



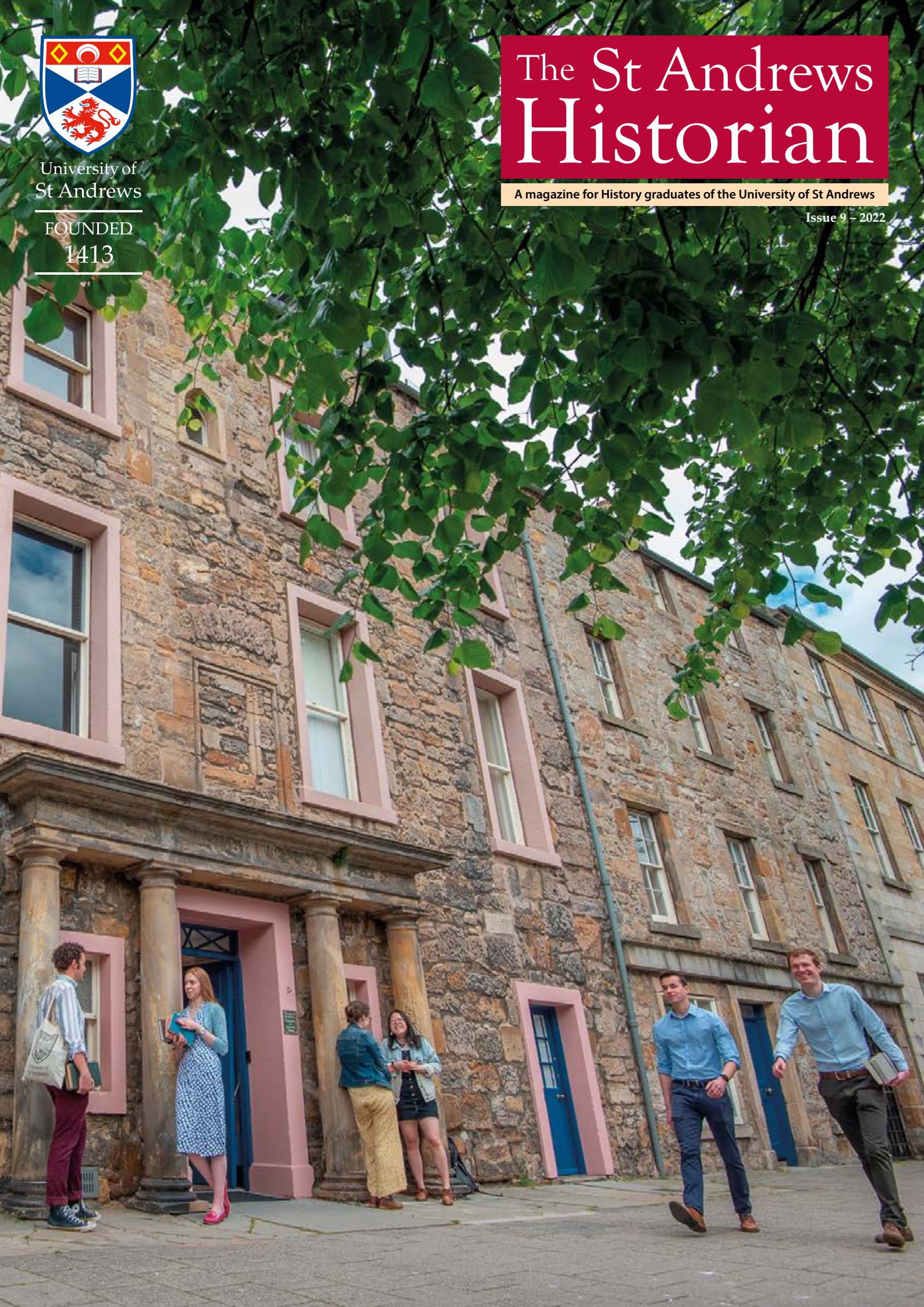
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The St Andrews Historian

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Message from the Head of School, Professor Bridget Heal

Dear Friends and Alumni,

After two years of disruption – of adapting to online teaching and learning, and of endless Teams seminars and meetings – it finally feels like we are emerging. This year has still been far from normal, but staff and students have at least had the joy of being back in the classroom.

The return to offices and to in-person events is gradually restoring the sense of community that has been so much missed since spring 2020, and as I write we are looking forward to our first research away day in three years at which colleagues will come together to discuss current and future plans. We are especially delighted to be welcoming three new colleagues to the School this year: Dr Andrew Edwards (early America), Dr Diana Lemberg (modern USA) and Dr Valerie Wallace (Scotland and the wider world).

As ever, our research achievements have been spectacular and are celebrated in this newsletter. Success in research grant applications allows colleagues time to pursue their own projects and enables the School to welcome outstanding young teachers and researchers to replace them while they do so. Our undergraduate and postgraduate students also continue to excel: three have had their dissertation work recognized with prizes awarded in UK-wide competitions this year. In terms of teaching, alongside our core activities we are branching out in new directions, with short residential courses and distance learning options under development. This year, for example, we will be offering a summer course on the history and archaeology of medieval monasticism.

Over the past year a team of staff and students have come together to investigate the history of women’s participation in, and experiences of, the study of history at St Andrews. The fascinating results of their investigations, including the life stories of some of our early alumnae, can be found at <https://women-historians.wp.st-andrews.ac.uk>. And for those passing through St Andrews between now and July, the newly renovated Wardlaw Museum has an exhibition curated by two members of our Institute for Scottish History: ‘[Cult, Church, City: Medieval St Andrews](#)’. It brings together unique artworks, artefacts, manuscripts, and books to tell the story of the town and the central role it played in pre-Reformation Scottish history.

