.

Houlbrook, Ralph. *Death, Religion, and the Family in England: 1480-1750.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Hunter, Michael. "A 'College' for the Royal Society: The Abortive Plan of 1667-1668." *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London.* Vol. 38. No. 2. March, 1984, 159-186.

Jeaffreson, John Cordy. *Annals of Oxford.* 2 Vols. London: Hurst and Blackett, 1871.

Jordan, Wilbur K. *Philanthropy in England, 1480-1660: A Study of the Changing Patterns of English Social Aspirations.* London: Allen and Unwin, 1959.

Kearney, Hugh. *Scholars and Gentlemen: Universities in Pre-Industrial Britain, 1500-1700.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970.

Kent, Susan Kingsley. *Gender and Power in Britain, 1640-1990.* London: Routledge, 1999.

Kreider, Alan. *English Chantries: The Road to Dissolution.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979.

Kuchta, David. *The Three-Piece Suit and Modern Masculinity, England, 1550-1850.* Berkley: University of California Press, 2002.

Lieb, Michael. *Milton and the Culture of Violence.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994.

Manning, Roger B. *Village Revolts: Social Protest and Popular Disturbances in England, 1509-1640.* Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1988.

Mansbridge, Albert. *The Older Universities of England: Oxford and Cambridge.* London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1923.

Mallett, Charles Edward. *A History of the University of Oxford.* 3 vols. London: Methuen and Company, 1924.

Morgan, Victor. "Cambridge University and "The Country", 1560-1640." In *The University in Society.* Ed. Lawrence Stone. 2 Vols. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974, i.183-246.

Mullinger, James Bass. *The University of Cambridge.* 3 Vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1884.

Neale, Sir John. *The Elizabethan House of Commons*. New Haven: 1950.

Newman, John. "The Architectural Setting." In *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. Nicholas Tyacke. 6 Vols. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1997, iv. 135-178.

Porter, Stephen. "University and Society." In *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. Nicholas Tyacke. 6 Vols. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1997, iv. 25-104.

Ollard, Richard. *The Image of the King: Charles I and Charles II*. London: Phoenix Press, 1979.

Rowse, A. L. *Oxford in the History of England*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1975.

Roy, Ian and Dietrich Reinhart. "Oxford and the Civil Wars." In *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. Nicholas Tyacke. 6 Vols. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1997, iv. 687-732.

Ruff, Julius R. *Violence in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Sharpe, J. A. *Crime in Early Modern England, 1550-1750*. London: Longman, 1984.

Shepard, Alexandra. "Manhood, Credit and Patriarchy in Early Modern England, c. 1580-1640." *Past and Present*. No. 167. May, 2000, 75-106.

Shoemaker, Robert B. *Gender in English Society, 1650-1850: The Emergence of Separate Spheres?* London: Addison Wesley Longman, 1998.

Smith, Steven R. "The London Apprentices as Seventeenth-Century Adolescents." In *Rebellion, Popular Protest and the Social Order in Early Modern England*. Ed. Paul Slack. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973, 219-231.

Simon, Joan. *Education and Society in Tudor England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966.

Spiers, R. A. H. *Round About 'The Mitre' at Oxford: Episodes of the University City Hotel*. 2nd Ed. Oxford: The Mitre Hotel, 1929.

Sommerville, Margaret R. *Sex and Subjection: Attitudes to Women in Early Modern Society*. London: Arnold Publishing, 1995.

Stone, Gregory W. "Scholarly Soldiers: Student and Professorial Reactions and Contributions to the Royalist War Effort in Oxford, 1642-1646." Calgary: Honours Thesis, the University of Calgary, 2003.

Stone, Lawrence. *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1965.

Stone, Lawrence. "The Educational Revolution in England, 1560-1640." *Past and Present*. No. 28. July, 1964, 41-80.

Stone, Lawrence. *Family and Fortune: Studies in Aristocratic Finance in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1973.

Stone, Lawrence. *An Open Elite? England, 1540-1880* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1948.

Stone, Lawrence. "The Size and Composition of the Oxford Student Body, 1580-1909." In *The University in Society*. Ed. Lawrence Stone. 2 Vols. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974.

Suzuki, Mihoko. *Subordinate Subjects: Gender, the Political Nation, and Literary Form in England, 1588-1688*. Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing, 2003.

Thompson, Craig R. *Universities in Tudor England*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1964.

Topping, Graham. *Guide to the University City of Oxford*. Norwich: Jarrold Publishing, 1992.

Trevelyan, George Macaulay. *England Under the Stuarts*. London: The Folio Society, 1996 (1946).

Trevor-Roper, Hugh. *Christ Church Oxford*. 3rd Ed. Oxford: The Governing Body of Christ Church, 1989.

Turner, Craig and Tony Soper. *Methods and Practice of Elizabethan Swordplay*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1990.

Twigg, John. "College Finances, 1640-1660." In *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. Nicholas Tyacke. 6 Vols. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1997, iv. 773-802.

Tyacke, Nicholas. "Introduction." In *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. Nicholas Tyacke. 6 Vols. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1997, iv. 1-25.

Underdown, David. *Revel, Riot, and Rebellion: Popular Politics and Culture in England, 1603-1660*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1985.

Varley, Frederick John. *The Siege of Oxford: An Account of Oxford During the Civil War, 1642-1646*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1932.

Ward, W. R. *Georgian Oxford: University Politics in the Eighteenth Century*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1958.

Wedgwood, C. V. *The King's Peace, 1637-1641*.Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1955.

Wedgwood, C. V. *The King's War, 1641-1647*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1958.

Williams, Penry. *The Tudor Regime*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1979.

Winstanley, D. A. *Unreformed Camgbridge: A Study of Certain Aspects of the University in the Eighteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1935.

Worden, Blair. "Cromwellian Oxford." In In *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. Nicholas Tyacke. 6 Vols. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1997, iv. 733-772.

Woodward, William Harrison. *Desiderius Erasmus Concerning the Aim and method of Education* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964.

Woolrych, Austim. *Commonwealth to Protectorate*. London: Phoenix Press, 1982