With this magazine we are launching a fundraising campaign for postgraduate scholarships to ensure that support is available for talented students from all backgrounds who wish to pursue their studies here in the School. You can read more about it at www.st-andrews.ac.uk/development/support/history-postgraduate-support. We are grateful for your ongoing interest in and support for the School, and we hope that you enjoy reading about our activities.

Medieval Women’s Monastic Communities and Modern Science

by **Professor Alison Beach**

In the popular imagination, the monasteries of medieval Europe were set apart, entirely cut off from world round them. But religious communities, in all their variety, were deeply interwoven into the social, economic, artistic, intellectual, and environmental landscapes in which they were embedded.

Many people also imagine monastic spaces populated exclusively by men: monks copying and decorating books, monks chanting the Liturgy of the Hours, monks reading, and monks performing manual labour in their community’s workshops and fields. Women, however, played central roles in the religious, intellectual, artistic, social, and economic spaces of medieval society as members of religious communities.

For the last twenty years, my research has focused on these women and their communities in twelfth-century Germany, particularly on the role of female monastics in the production of manuscripts – from preparing parchment, to composing and copying text, to painting and illumination. I have spent hours and hours in monastic libraries in Germany with my face in



medieval books, identifying female scribes and their work using the traditional tools of palaeography (the deciphering and dating of medieval handwriting) and codicology (the study of the physical structure of medieval books).

My research on female scribes took an interesting turn in 2019, however, when I received an email inquiry from a team of molecular bioarchaeologists working in Germany. They had made an unexpected discovery: lapis lazuli pigment – the ground stone used to make the costliest medieval paint – embedded in the dental calculus (yes, that’s right: that calcified dental plaque that forms on your teeth) of a women buried in a cemetery associated with an obscure female religious community in Germany. They contacted me to ask if I could help them to interpret this fascinating find.

Archaeological scientists, as I quickly learned, are now pioneering techniques for examining the material (micro-debris)

that becomes entrapped in the sticky biofilm that continuously forms on human teeth. As layers of plaque calcify over time, they entrap and preserve all sorts of bits: pollen, bacteria, and food, as well as debris related to artistic and craft production, including pigment, dyes, and cloth fibres. This deposit builds up over years, leaving us with what amounts to an archaeological site in the human mouth. Dental calculus from excavated ancient and medieval human remains can be broken down to release the micro-debris entrapped within it, and that micro-debris is examined down to the scale of nanoparticles using super high-tech microscopy. Medieval dental hygiene being what it was, medieval teeth can open a fascinating new window on the health, diet, and daily activities of medieval people.

It looks very much like this woman with lapis lazuli pigment in her dental calculus was a skilled book artist who used her mouth to shape her paintbrush to a fine point. As she added layers of blue paint to the parchment, she also added layers of pigment to her teeth! Her dental calculus had become a kind of archive, the only remaining trace of her identity as an artist. And she must have been a highly skilled artist. In the twelfth century, the only source of precious lapis lazuli pigment, then more valuable than gold, was the Sar-i Sang mines in what is now Afghanistan. Only a very skilled artist would have been entrusted with such costly materials. That this valuable commodity had made its way along the Silk Routes into Western Europe and to a rather remote area of Germany reflects an impressive level of economic interconnectivity in the twelfth century.

Following the 2019 publication of our findings surrounding the medieval religious woman with lapis lazuli pigment in her dental calculus, we decided to extend our work, pioneering a groundbreaking interdisciplinary approach to the study of medieval religious women and their communities in the Middle Ages and Early Modern periods. With the generous support of a Network Facilitation Grant from the Royal Society of Edinburgh, we are now in the middle of a pilot study of 48 early modern nuns from the Cistercian community of Santa Maria della Stella in Italy's Piedmont region. Working in close collaboration throughout, our research team moves back and forth between library and laboratory, integrating historical research with the latest advancements in the analysis of human remains to transform the way we see women in the European past. The archives of Santa Maria della Stella are rich with documents detailing the daily lives of the nuns, even noting the women's fondness for chocolate and wine.

By combining texts, osteology, biomolecular, and microscopic analyses of dental calculus, we have begun to open a fascinating new window on the health, diet, and activities of the nuns of Santa Maria della Stella. It is exciting to see the potential offered by deep collaboration between historians and scientists as we both continue our work with the women of Santa Maria della Stella and extend our reach into skeletal assemblages from Germany, England, and (we hope!) Ireland and Scotland. More exciting discoveries are yet to come from the mouths of medieval religious women!

“Obey the Lord King in Everything”: Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm

by **Professor Michael Brown**

The idea of the community of the realm has long been written about as central to Scotland's struggles to defend her existence and status as a sovereign kingdom in wars against the English kings from the 1290s to the 1350s. Still in print after over fifty years, Geoffrey Barrow's great book, *Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland*, made the communal ideal the partner of King Robert in his successful campaign to restore the Scottish kingdom. For Barrow and others this sense of community and the rights attached to it represented the basis of a cause for which Scots fought and died. Its fullest expression came in the so-called Declaration of Arbroath, a letter written to Pope John XXII in May 1320 in an effort to persuade the pontiff to lift the sentence of excommunication he had placed on King Robert. Described as 'the most eloquent statement of regnal solidarity to have come out of the middle ages', the declaration proclaimed the rights of the Scots on the basis of the ancient liberties they possessed as a people and realm.

Written in the name of 'the barons and freeholders and the whole community of the realm', the letter also stated that should King Robert fail to defend these liberties by allowing his kingdom to be subjected to the English, 'we will immediately endeavour to expel him, as our enemy and the subverter both of his own and our rights, and we will make another king.' In these

words, the declaration apparently indicated that Robert's rule as monarch was conditional. Should he fail in his duties towards his people, they would seek his deposition as a legitimate act. These words have excited generations of readers. They suggest a direct link between the authority of the king and the active consent of his subjects, which has been hailed as a precursor to ideas of constitutional monarchy.

And yet, would Robert Bruce, who had fought so hard to secure his place and rights as king, really have conceived of them in terms which limited his ability to rule? A different perspective on this can be obtained by looking at two other texts which, although they also talked about Robert's kingship in conjunction with the community of his kingdom, articulated the relationship in very different terms. The earlier of these was included in the tailzie or entail of December 1318. This statute was issued at a moment of deep crisis for the king. His brother and nominated heir, Edward Bruce, had been killed in Ireland six weeks before, leaving Robert with only an infant grandson to succeed him. To assert his authority, in the preamble to the tailzie all those who were present agreed that they all would 'obey the lord king ... in everything ... and will assist him faithfully ... in the defence of the rights and liberties of the



kingdom.' Any who violated this ordinance would be guilty of treason and liable to a traitor's death.

This community clearly required threats to maintain it in the defence of liberties. Robert's concern was with those Scots who had never willingly accepted his rule and who now scented an opportunity. This did not simply come via the enmity of Edward II of England. A few months earlier, Robert's refusal to accept the cessation of warfare declared by Pope John had led to his excommunication. This punishment required his own subjects to renounce their obligations to Robert. When the ordinance stated that the community was bound to obey the king 'against all mortals however mighty, by whatever power, authority or dignity in which they may be pre-eminent' it was the pope's censure which was at issue. As a demand for loyalty which presented Scots with a choice between death as a traitor or defiance of the Holy Father, this represented a much less conditional approach to kingship.

Eight years later, in July 1326, Robert could articulate his relationship with the community in very different terms. Yet, these also indicate a ruler with a full sense of what was owed to him as king. In a meeting of parliament at Cambuskenneth Abbey near Stirling, an agreement in the form of an indenture was established between King Robert and 'the earls, barons, burgesses and all the other freeholders of his kingdom.' The text

stated that Robert asked those assembled 'that because, both in his own person and in his property, he had sustained many adversities, in order to recover and resume the liberty of all, it should please them, out of the gratitude they owed him' to find a way to provide him with financial support. By the summer of 1326 Robert was in a much stronger position. The war with England had been suspended by a truce in 1323, and, just three days earlier, Robert had confirmed an alliance with King Charles IV of France, marking the real start of the Auld Alliance. Robert could confidently turn to his subjects for a request for financial aid. Their apparent response was 'with joy and a spirit of goodwill' to offer an unprecedented tithe on their revenues each year for the rest of his life.

The tailzie and the indenture both indicate that Scots in the early fourteenth century regarded the relationship between king and community as a matter of shared liberties but also of the fundamental obligations owed by subjects to the crown. The sense of the king's authority as being conditional on his own actions is much harder to spot. Unlike the Declaration of Arbroath, written for an external audience, these texts represent Bruce talking directly to his subjects. Whilst in different ways they show an appreciation of the need for such a conversation, both display Robert as a king with a strong sense of what his country could do for him.

“The West” and Its Other: Uses and Critiques of a Spatial Imaginary

by **Professor Riccardo Bavaj**

Spatial imaginaries – such as 'the West', 'Eurasia', and 'the Global South' – take the form of textual, visual or performative representations. They matter because they reduce complexity and shape identities. They do so by homogenising space. They evoke an 'imagined community' (Benedict Anderson) and form part of processes of inclusion and exclusion – determining who is part of this community, and who is not. Spatial imaginaries evoke a sense of belonging and gain traction in response to political challenges: crises, conflicts, and wars. In public discourse, however, geography is typically presented as a timeless backdrop to the unfolding of history. All too often spatial imaginaries are taken for granted, their assumptions and intentions left unquestioned.

Do a quick Google search for 'Russia', 'Ukraine', and 'the West'. See what comes up. 'The West' figures as a geopolitical entity that, however amorphous its borders, thinks and acts. It is said to impose sanctions and deliver arms. Commentators ponder its response to Russia's invasion of Ukraine, and whether it stands strong and united. That 'it' exists is rarely questioned. In his 2016 Reith Lectures, cosmopolitan theorist Kwame Anthony Appiah may have debunked the whole idea of 'the West', declaring that 'there is no such thing as western civilisation' (the lectures have been published under the fitting title *The Lies That Bind*). But in times of war, such voices are readily forgotten.

Appiah has, however, not been the only one questioning the intellectual validity of 'the West' – as a socio-political concept



that refers to a group of countries, or a civilization, and that conveys social norms, political beliefs, civilizational identities, and a way of life. 'The West' as an 'intelligible unit of historical study' (Arnold Toynbee) has long been losing intellectual purchase. There has been a growing uncertainty about its political contours, cultural identity, and epistemological status. The reasons for this are manifold, but among them the end of the Cold War looms large. This may seem paradoxical. Didn't the end of the Cold War bring victory to 'the West'? For a while it seemed that way—and in fact, it was precisely its victory that did much to destabilize it semantically. Why? Because every concept, for it to retain both pertinence and prevalence, requires a powerful counter-concept, and the West's key antonym, Soviet Communism, had now vanished.

The end of the Cold War also gave rise to a renewed sense of geo-historical contingency. It re-sensitized scholars to the historical conditionality of geopolitical constellations. Of course, interrogating and thinking beyond cold-war bipolarity had been possible before the wall came down in 1989. Nonetheless, what human geographer Derek Gregory has called the 'disclosure of [...] taken-for-granted geographical imaginaries' certainly became easier without the discursive straight-jackets of the superpower conflict. To be sure, one of Gregory's intellectual mentors, the literary critic Edward Said, had already engaged with 'imaginative geographies' as early as 1977/78, in his studies

on 'Orientalism'. Both postcolonialism and postmodernism, alongside other strands of the 'cultural turn', had begun to undermine the appeal of formerly unquestioned assumptions about 'the West' before the Iron Curtain was torn apart. And yet, it was not until the 1990s that a critical mass of scholars, hailing from various disciplines, turned their eyes to spatial imaginaries such as 'the West', 'Eastern Europe', and 'the Third World'. The West became a 'West' in quotation marks.

At the same time, 'the West' has continued to be a prominent point of reference, and effective framing device, in contemporary political debate and the wider public sphere. As mentioned, 'the West' is most commonly used in situations of international conflicts, crises, and wars – especially when arguments can be made about the inner political cohesion of foreign policy alliances (e.g., 'liberal democracies' fighting terrorism and autocratic regimes). Clearly, there has been no shortage of such conflicts in recent years. One may think of 9/11 and the war in Afghanistan, though now, of course, the most obvious example would be Russia's war against Ukraine, starting with the annexation of Crimea in 2014. Today's renewed prominence of 'the West' as a socio-political concept is closely intertwined with the self-assertion of anti-Western alterities, that is the prominence and distinctiveness of 'the Other'. This 'Other' may come in various shapes and forms. In the first half of the 20th century, it came in the form first of Imperial, then of Nazi Germany.

For many decades, Germans had a rather troubled relationship with 'the West'. German anti-Westernism soared in the First World War: 'Western civilization' was perceived as shallow, artificial, corrupt, and decadent, whereas 'German *culture*' was seen as innately meaningful, authentic, and true to life. The outcome of the First World War did not change much in this regard. Some Germans now thought more than ever that Germany's future should take a path very different from that of 'the West', and that it was good to be special—until it was not. After 1945—that is,

after the defeat of Nazi Germany—notions of a German 'special path' were turned on their head. In the Federal Republic, the narrative took hold that in order to prevent something like this (i.e., the demise of democracy and the rise of dictatorship) from happening again Germany had to 'Westernize'. It had to return to the 'Western path of normality' that it once had left. After reunification, the whole of Germany was said to have arrived in the West' (Heinrich August Winkler). In the wake of Trump's 2016 election victory, the *New York Times* went as far as hailing Germany's chancellor as 'the liberal West's last defender'.

For quite some time now, anti-Western alterities come in the form of militant Islamism; an autocratic imperialist Russia; and China as a new emerging superpower. In the post-Cold War era, these alterities have proven robust enough to keep 'the West' alive. After all, the greatest threat to 'the West' as a socio-political concept is the lack of any threat—it does tend to be in fashion when confronted with 'internal' or 'external' threats that are considered anti-'Western'. This has been the case since the early nineteenth century when the directional concept 'the west' transformed into a socio-political concept, and when a geographical direction ('west') became temporalized space: moving westward came to mean moving forward – historically, politically, socially. There has, in fact, been a long tradition of a 'West' versus Russia discourse: from Petr Chaadaev's Russian oppositional critique that the Decembrists' uprising of 1825 was 'setting us back half a century', to the Polish November Uprising of 1830-31 and the Crimean War of 1853-56, to the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, the Prague Spring of 1968, and today's war in Ukraine. Times of war may not be the best moment to historicize, and thus semantically destabilize, the very rhetorical tools used to mobilize people against imperialist aggression, but the political usefulness of spatial imaginaries such as 'Western democracy' and 'Western value community' should not be confused with their intellectual plausibility nor deceive us about the inner ambiguities of 'Western civ' narratives.

New Project around St Andrews: Women Historians of St Andrews

by **Professor Aileen Fyfe**

Did you know that the first women graduated with Honours in History from St Andrews in 1903? And the first women to gain History PhDs did so in 1927 and 1928? But it was not until 2009 that a woman historian was appointed as professor?

Today, just over half of the undergraduate History students at St Andrews identify as female, and so do just under half of our academic research and teaching staff. We have been working hard to investigate the current gender inequalities and imbalances, and in autumn 2018, we became one of just ten UK History departments (then) holding the Athena SWAN Gender Equality bronze award. To complement and inform these discussions, we decided to put our historical skills to use and investigate the history of women in our School (and its predecessor departments).

The 'Women Historians of St Andrews' project began in early 2021. It is led by Aileen Fyfe, Kate Ferris and Frances Andrews, and has already been assisted by 14 undergraduate and 3 postgraduate student interns, with another team of undergraduates scheduled for summer 2022. The postgraduate interns have been undertaking a series of oral history interviews with former staff and students; while the undergraduate interns have helped investigate the earliest women staff, and explored the changing experiences of women History students over the course of the twentieth century.

When we began this project, we thought we knew that the old department of Mediaeval History had a better track-record of appointing women than the old department of Modern History. Local memory 'knew' about Lorna Walker, Ann Kettle and



Barbara Crawford, who were all appointed in the 1960s, and have remained part of our extended community in their retirements; and we thought we 'knew' that the first group of women in Modern History had been appointed only in 2001 and 2002. But it turns out that we were wrong about that, as perhaps some of you already knew...

During the First World War, absences due to military service created teaching gaps at the University, and some of these were temporarily filled by women. Thus, during 1917-1919, Janet Isabella Low taught the first and second-year classes in 'Modern History' (which, until 1955, included 'Mediaeval History'). We believe she was the first woman to hold a formal teaching appointment in History. Janet Low grew up locally, and had graduated with an MA Honours in Classics in 1907. We do not yet know much about her connection to the University – but she donated the funding to establish the Janet I. Low Prize in Modern History, which is still awarded every year.

The story of Caroline Doris Ketelbey has been another fascinating discovery. She was from Birmingham, and originally came to St Andrews as a teacher at St Leonard's school in the 1920s. In the 1930s – after the success of her *A History of Modern Times* (1929) – she moved into the university sector, working as an 'assistant' (lecturer) first at Queen's Belfast, and then at St Andrews from 1935. We believe that she was the first woman with a long-term teaching appointment here. She was promoted to lecturer after the war; spent six months as a visiting professor at the University of the Gold Coast (now in Ghana); was promoted to senior lecturer in 1955; and retired in 1958. For all but the final two years of her career at St Andrews, Ketelbey was the only woman on the History staff – and by the time of her death in 1990, she seems to have been lost from the institutional memory.



(Caroline) Doris Ketelbey, photographed around 1940.

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Barbara Crawford teaching a mediaeval history tutorial in 1982, photographed by Peter Adamson.

Courtesy of the University of St Andrews Libraries and Museums, ID: StAUL-PH-54-12.

of Arts, women students almost always outnumbered men right up to the Second World War. Many of these Arts students would have taken a History class, or two, at some point in their studies, but our best data is for the few (usually fewer than 10 students) who graduated with Honours History. There were generally one or two more men than women, but there were a few years – including 1925 – when all the Honours historians were female.

We would like to understand more about what it was like for these women to study History at St Andrews. The surviving staff lists and exam papers suggest that History would have seemed to be a subject taught by men, about men (with occasional appearances by Margaret of Scotland, and Elizabeth I). Our summer interns last year enjoyed exploring the papers given to the Library by Linda Proom, who graduated in Mediaeval and Modern History in 1963. They suggest a hectic social life, ranging from meetings of the student History, Archaeology and Film societies, to a reading weekend at the Burn, and parties at the Women Students' Union.

Our oral history interviews are helping us to understand the experiences of our past students and staff from the 1960s onwards. We are sharing a new 'Life Story' blog, with accompanying short video clip, each

month. You can already listen to Lorna Walker remembering her time as an undergraduate from 1948 (including her memory of Doris Ketelbey), and Jane Dawson remembering her time as a postdoctoral researcher and part-time tutor in the 1970s and 1980s. More to come!

Make sure you don't miss the next video – subscribe to our YouTube channel 'Women Historians of St Andrews'.

You can read more about Janet Low and Doris Ketelbey on the 'Women Historians' website: <https://women-historians.wp.st-andrews.ac.uk>

In contrast to the male-dominated staff, the student body was rather different. In the first half of the twentieth century, St Andrews as a whole had a higher proportion of women students than the other Scottish universities: it was consistently above 30%, and in 1924-25, it even reached 45%. In the Faculty

We would also be delighted to hear from alumnae (or alumni!) who can tell us more about what it was like to study History here, whether at MA, taught masters or PhD level. We would be particularly interested in what you remember about the gender dynamics in lectures and tutorials, whether you were taught anything about women's or gender history, and what career advice or opportunities were offered to women History students. We would also love to see more photographs of History students and staff, especially if you're willing for us to share them! We can be contacted by email on womenhistorians@st-andrews.ac.uk or via a form on the project website.

Student Prizes

Peter Wollweber (John Hurst award)

My dissertation looked at how Roman ruins were treated by English society before the arrival of the first Christian missionaries in Kent in 604AD.

The idea of writing about a culture looking back at its own past had always interested me for a dissertation, as history can all too often be viewed as a transactional exchange between the past and present. It's easy to forget that the people we research and whose lives we try to reconstruct pondered the very same questions, often living in the ruins and legacies of those who came before them. Trying to understand how they conceptualised what was around them and constructed historical narratives from the scraps of information available, often in mostly illiterate populations, was a fascinating area to study.

The thesis itself looked at Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* and *Beowulf* as core texts, reading them as much for the inherent assumptions their authors made about the past as anything else. Areas like Bede's throwaway mentions of stone walling and Beowulf's tales of golden hoards within the 'ancient works of giants' gave an all-too-rare insight into how ancient ruins might have fitted into the psyche of those who experienced them. They are named as the homes of demons and dragons, of saints' isolated torments but also of royal gatherings and

political proclamations. Pervading all the sources was the idea that ruined cities and monumental buildings quite literally loomed over the existences of those who followed, who had no comparable experiences of urban or centralised life but recognised these remains as something apart from their world.

Submitting the dissertation for the John Hurst Award (at the recommendation of my immensely helpful supervisor Dr Alex Woolf) seemed a bit of a long shot at the time. The competition is run by the Society for Medieval Archaeology and looks for original contributions to the field from undergraduate theses, with one entry per university. It was a delight to see the piece win the prize and be read by such distinguished people in the field. I was particularly pleased to receive the news, as much of my own interest in the past stems from a long-term hobby of Thames mudlarking, with material connections to artefacts and broken pieces of the past informing my early understanding of history. In future, I hope to see what more can be done with the ideas explored in my dissertation!



Ruby Ekkel (Women's History Network dissertation prize)

When I first read about Anna Kingsford, who became one of the very first English women to receive a medical degree purely to prove a point, I was intrigued.

When I found out she was also an avant-garde vegetarian, feminist campaigner, and a leading spiritualist, I knew I had found the subject of my Masters dissertation. Kingsford's story is a fascinating one, teeming with dastardly vivisection, metaphysical battles, politicized vegetables, and plenty of nineteenth-century feminist rage. But as I researched further, I was surprised and frustrated by the way Victorian vegetarianism has often been treated by historians either as an unimportant footnote to more valid human-centric concerns or as a laughable idiosyncrasy. Vegetarian advocacy was even implied by one historian to be a sign of encroaching insanity. I saw my dissertation as a possibly wobbly step towards a more serious analysis of vegetarianism and animal protectionism in history, especially as both come into focus as salient issues in the present.

My dissertation, 'Vegetarians, vivisection and violationism: gender and the non-human animal in Anna Kingsford's life and writing', addresses Kingsford's ideas about non-human animals and gender and examines the complex relationship between them. It argues that Kingsford's vegetarianism lay at the centre of her world view and profoundly shaped her engagement with antivivisectionism—the fight against experimentation on

conscious animals—and feminism. Through an investigation of her intertwined commitments to these causes, I aimed to reconstruct Kingsford's multifaceted and deeply considered conceptualisation of animals, which was founded on personal experience, scientific research, and distinctive spiritual beliefs. This conceptualisation closely interacted with, but was not merely an extension of, her ideas of femininity, gender, and women's emancipation.

After my return to Australia and some welcome relief from thinking about vivisection laboratories, I was delighted to hear that 'Vegetarians, vivisection and violationism' had won the runners-up award for the 2021 MA Dissertation Prize. The competition is coordinated each year by the Women's History Network, an international association and forum for those interested in women's history. I am looking forward to presenting my research at a WHN seminar in November. To conclude, I would like to thank my supervisor [Dr John Clark](#) and [Dr Konrad Lawson](#) for supporting the development of my dissertation.



Claire Macleod (Women's History Network dissertation prize)

Student Claire MacLeod has won the undergraduate dissertation prize of the Society for the Study of French History for her study of French provincial printing, 'Not Just Paris? The Development of the 17th Century French Provincial Book World'. Claire MacLeod graduated from the University of St Andrews in 2021 with a first-class MA Modern History (Honours). She is currently at the University of Oxford studying for an MSc Education (Digital and Social Change) where she researches the experiences of vulnerable pupils who attended school in-person during the COVID-19 pandemic. Here she shares part of her MA dissertation introduction.



It was during her stay in Grenoble that the mystic author, Madame Jeanne Guyon, first published the book that would land her in prison for eight years. After spending some time receiving visitors, she described how it was that the manuscript for *A Short and Very Easy Method of Prayer (Le Moyen Court)* came into publication:

A Counselor of Parliament came to see me, who is a model of sanctity. This good servant of God found on my table a method of prayer that I had written a long time ago. He took it from me and having found it to his liking, he gave it to some of his friends who he thought would find it useful. Everyone wanted copies. He resolved with the good brother to have it printed: once the printing was started and the required approvals were obtained, he asked me to make a preface for it. I did so; and that is how the little booklet, that soon after became the pretext to imprison me, was printed. The Counselor is one of my dear friends and a great servant of God. The poor little book has continued through five or six printings despite persecution, and Our Father gives it a great blessing. The good friars took five hundred copies of it.¹

The story of Madame Guyon gives some insight into the rich and complex book world of provincial France. Her journey to publication illustrates the systems that supported the book trade in a century where the state took an active interest in confining the production of books to a few choice printers in Paris.

By drawing on data from the Universal Short Title Catalogue (USTC) and the multiple volumes of the *Répertoire bibliographique*, this dissertation shows that a rich culture of print can be found in the most unlikely places. In their assessment of the seventeenth century, Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin described how the book world had changed from its loose structure in the sixteenth century.² In contrast to the great scholar-humanists of the Renaissance, printers and booksellers 'were now like servants in relation to their customers, not their equals or even their protectors as they had been in the sixteenth century.'³ The crowded market and foreign competition had made it impossible for

a printer-bookseller to sustain a business without in some way embedding themselves within the protected structures of an institution or at least a powerful patron. They were incentivized into becoming the mouthpiece of officialdom reflecting in every publication the interests of a corporate body, whether that be the ministerial elite, the nobility, the crown, or the church in its various iterations.

This formal system of patronage might have incentivized the printers in provincial France to be extremely conservative in their output. However, the definitions of sedition, heterodoxy, piracy, and disorder were in constant flux and often commercial interests intersected with official gain. Printing edicts for the King and selling a pirated copy of Moliere could both serve an outcome that was congenial to the interests of at least one protective body. In the same way, printing Jansenist breviaries and selling casuist manuals could both fall under the umbrella of legitimate print depending on the dominant power in the region. As well, with the changing nature of French politics and religious culture, a perfectly legitimate work could become illegitimate with time.

Such was the case with Madame Guyon's *Le Moyen Court*. A book which, had it been published a few decades earlier might have been entirely acceptable, had by 1685 become a serious problem for the monarchy and an important assortment of bishops. Its acceptability in the eyes of the Counsellor of Parlement might have meant it could go unchallenged had it not circulated beyond the sphere of those Grenoble jurists. The printer of *Le Moyen Court*, Jean Le Petit, and the booksellers who distributed it no doubt had an interest in maintaining their respectability in the industry but they operated in a particularly multi-faceted book world. The provinces were rich in variations, allowing for pockets of toleration based on relationships and corporate interests that shaped the meaning of print.

1 Elizabeth Goldsmith, *Publishing Women's Life Stories in France: 1647-1720: From voice to print*, (New York, 2001), p. 81.

2 Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing 1450-1800* (London; New York, 1990), p. 153.

3 *Ibid.*

Alumni Updates

Mattias Eken

On 27 June 2019, many of my fellow St Andreans and I strode out of Younger Hall and into the bright sunlight of North Street.

As the graduation procession made its way into the Quad, I remember seeing my friends from 'the dungeon', that basement office in the School of History which I had called home for the past four years, lining the side of the street. I doubt I would have made it through my PhD without the support, love, and community of my beloved dungeon crew—not with any semblance of sanity intact at least. Graduation day was a brilliant day, one that I am very thankful for.

Eight months later in March 2020, the world had changed for most of us, including me. I was living with my fiancée (and fellow St Andrews graduate) Alison in Wokingham, Berkshire and working in university administration in London. While we were slowly starting to settle in Berkshire and joining a new community, but unfortunately Alison was laid off only a few months into her new job. On the plus side, we had gotten quite used to moving house in the years leading up to this. So, we simply got our moving boxes out again, packed away our lives once more, and shipped off to the ludicrously picturesque town of Saffron Walden, Essex, where Alison had landed a new job. The town was insanely pretty. Our rented house with

its 1970s peacock tapestry, however, was not. I continued to work for the university in London from home, very much without the support of a community around me. To make matters worse, any thoughts of getting married in 2021 were immediately quashed as the pandemic wore on.

Slowly but surely, however, things started to look up. We were able to scrape together what savings we had and buy our first home in the Cambridgeshire countryside. In January 2022 I landed a new job in Cambridge working as an analyst in defence and security for RAND Europe and surrounded by amazing colleagues. And next year Alison and I will finally be able to tie the knot in front of our friends and family. The past three years have been quite a journey – not always a very good one – but we can now look forward to creating a community of our own. Both fall under the umbrella of legitimate print depending on the dominant power in the region. As well, with the changing nature of French politics and religious culture, a perfectly legitimate work could become illegitimate with time.



Chelsea Reutcke

This month, I travel back to St Andrews to finally don that famous blue robe and walk in my in-person graduation ceremony.

When I cross that stage and kneel to be tapped on the head, following the long custom of St Andrews graduands, it will also have been a year and a half since my degree was actually conferred on me.

Covid has been a strange time to complete a thesis – Catholic print in late seventeenth-century England – bereft of so many traditions I watched my peers go through before me. No weighty physical copies to hand into the registrar. No in-person viva, with my supervisor waiting nearby to hear the news and friends to greet me at the pub (would I have chosen Aikman's to celebrate? Or the Criterion? Or, maybe, like my friend Alex, forgo drinks in favor of an ice cream sundae). And finally, no putting on that doctoral gown and circling St Sally's Quad, the act that so many of alum confided to me was the moment it truly felt like their journey was completed.

Granted, there were benefits. Lockdown provided extra time for proofing my thesis, and I would never have been able to spend the morning of my viva hiking Arthur's Seat in normal circumstances. Alongside my flatmate and fellow history PhD student, Emily Betz, we converted our living room into an office and set each other challenges to keep sane and on task. And though we were all isolating in our own flats, on the morning I submitted, my St Andrews family all joined me on Teams to watch me hit that submit button.

In some ways, that brief virtual ceremony back in December 2020 did mark the end of my academic journey in Scotland, a journey that started back in 2013 when I began my MLitt in Early Modern History. However, in so many more ways, receiving the title of Dr only strengthened my ties to St Andrews. This past fall, I also took on a research assistantship using my digital humanities skills for the St Andrews based project [Commemorative Cultures: American Civil War Monuments](#). This project chronicles and interprets monuments to the war from around the world, while interrogating the very concepts of what makes something monumental or a memorial. A few centuries and an ocean away from my normal realm of research, this project has nevertheless felt like home, allowing me to flex my database and research skills. It also kept me connected to the St Andrews community after returning to the States in October and gave me a purpose to conduct road trips to nearby states. Working alongside computer scientists, modern historians, art historians, and English lecturers, my academic community has only grown.

However, I have not forgotten my own research. I currently have one article on censorship against Catholic books published in *Church History* and another on Catherine of Braganza's patronage of the illicit trade in the LWW volume, *Print and Power*, and am editing another LWW article about Nicholas



Sander's Catholic history of the English Reformation for a volume on the Catholic Reformation and the Book. With grants from the *Catholic Record Society* and *Scottish Catholic Historical Association*, I have written another article on the Edinburgh-based Holyroodhouse Press of 1686 to 1688. Most recently, I received the Spencer Travel Grant to conduct research at the University of Kansas, where I found a fascinating collection of letters from a former Anglican bishop detailing his thoughts on a variety of Catholic histories.

The pandemic still shapes the world I've graduated into. Its mark continues to be felt in the organization of classes, the technology on hand, and even the job market. It has caused me to put off some archive visits (one day, Georgetown, one day) and embrace teaching opportunities I would have otherwise been unaware of. And yet, as I finish packing preparations to return to the UK, I can confidently say that if it had any impact on my identity as a St Andrews alumna, it has only been to strengthen my bond to that community.

Alumni News

Andre J. Hungerford, known as AJ, (Class of 1990) has been putting his analytical skills learned during his time in the School of History to work while undertaking research on the 'Orville Hungerford' history project. He has helped put together the upcoming 'Hungerford's AShes: Using Comic Art to Make History Come Alive' exhibit at the Jefferson County Historical Society in New York, which will honour the life and times of the pioneer, philanthropist and businessman Orville Hungerford (1790-1851). Pictured here is Andre's almost 2-year-old son Preston James Hawk Hungerford attending a Board of Trustees meeting at the Jefferson County Historical Society in Watertown, N.Y.



Dr Drew Thomas (PhD, 2018) and his wife Elisa are happy to announce the birth of their son, Samuel, in early May. Drew is leading a 4-year research project at University College Dublin entitled 'Applying Artificial Intelligence to the Printing Press: Transforming Visual Communication During the Protestant Reformation'.

Dr Joshua Scarlett (MLitt, 2015) has received his PhD this year. His thesis entitled 'Instruments and Their Makers' looks at 17th century telescopes and microscopes and is a material study into the creation and use of the objects and how they were made. He was awarded the degree after studying on an AHRC collaborative doctoral project with the University of York and the Science Museum.

Dr Ethan G. Birney (PhD, 2019) has held the position of Professor of History since August 2020 at Spartanburg Methodist College in Spartanburg, South Carolina. In December 2021, he was awarded a Course Enhancement Grant from Boston University African Studies Center to enhance visibility of Africa in my Modern World History course.

Lucy Coatman (MLitt, 2021) has consulted a lead dancer at the Polish Ballet who danced the role of Baroness Mary Vetsera in Kenneth MacMillan's ballet based around the events of the Mayerling Incident. Most recently, Lucy was interviewed for the programme of Scottish Ballet's production of the same ballet, and also recorded a podcast with them in order to inform the audience about the historical events and people that the performance is based upon. Her biography of Mary Vetsera has found a publisher in Vienna and should hopefully be published next year. Pictured here is a photo from the Scottish Ballet production.



Simon Wood (MA, 1988) works as a teacher in History and Modern Studies. He credits his love of History [and Politics] from his time at St Andrews. The tutors that stand out to him were Barbara Crawford in the Medieval History department and Gerry DeGroot and Alan Sykes in the Modern History department. Simon has been 30 years a teacher this year, the last 20 as Head of History, Modern Studies and Politics at The Glasgow Academy.

Barbora Kristofova (MLitt, 2017) is doing her doctoral degree at Matej Bel University in Banska Bystrica, Slovakia. Knowledge from her intellectual history degree from St Andrews has given her an advantage in her doctoral research. Presently, she is a visiting researcher at the Institute of Austrian Historical Research at the University of Vienna. She is very honoured and grateful to have been awarded the prestigious Ernst Mach Scholarship by the Austrian government, for this purpose. Pictured is Barbora with her beloved collie.



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“ I am immensely thankful to be the recipient of the Lionel Butler Scholarship. It has allowed me to immerse myself in academic life here at St Andrews and to experience all that the University, School of History and town have to offer. Without the Scholarship I would have been unable to dedicate myself fully to achieving my Masters in Medieval History. My time at St Andrews has been invaluable and I am certain that the skills I have learnt here will hold me in good stead in the future. ”



Megan Clements

Lionel Butler Scholarship Recipient, 2021–22

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Academic books published in 2021 by staff in the School of History



Andrew J. Cecchinato
Educazione giuridica di Thomas Jefferson
(Il Formichiere, ISBN: 9788831248860)



Margaret Connolly and Thomas G. Duncan (eds)
The Middle English Mirror: sermons from Quinquagesima to Pentecost
(Universitätsverlag Winter, ISBN: 9783825348786)



Guilherme Fians
Esperanto Revolutionaries and Geeks: Language Politics, Digital Media and the Making of an International Community
(Palgrave Macmillan, ISBN: 978-3-030-84229-1)



William Eves, John Hudson, Ingrid Ivarsen and Sarah B. White (eds)
Common Law, Civil Law, and Colonial Law: Essays in Comparative Legal History from the Twelfth to the Twentieth Centuries
(Cambridge University Press, ISBN: 9781108955195)



Justine Firnhaber-Baker
The Jacquerie of 1358: A French Peasants' Revolt
(Oxford University Press, ISBN: 9780198856412)



Tomasz Kamusella
Words in Space and Time: Historical Atlas of Language Politics in Modern Central Europe
(University Press, ISBN: 9789633864173)



Tomasz Kamusella
Politics and the Slavic Languages
(Routledge, ISBN: 9780367569846)



Asnake Kefale, Tomasz Kamusella and Christophe Van der Beken (eds)
Eurasian Empires as Blueprints for Ethiopia: From Ethnolinguistic Nation State to Multiethnic Federation
(Routledge, ISBN: 9780367744793)



Raluca Bianca Roman, Sofiya Zahova and Aleksander G. Marinov (eds)
Roma Writings: Romani Literature and Press in Central, South-Eastern and Eastern Europe from the 19th Century until WWII
(Brill, ISBN: 9783657705207)



Elena Marushiakova and Vesselin Popov (eds)
Roma Voices in History: A Sourcebook
(Brill, ISBN: 9783506705181)



Andrew Pettegree and Arthur der Weduwen
The Library: A Fragile History
Profile Books, ISBN: 9781788163422)



Max Skjönsberg
The Persistence of Party: Ideas of Harmonious Discord in Eighteenth-Century Britain
(Cambridge University Press, ISBN: 9781108894500)



Richard Whatmore
The History of Political Thought: A Very Short Introduction
(Oxford University Press, ISBN: 9780198853725)

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